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This book gives an introduction to the history of the Orthodox Church and its different jurisdictions in the 20th century in Western Europe, country by country. The main aim of these articles is to allow people to discover, or to make better known, the genesis and history of these Orthodox communities in Western Europe and also to understand the present situation of the Orthodox Church in a Western Europe now united and without borders. We hope that this book may be profitable not only at the level of Christian ecumenical and inter-religious dialogues, but specially for the Orthodox themselves, who often ignore these histories so close to us in time and space.

Articles collected under the editorship of Christine Chaillot

Prefaces by Metropolitan Emmanuel of France, Bishop Luka of France and Western Europe, Metropolitan Seraphim of Germany, Central and Northern Europe, Bishop Basil of Sergievo and Protopresbyter Boris Bobrinskoy

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN WESTERN EUROPE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Articles collected under the editorship of Christine Chaillot
Prefaces by Metropolitan Emmanuel of France, Bishop Luka of France and Western Europe, Metropolitan Seraphim of Germany, Central and Northern Europe, Bishop Basil of Sergievo and Protopresbyter Boris Bobrinskoy (d. 2020)

Inter-Orthodox Dialogue, Paris, 2006
This book was first printed by Orthdruk, Bialystok, Poland, in 2006.

Here is the original text, without corrections. The reader must take into consideration that some facts and statistics are those of 2006. Some of the authors and quoted people passed away. Some quoted addresses and websites shoud be checked.
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Christine Chaillot, the editor of this book *A Short History of the Orthodox Church in Western Europe in the 20th Century*, has written and edited the following books :
The Malankara Orthodox Church, Geneva, 1996
Towards Unity, The Theological Dialogue Between the Orthodox Church and the Oriental Orthodox Churches, Geneva, 1998 (compilation of texts of the theological dialogue since 1964 with supplementary articles), Geneva, (1998)

The Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch, Geneva, 1998

The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church Tradition, Paris, (2002)
The Coptic Orthodox Church, Paris, (2005)
A Short History of the Orthodox Church in Western Europe in the Twentieth Century, Paris, 2006

The Orthodox Church in Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century,
Vie et spiritualité des Églises orthodoxes orientales des traditions syriaque, arménienne, copte et éthiopienne*, Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 2010*
Les Coptes d'Égypte. Discriminations et persécutions *(1970-2011), Paris, L'Harmattan, 2014*
The Dialogue Between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches*, Volos Academy Publications, Volos, 2016*
The Role of Images and the Veneration of Icons in the Oriental Orthodox Churches, LIT Verlag, Münster, 2017
The Assyrian Church of the East. History and Geography, Oxford, Peter Lang, 2021

Her books are translated into eleven languages

Preface by His Eminence, Metropolitan Emmanuel of France

In Europe, the historical Orthodox Churches are generally found in the countries of its eastern territories. Let us recall that Christianity spread in the north-eastern parts of our continent from the Roman Empire of the East (also known as the Byzantine Empire) the capital of which was Constantinople, where the Ecumenical Patriarchate was established in the 4th century. The Ecumenical Patriarchate, following Apostle Paul's example, continued the spreading of the Word of God to the world, especially since the Church of Constantinople possessed all the favourable conditions for this task because of the transfer of the capital from Ancient Rome to Constantinople, the New Rome.

In the past, the Orthodox Church consisted of only four Ancient Patriarchates of the East, namely of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. To those were later added the Churches of Russia, of Serbia, of Romania, of Bulgaria, and that of the Church of Georgia, to which the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople granted the status of Patriarchates. There are however also the so-called Autocephalous Churches, namely the Church of Cyprus, which is the most ancient autocephalous Church, the Church of Greece, the Church of Poland, the Church of Albania, and the Church of the Czech Land and of Slovakia. Finally there are also some autonomous Churches such as those of Sinai and Finland. The Church of Constantinople, being the First Throne among the autocephalous Orthodox Churches, has the right and responsibility of the commencement and the coordination of actions of inter-Orthodox importance, according to historical and canonical reasons.

Nowadays, we witness the growth of what has come to be known as the European Union. Since the decisions concerning the future of Europe were taken, and then implemented by the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, Europe is widening and establishing a space of free circulation and of all kinds of exchanges.

In the framework of this new Europe which is being established, Orthodox Christians have taken a place that is not insignificant at all. Since the change in the political scene of Eastern Europe in the 1990s, a wave of Orthodox immigration is coming to the multicultural Western Europe, and people looking for a better future and job opportunities are becoming part of the new mosaic of ethnicities, cultures, traditions and beliefs, enriching more this so diverse population of Europe.

However, the commercial exchanges which are nowadays being organized between the Western and Eastern countries of our continent have in fact existed during past centuries. This partly explains the existence and organization of the first Orthodox parishes in certain countries of the West at a very early stage. We see for example that in Stockholm, Sweden, there are Orthodox parishes at the beginning of the 17th century, as well as in Leipzig, Germany and in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, in the 18th century.

Furthermore, in the 20th century, as well as earlier on, the construction of Orthodox chapels or churches came about in Western Europe because of royal marriages with Orthodox members of royal families.

Nevertheless, Orthodox parishes have been established in greater number in Western Europe from the 19th century and much more so in the 20th century.

In order to obtain the best harmony possible between the Christian communities, and also between the communities of the different religions that are numerous in Europe, it is instructive to study the recent history of all these communities, including that of our Christian Orthodox. That will partly enable us to better understand their beginnings, and how to organize their future life in Europe at large.

It is in the light of this endeavour that we would like to congratulate Madame Christine Chaillot, an Orthodox Christian of the Patriarchate of Constantinople who gathered all these articles through hard work done for the promotion of the ecumenical spirit. Through her important publication, the history of the Orthodox Church in the 20th century in Western Europe will become accessible and better known, country by country, to all those who may have an interest, including Orthodox Christians living in Western Europe.

His Eminence, Metropolitan Emmanuel of France (Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople)
Director of the Liaison Office of the Orthodox Church to the European Union in Brussels
Responsible for the Dialogue between the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and Judaism
Responsible for the Dialogue between the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and Islam
Responsible for the Dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox or pre-Chalcedonian Churches

Preface by Metropolitan Seraphim (Joanta)

The articles gathered in this book by Christine Chaillot help us to understand that the Orthodox Church in the West has become an undeniable reality. Through its local rootedness and by its active presence at the theological and ecumenical levels, the Orthodox Church has definitely established itself in the important cities of Western Europe. The Westerners who show an interest in Orthodoxy see in it an authentic testimony of the undivided Church and of the theology and spirituality of the Church fathers of the first millenium. In Western Europe, the Orthodox Theological Institute of Saint Sergius in Paris has taken part in the renewal of Orthodox theology in the 20th century and Orthodox monasteries have a growing influence.

As I can observe while meeting non Orthodox people in Western Europe, texts such as the *Philokalia* of the neptic fathers (translated into some languages of Western Europe), or *The Way of A Pilgrim*, as well as the Jesus Prayer or 'Prayer of the Heart' are now known in the Western monastic milieux and beyond. The Orthodox icons, whose meaning remains to be studied in depth by certain non Orthodox, are present in many Western churches.

As to the implantation of a local Orthodoxy, nowadays Orthodox hierarchs in Western Europe work for its organization and its unification according to the traditional principles of the Church, at the territorial and collegial levels.

Of course, this implantation cannot be accelerated artificially and must be carried out gradually while the Orthodox communities acquire a real ecclesial conscience. The difficulties which emerge concern specially the liturgical language and the difference of mentalities, which only brotherly love can overcome.
What must be avoided, at any price, is to transform the parish into an ethnic or cultural ghetto and to refuse to welcome people coming from other social and cultural backgrounds.

Sometimes even the children of our communities, born in a culture which is different from that of their parents, feel strangers in their own parish if the ethnic dimension suffocates the element which is properly religious and spiritual.
If the parish does not open itself so as to welcome them with their requirements, above all concerning the intelligibility of the liturgical offices and their deep meaning, the youth will distance themselves from it, thus endangering the very survival of the parish.

The fecund growth of a local Orthodoxy is first prepared at the local level by a greater collaboration between the different ethnic communities.
Although all the Orthodox are aware of belonging to the same Church, in reality they don't know each other well enough. It is absolutely essential that the priests of the different jurisdictions meet regularly at the local level, and that they organize common celebrations with the participation of their faithful. They must also consult each other about the children's catechesis and must encourage the Orthodox youth movements which exist here and there but which need to be supported more by the parishes.

At the local level, it is also necessary to reinforce Orthodox participation in the common ecumenical effort for the rapprochement and reconciliation of Christians, in view of their unity ; as well as to have dialogue with people of other religions.

Concerning the Oriental Orthodox Churches, we can say that they confess the same faith as the Orthodox Church, that their ecclesial life is similar and that only our human weakness makes this separation continue.

The first Orthodox immigrants to the West thought that their stay in a foreign land would be temporary.
Nowadays the Orthodox have become assimilated in the place where they work, but without forgetting their roots.

Some Europeans consider the recent massive arrival of Orthodox in the West as a kind of invasion. In order to counterbalance this attitude, should one not take into consideration the fact that Orthodoxy can also have a positive impact on the contemporary West, which is intellectual and rationalist, by bringing its spiritual, mystical tradition? One can hope that the Orthodox settled in Western Europe will share and transmit their spiritual wealth, in their parishes and individually.

As for the Orthodox, they can learn from Western fellow-Christians about the importance of practical social commitment, that is, the indispensable help to be given to our fellow men and women, as specially recommended to us in Matthew 25 :31-40.

All this allows a necessary complementarity : in fact the Christian social commitment must have a spiritual and mystical dimension. It is not only daily bread that must be given, but also spiritual and heavenly food which touches the human heart and feeds it.

The deep Christian life is the mystical experience of the Liturgy and of prayer which make a person peaceful and which reconcile people with their brothers and sisters in the whole humanity and with the cosmos. A united and living Orthodoxy, open to dialogue, can be a great blessing for the West in quest of its own spiritual roots.

May God bless the readers of this book which, we hope, will help them to discover some pages of the recent history of the Orthodox Church.

Metropolitan Seraphim of Germany and Central and Northern Europe (Patriarchate of Romania)

Preface by Bishop Luka (Kovacevic)

Here is a book which provides an introduction to the history of the Orthodox Church in Western Europe in the 20th century.

It should be emphasised that this is the first time that an attempt has been made to gather together and publish articles recounting the genesis and the more recent history of the different Orthodox communities now living in Western Europe.
One can also find here other practical information such as bibliographies, addresses and websites.

We think that this book will be useful for all Orthodox readers, whether they live in Europe or elsewhere in the world, as it will allow us to know each other better.

Reading this book will also allow general readers, who are not Orthodox themselves, to become aware of the Orthodox presence in Western Europe with the different Orthodox communities and jurisdictions now present there.

With our best wishes and blessing.

Bishop Luka of France and Western Europe (Patriarchate of Serbia)

Preface by Bishop Basil (Osborne)

The Orthodox Church has been throughout the centuries a 'hidden mystery'. She is not so much an evident and tangible reality, as a sign: 'a sign of God' in the world, which needs deciphering and interpretation. The Orthodox Church is again today on the move, as she has always been through the ages[1].

This quotation is taken from an account in English of the Orthodox Church in Western Europe. Though written in 1964 as part of an introduction to a survey of world Orthodoxy, it is nevertheless still an apt description of the current state of the Orthodox Church in general.

Since the publication of that account in the mid 1960s, much has changed in the political, social and economic reality of Europe. It is now very much more prosperous than it was less than twenty years after the end of the Second World War, and its political configuration has changed beyond anyone's expectations: the European Union now has a combined population of over 457 million and includes six countries that were previously part of the Soviet block. Furthermore, immigration from the countries of Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, Africa and Asia has changed the demographic balance of the area for ever. At the same time Western Europe has experienced over the past fifty years a process of acute secularisation. Religion has been deliberately pushed to the margins of social life in the belief that it complicates human relations rather than simplifying them. Decisions taken by society as a whole should not, it is said, reflect religious concerns. All faith communities, Orthodox Christians included, find themselves forced to take up positions on a number of social issues.

What will be the effect of all these changes on the Orthodox presence and witness in Western Europe? The short answer is that nobody knows. The future of the Orthodox Church in Western Europe is in the hands of God. But that does not mean that its members can remain inactive. There is a task before us, that of making the Orthodox faith seem and *be* 'at home' in these countries.

No one should underestimate the difficulty of this task. A tradition – and even more so, the *Tradition* – cannot just be picked up and dropped in some new location as if it were some kind of humanitarian aid delivered by air. It has to be borne by human beings who carry it within themselves and are able personally to pass it on.

At one level this is the inner genius of Orthodoxy: it is a 'tradition of life' – and a 'tradition of Life'. It is also, however, a 'treasure in earthen vessels' (2 Cor. 4:7). Though most of the 'Mother Churches' are agreed that the present situation of overlapping 'jurisdictions' is not acceptable from a canonical point of view, they have still to agree on what their common goal should be in Western Europe and how to achieve it.

Yet the present moment is also one of exceptional opportunity. The increased human resource, the possibility of communicating easily across vast distances, the absence of State interference in the life of the Church – all these are positive factors. We must take advantage of them in the interests of increased 'inculturation' of Orthodoxy in Western Europe. This is a process which has been going on elsewhere for hundreds of years and is also well advanced in Europe. May God grant us the strength to persevere!

Bishop Basil of Sergievo (Patriarchate of Moscow, The British Isles)

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[1] *A Sign of God. Orthodoxy 1964. A Pan-Orthodox Symposium*, edited by The Brotherhood of Theologians 'Zoe' (Athens, 1964), p. 5.

Preface
by Protopresbyter Boris Bobrinskoy

This book presents articles which are an introduction to the history of the Orthodox Church in Western Europe in the 20th century. In these articles the different emigrations of the European Orthodox are recalled. In fact, the whole history of Europe is passing in front of our eyes. This history has often been painful : two world wars, the arrival of communism and the long break between Eastern and Western Europe. The emigrations follow each other : the one of the Russians after the 1917 Revolution, that of the Greeks after their forced departure from Turkey in 1923, and many more.
Since 1991, following the fall of the communist regimes, there is a powerful economic emigration of the Orthodox from the countries of Eastern Europe to the West. There they are welcomed in parishes which already exist or in new parishes organized by the dioceses concerned.

Following the Russian Revolution of 1917, around 1920, one estimates that more than one million Russians had left Russia.
In 1921 Patriarch Tikhon of Moscow (1917-1925) with the Holy Synod appointed Bishop Evlogy (Gueorguievski) to administer all the Russian churches in Western Europe, with his seat in the Cathedral of Saint Alexander Nevsky, 12 Rue Daru in Paris. He became Metropolitan in 1922.
In 1930 Metropolitan Evlogy took part, in London, in an ecumenical prayer meeting organized by the Anglicans on behalf of the persecuted Christians in the Soviet Union. The Soviet government then reacted through the Church in Moscow. That same year, Metropolitan Sergius, under the pressure of the atheist and persecuting government, asked Metropolitan Evlogy to sign a commitment of loyalty to the Soviet government, in the name of the Church. The latter refused.
Let us recall that Metropolitan Sergius, since 1925, was in fact the 'locum tenens' or 'taking the place' of the patriarch or, more exactly, the replacement of the keeper of the patriarchal throne. As a matter of fact, he 'replaced' the successor designated by Patriarch Tikhon, Metropolitan Peter, who was arrested in 1925. Metropolitan Sergius was consecrated Patriarch only in 1945, one year before his death.
As for Metropolitan Evlogy, he asked the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople to receive him and all the churches under his jurisdiction. This was accepted by Patriarch Photios in 1931. In 1945, one year before his death, Metropolitan Evlogy returned to the Patriarchate of Moscow.

On another side, following the 1917 Revolution, the ecclesiastical administration of the Russian bishops outside borders took refuge in Constantinople, then in Serbia. At the beginning of the 1920s, this synod of bishops had several meetings in Serbia (Synods of Karlovtsy). Their separation from the Church in Moscow originated in 1922, with a decree of Patriarch Tikhon. In 1926-7, the relations between the Russian bishops in Serbia and Metropolitan Evlogy were severed.

Three parallel Russian jurisdictions appeared : the one following Metropolitan Evlogy (Rue Daru), another following the Church of Moscow and the third following the Synod of the Russian bishops outside Russia. This last group came to be known as the 'Synodal' Russian Orthodox Church, or the Russian Church in Exile or also the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) which is the most commonly

used name in English. This Church left Serbia for Germany before settling its seat in New York in 1949. This Church is perfectly Orthodox in faith and rites, but is not officially recognized by all the Orthodox Churches. At the moment it has entered into conversations with the Patriarchate of Moscow about being reunited with it.

In 1931, nearly all the Russians who were in the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Evlogy followed him, except a very small group which remained attached to the Church of Moscow headed by Bishop Eleutherius (Bogoyavlenky) exarch of the Patriarchate of Moscow for Western Europe from 1931 to 1940. The Parisian group included the Russian Bishop Benjamin who resided for some years in Rue Pétel in Paris, a place which remains the seat of the representative of the Patriarchate of Moscow today.

After the death of Metropolitan Evlogy (1946), there were two candidates : His Grace Seraphim (Lukianov) (1879-1959) nominated by Moscow, and His Grace Vladimir (Tikhonitsky), (1873-1959) of Nice who was elected archbishop of the jurisdiction of the Rue Daru. The Russian parishes under the jurisdiction of the Rue Daru kept their canonical dependence on the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

In 1963 the Patriarchate of Constantinople created a Greek diocese for France and Spain, with its seat in Paris, and a Greek metropolitan was appointed. In 1966, the Patriarchate of Constantinople suppressed the Russian Exarchate (Rue Daru), reminding them that his protection had been given in 1931 in a provisional way.

After the First Pan-Orthodox Conference in Rhodes (1961), the Orthodox Patriarchates were in discussion to prepare an important event, the calling of a Holy and Great Council. That council should gather all the Orthodox Churches together in order to re-inforce their co-operation and to discuss contemporary questions common to the Orthodox Church, such as ecumenism, the date of Easter, fasting and the diaspora.

The Orthodox diaspora, that is, those Orthodox communities living outside their countries of origin, was discussed: at the first pre-conciliary pan-Orthodox Conference (Chambésy, 21-28 November 1976) ; at the third Conference (Chambésy, 28 October-6 November 1986) ; at the two preparatory inter-Orthodox Commissions (Chambésy, 10-17 November 1990 and 7-13 November 1993) ; and at the Congress of the canonists about the criteria of the organization of the Orthodox diaspora (Chambésy, 9-14 April 1995).

In 1966, the then archbishop of the Rue Daru, His Grace George (Tarassov), (1960-81), followed by his clergy and by the great majority of the faithful, created an Orthodox archbishopric of France and Western Europe. This decision was provisory. In 1971, the archbishopric of the Rue Daru was again attached to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and it remains so until now.

By reading the articles in this book, one will see that the history of the Orthodox in Western Europe has often been complicated. Some articles explain the difficulties met by some communities, including sometimes for the creation of new parishes and for their development. Some unfortunate tensions may have arisen between certain Patriarchates and Churches, sometimes for political reasons, sometimes for reasons that are all too human.

As for the future of the Orthodox people, Bishop Kallistos (Ware) of Diokleia asks some pertinent questions in his article. These questions, as well as others, are put to all Orthodox, everywhere, not only in the British Isles; for example about the jurisdictional divisions; the place of the Orthodox in Europe and elsewhere, as well as their recognition, or not, by non Orthodox.

The unity of the different Orthodox Patriarchates, a united Orthodox Church, a united representation of the different Orthodox jurisdictions in the same country; these are the questions on which most of the articles presented here insist.
This unity of the Orthodox is of course a vital necessity not only to facilitate contacts with the external authorities of a country, be they political, religious or others, but above all because this is at the very heart of Christianity. It is our Christian duty to find solutions of peace, by being or by becoming makers of peace.
Thus to study this history of the Orthodox Church in Western Europe must be instructive at more than one level.

The main questions put to the Orthodox living in the diaspora, whether born in the country or emigrants, seem to me to be the following: how to develop pan-Orthodox contacts and how to live and testify to a pan-Orthodox unity ? How to overcome a certain 'nationalist' or 'phyletist' spirit in order to actualize pan-Orthodoxy ? Then, how can the Orthodox living in Western Europe bear witness to their unity, their solidarity and their mutual aid ?
In order to answer these questions, and others as well, a huge work of reflection remains to be done about the future of Orthodoxy in Europe.

Nevetheless, we have to take note of the real efforts already accomplished here and there towards the synodality of the Orthodox Churches in the same country. In France, for example, the Assembly of the Orthodox Bishops of France ('Assemblée des Evêques Orthodoxes de France', AEOF) gathers in order to discuss common and peculiar questions. A certain number of commissions work there about theological, liturgical and Christian ecumenical questions ; the medias, information and administration ; questions about Church and society (ethics of life, civic commitment in the city, laity, solidarity, pauperization, welcome of the new immigrants, the instituting of chaplaincies in hospitals and prisons, etc.).
One can only hope to see such a model of exchange and solidarity established and developed in similar Orthodox commissions and actions all over Europe and elsewhere.
Since 1993 there is an *Interparliamentary Orthodox Association* (*IOA*) which gathers Orthodox parliamentarians from twenty four different countries together (*Service Orthodoxe de Presse* (*SOP*), Paris, 181.11, 301.31).
In 2004 the Orthodox Schools of Theology in the European Union member states gathered and decided to establish a *European Forum of Orthodox Schools of Theology* (*EFOST-EU*).

Some think that one of the factors leading to pan-Orthodoxy is that of integration through a process of inculturation. In each country there are Orthodox who insist on the importance of having the offices and the Liturgy celebrated in the language of the country.

This is of primal importance for certain Orthodox, in particular for the numerous autochtonous who became Orthodox and need to pray in their mother tongue.
As for the vast majority of the multitude of Orthodox who recently immigrated into Western Europe, they prefer to pray as they used to do in their countries of origin, in Slavonic and in Romanian ; thus they find in church a kind of identity. This comment can be applied as well to emigrants of the previous generations. What will their children, grandchildren and the generations to come decide ? Will they keep the traditional language of their Church or will they adapt their prayers to the language of the welcoming country ? Only the future will tell.

In several countries of Western Europe, the Orthodox of different local jurisdictions, clergy and laity together, have a chance to celebrate the Liturgy in diverse languages on certain occasions, for example on the Sunday of Orthodoxy (the first Sunday of Great Lent before Easter), or during meetings, conferences and congresses of which here are some examples.

Since the 1960s, the *Orthodox Fraternity in Western Europe* (mentioned below also as the 'Fraternité Orthodoxe en Europe occidentale' or the 'Fraternité') gathers Orthodox from all jurisdictions and of all ages. Every three years they organize a congress which gathers Orthodox from all around Europe.
In a similar way, Orthodox fraternities have developed locally in France and in other countries, such as *The Fellowship of Saint John the Baptist* in Great Britain and *The Orthodox Association of Saint Nicholas of Myra* in The Netherlands.
For young Orthodox, the association *Syndesmos* organizes meetings and activities at the national and international levels.

What is the use of all these contacts ? It seems to me that all these efforts of dialogue allow us to overcome the temptation, which may exist for some Orthodox, to have identity closely linked to ethnicity, so that all the Orthodox of all jurisdictions may bear witness together, and in a brotherly way, of a united local Orthodox Church, beyond their national origins.
At the same time, the people born in Orthodox families can and must transmit Orthodox prayer and tradition. This is extremely precious, not only for the youth from Orthodox backgrounds who may be drawn away from Orthodox spiritual life by modern life ; but also for the Europeans who made a choice to become Orthodox and who need support to go deeply into the roots of the Orthodox liturgical and spiritual tradition.

For all these reasons, as our articles explain, the Orthodox Church tries her best to respect the local cultures and to become established in each country.

May these historical introductions on the Orthodox Churches of different jurisdictions help us, as Orthodox, to know each other better.

May the reading of these histories inspire us not to repeat certain mistakes or blunders made in the past. On the contrary, may they help us to reflect on the past and the present, and to prepare the future of the Orthodox Church in the new Europe now being shaped, with a spirit of solidarity and love, of forgiveness, of respect and of fraternity ; for such is the main message of the Gospel, to be accomplished in our lives.

Let us hope that these texts will be a testimony of the history of the Orthodox Church. May this reading be useful not only for the Orthodox themselves but also for everyone who has an interest in Christian ecumenism as well as for a large public, Christian or not.

To be faithful to Orthodox tradition while being open to the modern world and to all people around us ; this is an essential challenge for all the Orthodox living in Western Europe.

We are very grateful to Christine Chaillot who with passion, dedication and patience has selected and contacted the authors of the articles presented here and then has accomplished the arduous work due to any editor of books.

Protopresbyter Boris Bobrinskoy is the former dean of the Theological Institute of Saint Sergius in Paris. He was also the rector of the French speaking parish of the Holy Trinity in the Crypt in the Rue Daru (Patriarchate of Constantinople) and is the author of many books and articles on Orthodox theology.

Introduction

by Christine Chaillot

In this book I have gathered articles giving an introduction to the history of the Orthodox Church and its different jurisdictions in the 20th century in Western Europe, country by country. The main aim of these articles is to allow people to discover, or to make better known, the genesis and history of these Orthodox communities in Western Europe and also to understand the present situation of the Orthodox Church in a Western Europe now united and without borders. I hope that this book may be profitable not only at the level of Christian ecumenical and inter-religious dialogues, but specially for the Orthodox themselves, who often ignore these histories so close to us in time and space.

Among the Christian groups existing in Europe, there are the Orthodox Christians originally from different countries, mainly from Eastern Europe, whose communities depend on different Patriarchates and their jurisdictions. As a matter of fact, in the West, in nearly every country, there are often several Orthodox bishops who represent different Orthodox Patriarchates or autocephalous or autonomous Orthodox Churches, and which form a multitude of parallel jurisdictions outside their national territories.
As mentioned briefly in most of the articles, the first Orthodox communities in Western Europe originated before the 20th century.

The history of the Orthodox communities in Western Europe is nearly always linked to the history of the countries of origin of the Orthodox.
In the 20th century, great historical upheavals (beginning with the powerful hold of the communists since 1917, first over Russia and then in neighbouring countries, as well as the exchange of the Greek and Turkish populations in 1923) provoked mass emigrations of the Orthodox around the world, in particular to Western Europe, which involved the creation of new Orthodox parishes there at different periods.
Thus Orthodox from Russia and from all the countries of Eastern Europe, as well as from the Middle East, are to be found in Western Europe.
These Orthodox communities arise from emigrations not only of a political character, but also for economic reasons as seen in the 1960-1970s, and after 1990, when the fall of communism in the countries of eastern Europe opened a new page of history for the migration of the Orthodox in Western Europe.
This book only gives a glimpse of the history of the Orthodox Church in Western Europe in the 20th century as it is, of course, impossible to give a detailed account in a few articles. I hope that others will continue this work in a more detailed way.

The history of Orthodoxy in Western Europe is full of complexities as shown by our authors and by Protopresbyter Boris Bobrinskoy who, in his preface, explains the division of the Russian metropolitanate of Paris (Rue Daru) in the 1920s and its consequences.
To write history with objectivity : some consider such a task as unrealistic. Nevertheless, one of our main concerns was to try to preserve this objectivity.
It is understood that all the articles are written under the responsibility of their authors.

In this book, the different Orthodox jurisdictions are presented country by country in the following way : first France, Great Britain and Germany, which are key countries for understanding the history of the Orthodox Church in Western Europe in the 20th century ; then East of France (Austria and Switzerland), South (Italy, Spain and Portugal), then North of France (Belgium and Luxemburg, and The Netherlands) and finally Scandinavia (Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland).
The article dedicated to Finland is long : it has been accepted in its entirety as it is full of many details which allow one to study and understand the complex history of an Orthodox church moving towards autonomy as well as its later development.
In some countries no book or article had been written previously on the history of the Orthodox in the 20th century, which made the authors' task even more difficult. In other cases (as for the articles on Finland and Sweden) the main titles of the bibliography are only available in a language that is little known.

It is proper to remember the important rôle played by certain people in the evolution of the history of Orthodoxy in Western Europe, bishops, priests and also lay people, intellectual or not, including some converts such as Bishop Kallistos (Ware) of Diokleia and Professor Olivier Clément, who worked so much to make Orthodoxy known through their many writings and lectures.

As for the monastic communities, newly founded in Western Europe, they are attached to certain 'national' dioceses and Patriarchates, but most of them gather more and more often, and in most of the monasteries and convents, monks and nuns from different national origins.

All the information found in our articles should encourage us to become more informed about the life of present day Orthodoxy in Europe. In the 21st century, this is relatively easy, not only thanks to the publication of Orthodox magazines (for example the *Service Orthodoxe de Presse* (*SOP*) in France and *Orthodoxie Aktuell* in Germany), but also thanks to Orthodox web sites which are developing more and more in different countries and in different languages. In France some of the general web sites include that of the *SOP*; or *www.orthodoxie.com.* Many Patriarchates, dioceses and even parishes now have their own websites. Some websites are given at the end of each article, for each country.
Otherwise, only a few of the main addresses are given here, as well as the way to obtain a Year Book or Directory where they exist (for example in the British Isles and in The Netherlands).
In order to record the future history of the Orthodox Church around Europe in a systematic way, it would be good, in each country, to follow the example of *The Orthodox Fellowship of Saint Nicholas of Myra* founded in 1980 in The Netherlands which publishes an annual report from all the Orthodox parishes in the country.

At the end of each article, a short bibliography is given, sometimes as notes, as well as a short presentation of each author.

All these sources of information should not only enable one to contact individual parishes but also to comprehend the extent of the places where Orthodoxy is practised in Western Europe. I hope it may also increase the possibility of visiting these parishes, either in one's own country, or in neighbouring and different countries. This could also allow the Orthodox to become aware of the existence of

the different Orthodox communities not only in the country where they live but also in other countries.

My main aim in preparing this book is that all Orthodox of all jurisdictions may come to know each other better and may manage to cooperate and live in total unity and solidarity.

Let us hope that these few pages of Orthodox history, sometimes turbulent, may also be an introduction to this history for those who are not Orthodox Christians. Nowadays, more and more specialists think that it is useful to ask about the future of religion in our society. In that perspective and in the context of a Europe getting larger and larger, it seemed to me interesting and important to make a presentation of the history of the Orthodox Church in Western Europe in the 20th century, as to know this history better may contribute, in a very modest way, to preparing better the future of all Europeans.

Certain terms and words may not be understood by a non Orthodox Christian or general reader. Some explanations are therefore to be found in the appendix of this book.

I also want to thank all the people who helped me in doing this work and whom I cannot name individually here. Above all, I want to thank for their prefaces Father Boris Bobrinskoy, my spiritual father, and the following bishops of different Patriarchates who wanted to express by their prefaces their desire for pan-Orthodox collaboration : Metropolitan Emmanuel of France (Patriarchate of Constantinople), Bishop Luka of France and Western Europe, Bishop Basil of Sergievo (Patriarchate of Moscow, Great Britain) and Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia (Patriarchate of Constantinople, Great Britain) and also Metropolitan Seraphim of Germany and Central and Northern Europe (Patriarchate of Romania), my godfather when I became Orthodox in Paris.

The Orthodox Church in France in the 20th Century

Sources : extracts of articles by Father Jean Roberti with complementary material (personal testimonies, websites) gathered by Christine Chaillot

Genesis

Until after the end of the First World War (1914-1918), the Orthodox presence in France was discrete. At the beginning of the 15th century, Orthodox celebrations took place in Paris when Emperor Manuel II Paleologue stayed there (1400-1402). In 1738 and in 1757, the new embassies of Russia in Paris were served by a priest. Then a chapel was established in Rue Mesley (1812), then in Rue Neuve-de-Berri. In 1861 the present cathedral dedicated to Saint Alexander Nevsky (the saint patron of the emperor), was consecrated in Rue Daru, not far from the place where the Russian embassy was then located. This construction was followed by that of a church with the same dedication in Pau (1867). In 1892, a church dedicated to the Protection of the Mother of God and Saint Alexander Nevsky was consecrated in Biarritz. In Nice, a place visited by many Russians, the church dedicated to the holy martyr Saint Alexandra was founded in 1858, as was in 1912 the present Cathedral of Saint Nicolas, the patron saint of the new emperor. Other Russian churches were built in the south, in Menton in 1892, and in Cannes in 1894.
The Greeks coming from the islands and from Asia Minor organized a chapel in Marseille in 1821 ; then the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God was built in 1845. In 1895, the Greeks built the Cathedral of Saint Stephen in Paris.
In 1853, in Paris, the Romanian colony opened its first parish, 22 Rue Racine. The first king of Romania, Carol I, acquired a church, in Rue Jean-de-Beauvais, in the Latin quarter, which was consecrated in 1892 dedicated with the name of the Archangels. The first Romanian diocese of Western Europe with seat in Paris was founded by Archbishop Bissarion Puiu (1879-1964).
One estimates the number of Orthodox living in France at the end of the 19th century to be about 20,000.

The emigration waves in the 20th century

In the 20th century, the situation of the Orthodox in France changed radically with the arrival of the first significant waves of emigration which were primarily of a political order : the Russians fleeing the Revolution and the Greeks of Asia Minor chased out by the Turks. The political emigration later continued with the victory of the communists in Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. These waves did not stop after World War II (1939-1945), but the causes diversified. During the 1960s, emigration took place for economic reasons. Because of war, the Lebanese arrived after 1975, and the Serbs after 1991 following the conflicts in Serbia, Bosnia and in Kosovo. Finally, after the fall of communism, the emigration, since the 1990s, is above all of an economic order and comes specially from Russia and Ukraine, Romania and Moldavia as well as from Macedonia, Montenegro, Albania and Georgia.
In 1929, the parish of Saint Nino (a woman saint who evangelized Georgia in the 4th century) was founded in Paris for the Orthodox Georgians who were refugees after the invasion of Georgia by the Russian bolshevik armies in 1921. In 1931, the first rector was Father Gregory Péradzé who died a martyr in Auschwitz in 1942 and was canonized in 1995. He was followed by Father Nicolas Zabakhidzé (1943-49), Father

Elia Mélia (1949-1988) and by Father Artchil Davrichachvili (1993-). Since 1973 worship was celebrated in the present chapel (6, Rue de la Rosière, Paris 15e) which was the only place of worship using the Georgian language outside the borders of Georgia, since its constitution until the 1990s. While maintaining contacts with the Church of Georgia, this parish is under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.
The first Serbian parish in Paris dates from 1947. It was initiated by Serbs living in Paris before World War II and then by Serbs who took refuge here after refusing to live in their country under the communists after 1945. Since 1965 worship takes place in Rue du Simplon (Paris 18e).
Since 1991, the arrival of new waves of emigration has transformed the Orthodox scene in France. The arrival of Russians, Ukranians, Serbs and Romanians constitutes the most recent and most important ethnic contribution.

Statistics

At the present time, the consultation of websites on Orthodoxy offers a certain number of answers about the Orthodox Church in France at the beginning of the third millenium. All the Patriarchates and Churches are to be found, except the Churches of Albania, Finland, the Czech Land and Slovakia as well as the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Alexandria, because the emigration of the Orthodox coming from these countries is small.
According to the figures found on such websites in 2005 (see bibliography), one can say that the diocese which had the greatest number of parishes and communities in France remains that of the Russian parishes of the emigration of the archbishopric under the Patriarchate of Constantinople (Rue Daru) with 47 parish and monastic communities ; followed by the Greek metropolitanate (33), the Romanian metropolitanate (27), the Moscow archbishopric (22) and the Serbian archbishopric (15). Then comes an entity which is not canonically recognized by all the Orthodox but is recognized by the Patriarchate of Moscow which tries hard to reintegrate it, the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) which is represented in France by thirteen parish and monastic (in Provement) communities.
The Patriarchate of Bulgaria and the Patriarchate of Antioch have one and four communities respectively.
There are about 157 parish and monastic communities in France. One should point out that these statistics are already out of date and that in reality these numbers are superior.
It is not without interest to compare the present situation with that of 1992, the date of publication of one of the last *Annuaire Orthodoxe*. In about ten years, the number of places of worship has increased by a good third. One can say that all the Churches have considerably increased the number of their communities in France, except those of Bulgaria and of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia which remained stable. Two Churches come first : the Romanian Church which, in more than ten years, has multiplied by five the number of its places of worship, as has the Serbian Church. The Russian Patriarchal Church of Moscow has doubled its places. The Greek metropolitanate has eight additional units. The Patriarchate of Antioch has created two parishes and one monastery.
Despite these important changes, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, with its Greek and Russian dioceses, is by far the most important in France with a total of 80 communities, far exceeding the Patriarchate of Romania with 27.

How many Orthodox are to be found in France ? It is impossible to answer precisely ; the French legislation does not authorize any religious question on the census papers. In the 1990s, the Orthodox population was estimated to be about 200,000. The perceptible growth of the places of worship allows one to think that the number of Orthodox would now exceed 300,000, certain populations, like the Romanies, never being taken into account. Some people speak of 500,000 Orthodox in France and even many more.

Orthodox Implantation in France

As explained before, the Orthodox Church in France is the result of the arrival of emigrants joined by thousands of people of French background who became Orthodox. This fundamental fact explains all the complexity of the evolution of the Orthodox Church and of its different jurisdictions in France. Even though the implantation of Orthodox communities in France began more than eighty years ago, some French people still have difficulty identifying them. The reason is to be looked for, less in the length and the complexity of the process of emigration than because of the ethnic, or rather phyletist element which means that, most of the time, one speaks of the Russian, Greek, Romanian, Serbian, Arab Churches, but rarely of the Orthodox Church in France.

A certain ethnic dominance, natural in a context of migration, dates from the beginning of the Russian and Greek emigrations. The contacts between the different Orthodox jurisdictions were almost non-existent for about forty years, until the 1960s, when an Orthodox inter-episcopal Committee was founded in 1967. This is partly explained because of the difference of languages and of certain liturgical uses ; this is also explained, in the case of France, because of the difference of social origin between the emigrants. If the Russian emigration included a large social mixture (aristocrats, military and intellectual people and others), the Greek emigration was mainly composed of craftsmen and traders. The Russians settled *en masse* in Paris and also elsewhere in France, above all in the industrial regions. A good number of these Russian emigrants were convinced that the bolshevik regime was going to collapse quickly and that they would soon go home.

The Greeks preferred to settle in the South and in the Rhône Valley, but are also found in Paris and elsewhere. In France their priests helped them to keep alive their language and culture and they had the advantage of remaining in contact with their country of origin.

Within twenty years (1924-1944), Russian Orthodoxy managed to become rooted quickly in France. As the contacts with the Russian homeland became impossible, the Russian Orthodox had to become more and more autonomous, in particular for the formation of clergy.

Theological, spiritual, intellectual and artistic works of the Russian Orthodox in France

The importance of the testimony of Russian Orthodoxy in France far exceeds the numeric weight of its communities. In the 20th century, Paris was the main intellectual centre of Orthodoxy in Western Europe. Since the second half of the 1920s, there was an important Russian presence in this city, with its intellectuals (in the scientific and technical worlds as well as in those of literature and human sciences) and its

artists (painting, theatre, music, ballet, cinema), having its newspapers and reviews, its primary and secondary schools.

The first Russian emigration of the 1920s brought to France an elite of theologians and of 'religious philosophers'. They were able to continue the astonishing intellectual and spiritual renewal experienced by the Christian intelligentsia in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. Most of them gathered in the Orthodox Institute of Theology of Saint Serge which opened its doors in 1925 in Paris, 93 Rue de Crimée.

Among its famous professors, let us name : Father Serge Boulgakov (1871-1944), Bishop Cassien Bezobrazov (1892-1965), Father George Florovsky (1893-1979), George Fedotov (1886-1951), Father Cyprien Kern (1899-1960), Antoine Kartachov (1875-1975), Basile Zenkovsky (1907-1990) and Father Alexis Kniazev (1913-1991) dean of the institute from 1965 ; as well as Fathers John Meyendorff (1926-1991) and Alexander Schmemann (1921-1983) who were with Father George Florovsky the founders of the Orthodox Seminary of Saint Vladimir in New York.

The Institute of Saint Serge acquired a world reputation with the theologians who made up what will be called the 'School of Paris' (*l'Ecole de Paris*) who not only influenced Russian theology but made possible as well, directly or indirectly, the contemporary development of Greek, Serbian and Romanian theology. The Institute of Saint Serge also played an important part in ecumenism in France and other countries.

Other Russian religious thinkers exercised a great influence through their contact with certain French intellectuals, such as Nicolas Berdiaev (1874-1948). Berdiaev lived in Paris from 1924, and was responsible for the review *Pout* (*The Way*) and was at the head of YMCA Press, established in Paris in 1926 for the publication of the works of the most important Russian philosophers and theologians of the Emigration, and which remains the most important Russian publishing house in the West.

One of the many associations which supported the religious life of the Russian emigration, the *Action Chrétienne des Etudiants Russes* (*ACER*), was supported by all the great Russian intellectuals. It published a periodical, *Vestnik* (*The Messenger*), which spoke of the Church life in the Soviet Union where it was introduced in a clandestine way. Founded in 1923, this association is still active in Paris.

Most of the representatives of the next generation (1944-1970) achieved an important intellectual meeting between Christian hellenism and Russian theology, while becoming fully aware of their patristic roots. This allowed the elaboration in France of the neo-patristic movement with Vladimir Lossky (1903-58), Archbishop Basil Krivochéine (1900-1985) and Myrrha Lot-Borodine (1882-1957). At the same time, Nicolas Afanassiev (1893-1960) formulated his 'eucharistic ecclesiology', starting point of the ecclesiology 'of communion'. Paul Evdokimov (1901-1970) attempted successfully to help the West understand Orthodox thinking and spirituality.

The third Russian generation, born in France between 1920-1935, produced a pleiad of great neo-patristic theologians who renewed the Orthodox approach to dogma and the Church, among them Father Boris Bobrinskoy. Orthodox thinkers also appeared who were of French background, the most famous representative being Olivier Clément, a writer and lecturer who made Orthodoxy known to a vast public in France. In a parallel way, Father Cyrille Argenti made a great contribution in catechetics and homiletics.

Finally, a fourth generation, born between 1936 and 1950, is affirming itself and includes some inspired followers.

Thanks to certain Russian emigrants, all aspects of ecclesial expression, in particular iconography, but also Church music, have found new life. Some inspired iconographers have contributed to the renewal of traditional iconography, such as Monk Grégoire Kroug (1908-1969), Sister Jeanne Reitlinger (1898-1988), and Léonide Ouspensky (1902-1987).
Several Russian choirs were organized, such as that of the Institute of Saint Serge or the Quatuor Kedroff.
Concerning pastoral work, one has to take into account, first of all, the work of hundreds of priests, monks and nuns who, often in conditions of great poverty, managed, with the cooperation of couragous lay people, to open and to give spiritual power to numerous parishes and monasteries.
In a certain way, all are at present commemorated through the icon of Saint Alexis of Ugine, prototype of pastoral humility and one of the first saints of the emigration ; and also through the icon of Mother Maria (Skobtsova) (1891-1945), and Father Dimitri Klépinine (1904-1944) with their companions who were all canonized in 2004. Mother Maria was a Russian leftist intellectual who became a nun in 1931 ; in 1934 she organized a hostel in Paris, 77 rue de Lourmel, where she not only helped those who needed it most, but she also welcomed great Russian intellectuals such as Nicolas Berdiaev and Father Serge Boulgakov. During World War II, Mother Maria, as well as the priest of Lourmel, Father Dimitri Klépinine, helped persecuted Jews. In 1943 they were arrested and sent to concentration camps in Germany where they were subsequently executed.

Disagreements between the Russian Archbishopric of the Rue Daru in Paris and the Patriarchates of Moscow and of Constantinople

This extraordinary creation, at the intellectual, artistic and pastoral levels, which still nourishes Orthodoxy in France and elsewhere, developed in an atmosphere of different ecclesial crises which affected the Russian community. Among them, three were major ones : the first affected the whole of the Russian emigration ; the second the Russian metropolitanate of the Rue Daru and the Patriarchate of Constantinople ; and the third concerns the Archbishopric of the Rue Daru and the Patriarchate of Moscow.
The first crisis began in the middle of the 1920s, but its consequences are still felt today. The reasons were both ecclesial and political, in particular because of the attitude of the different hierarchs of the exiled Russian Church concerning the persecution of Christians in the Soviet Union. Metropolitan Evlogy (1861-1946), followed by nearly all the parishes under his jurisdiction, broke the canonical links with the Patriarchate of Moscow and asked the Patriarchate of Constantinople to take his diocese under its protection, which was accepted by Patriarch Photios in 1931.
Apart from these Russian parishes which were received under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, there were two other Russian Orthodox groups : the one which remained faithful to the Patriarchate of Moscow ; and the other which constituted the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR).
Thus the Russian community broke up into three communities with the following contradictory situation: two Churches belonging to Patriarchates officially in communion (Constantinople and Moscow), but practically separated in the context of the emigration ; and a third Church (ROCOR), attached to its ecclesiastical past before the 1917 Revolution.

The second crisis affected the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Russian metropolitanate (Rue Daru), which then enjoyed a status of considerable autonomy in that Patriarchate. In 1963 the Patriarchate of Constantinople replaced the Russian metropolitan of Paris with a Greek metropolitan by creating a Greek diocese in Paris. The archbishop of the Rue Daru and his faithful then created an Orthodox Archdiocese of France and Western Europe. The delicate situation provoked by this initiative lasted until 1971, when the Patriarchate of Constantinople agreed to welcome again this Russian diocese.
Finally, a third crisis came about since April 2003, between the Patriarchate of Moscow and the Archbishopric (Rue Daru), when a group depending on the Rue Daru wished to return to the Patriarchate of Moscow. On May 1st, a new archbishop, His Grace Gabriel (De Vylder), partisan of the *statu quo*, was elected by a good majority.

From the inter-episcopal Committee to AEOF

In the 1960s, the number of canonical jurisdictions on French territory began to grow.
The Greeks of France had been placed under the Exarchate of Thyateira in London (Patriarchate of Constantinople) from the time of its creation in 1922 until 1963, when a Greek diocese was created in Paris, headed since 2002 by his Grace Emmanuel (Adamakis).
Apart from the parishes of the decanates of France (region of Paris, centre, west, east, south-west and south-east), under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of the Rue Daru and exarchate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, there are also parishes in other European countries (Germany, Italy, Spain, Norway, Denmark, The Netherlands and Sweden). Since 2003 they are administered by Archbishop Gabriel (De Vilder).
The diocese of the Patriarchate of Romania was reorganized after 1974, enlarged in 1994 to include Western and Southern Europe (France, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Great Britain, Ireland, The Netherlands and Belgium) and it became a metropolitanate in 2001. Since 1998 it is headed by His Grace Joseph (Pop), assisted in 2005 by two vicar bishops.
In 1986, the Patriarchate of Moscow created a diocese with a bishop residing in Paris and responsible for France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain and Portugal ; it is now headed by Archbishop Innocent (Vassiliev).
Because the number of Orthodox refugees coming from the Middle East increased, the Patriarchate of Antioch created a vicariate for Western Europe in 1980 with an archbishopric in Paris, headed by His Grace Gabriel (Saliba) ; since 1997 it became a metropolitanate for Western and Central Europe (France, Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland and Austria).
Since 1994 there is a Serbian bishop residing in Paris who is now responsible for France, the Benelux countries and the Iberian Peninsula ; since 1999 it is under the authority of His Grace Luka (Kovacevic).
At the end of the 20th century, there were seven Orthodox bishops in Paris and two in Nice, although this multiplication of bishops is contrary to the ecclesiology which forbids the presence of more than one bishop in one place. Nevertheless, alongside this sort of ‘division’ of the Orthodox Church into different jurisdictions, there is an important movement of inter-Orthodox collaboration.

In 1967 the 'Inter-Episcopal Committee' ('Comité inter-épiscopal') was created, presided over by the exarch of the Patriarch of Constantinople, then Metropolitan Meletios. The appraisal of the inter-episcopal Committee was globally positive, because in addition to the new enterprises, including that of the coordination of the Orthodox Churches within ecumenical contacts, it constituted a place where the Orthodox bishops could exchange their points of view about common problems. Thus the climate between the jurisdictions became better.
In 1997, a new body was created, the 'Assembly of the Orthodox bishops of France' ('Assemblée des Évêques orthodoxes de France', AEOF), which gathers together all the responsible persons of the different Orthodox jurisdictions and their auxiliaries.

The Orthodox Fraternity in Western Europe *('*Fraternité orthodoxe en Europe occidentale'*)* and some Orthodox publications

In a parallel way, since the beginning of the 1960s, in order to overcome the jurisdictional scattering and to transform it into a multi-jurisdictional richness, a group of Orthodox laypeople animated by Olivier Clément and assisted by priests like Father Lev Gillet and Father Boris Bobrinskoy, developed the Fraternité which had statutes in 1975. It first gathered youth, then adults, of all the jurisdictions, putting together their common cultural and spiritual patrimonies. The Fraternité wishes to favour friendship and the sense of unity among the Orthodox ; to bring help to scattered Orthodox and to work for a deeper knowledge of the Orthodox faith, by all possible means. Since 1971, every three year it organizes a congress, in France and in Belgium, with lectures and workshops, as well as celebrations of the Liturgy, matins and vespers in different languages.
In the last congresses about 800 people gathered coming from all over Western Europe.
The 'Fraternité orthodoxe' has created remarkable services, such as a monthly Orthodox news bulletin, the *Service Orthodoxe de Presse* (*SOP*), launched in 1975 by Father Michel Evdokimov and Jean Tchékan.
The Fraternité is also 'decentralised' by having created regional fraternities having their own gatherings, usually yearly. There are also Orthodox programmes for radio and television.

The oldest Orthodox review remains *Contacts* published since 1949. Created in 1959 *Le Messager orthodoxe* is edited by Nikita Struve who is also the director of the YMCA Press editions.
About Orthodox catechism in French, the first was published in 1942 ; it was followed by the *Catéchisme orthodoxe* by Father Alexander Semenoff-Tian-Chansky (1966) and by the famous *Dieu est vivant. Catéchèse pour les fam*illes (1979) and the *Vocabulaire théologique orthodoxe* (1985).

French-speaking Orthodoxy

Metropolitan Evlogy gave his blessing so that the Liturgy might be celebrated in French in his diocese and this was initially done by Father Lev Gillet in Paris (Montparnasse district) for about ten years from 1929. Nearly all the faithful were Russians, in particular young people.
In 1936 was created the parish (Patriarchate of Moscow) of Our Lady of the Afflicted and of Saint Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris in the Latin district in Paris (36 Rue

de la Montagne-sainte-Geneviève, then 4 rue Saint-Victor). It was first of Slavonic rite, but with the intention to become a parish celebrating completely in French, which became the case at the beginning of the 1950s.
Since 1964 celebrations have been in French in the parish of the crypt of the Rue Daru founded by Father Pierre Struve.
In 1983 the Greek Metropolitanate opened its first two French-speaking parishes, Saints-Côme-et-Damien in Avignon, and Saint-Irénée in Marseille.
In 1984 the Russian Archbishopric of the Rue Daru had two other French-speaking parishes opened : Saint-Jean-le-Théologien in Issy-les-Moulineaux and Saints-Pierre-et-Paul in Châtenay-Malabry.
The Orthodox francophony continues to be developed in the parishes of different Patriarchates.

In 1936, a French community, accepted by the Patriarchate of Moscow, and animated by a charismatic leader, Father Eugraphe Kovalevsky (1905-1970), created an 'Orthodox Church of France of Western rite', later called 'Orthodox Catholic Church of France' ('Église catholique orthodoxe de France', ÉCOF). There was elaborated a restored liturgy of Gaul (Parish of Saint Irénée and Theological Institute Saint Denis, 91 boulevard Auguste-Blanqui in Paris). This Church created canonical, sacramental and theological problems for its authorities. After having left the Patriarchate of Moscow in 1953, the ECOF was briefly under the Russian metropolitanate of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) (1959-1966) which appointed a bishop for it, and finally of the Romanian Patriarchate (1972-1993) which excluded it in 1993. After the last crisis of 1993, six priests remained in the Romanian Patriarchate and about ten more priests joined in the following years. A little group remained attached to its previous bishop considered to be a layman by the Romanian Patriarchate. This final failure should not obscure the positive rôle played by the ECOF in the search for a development of inculturation of Orthodoxy in France.

Monastic life

In 1931 a written permission was given by Metropolitan Evlogy to found a hermitage (*skite*) dedicated to all the saints of Russia at Mourmelon near Reims, beside the Russian military graveyard (Rue Daru).
In 1934, the hermitage dedicated to the Holy Spirit was founded in Mesnil-Saint-Denis, south-west of Paris (Patriarchate of Moscow).
A monastic community of women constituted in Moisenay in 1938 transferred in 1946 to Bussy-en-Othe, near d'Auxerre, dedicated to Our Lady of All Protection (Rue-Daru), which gathers nuns of different nationalities ; offices are celebrated mainly in Slavonic.
In 2005, there were in France about twenty monasteries, convents and small monastic communities depending on the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Moscow, Antioch, Romania and Serbia. Some of these monasteries and convents have all their celebrations in French. Among the largest monasteries and convents let us name the following ones.
In 1977, some Catholic French monks who became Orthodox and headed by Father Placide Deseille founded the Monastery of Saint Anthony depending on Mount Athos in Saint-Laurent-en-Royans, near Grenoble, to which are affiliated two convents (in Terrasson and in Solans).

In 1982, at Aspres-sur-Buëch, near Manosque, a monastery was dedicated to the Dormition of the Mother of God (Greek Metropolitanate of Constantinople).
In 1989, some nuns settled the Nunnery of the Burning Bush in the region of Carcassonne (Patriarchate of Antioch).
In 1990, a monastery with monks and nuns, dedicated to Saint Silouan, was opened not far from Le Mans (Patriarchate of Moscow).
In 1994, a nunnery of Romanian tradition was founded in Rosiers, near Paris.

Conclusion

From a purely quantitative point of view, the Orthodox Churches to be found on French ground have grown the number of their faithful in the 20th century. They have also become more representative. The appraisal of one century of Orthodox presence in France is instructive. On one side, it has produced an intellectual testimony of extreme importance for world Orthodoxy as well as for the other Christians. Thanks to some inspired people of whom some names were mentioned in this article, the Orthodox communities have managed to become visible, beyond the internal disputes of the Orthodox Church, and have brought an important message of spirituality through liturgical life and through the charism of certain bishops, priests and lay people. This has made thousands of people from French backgrounds, often agnostic or indifferent, find or find again, Christian faith. A certain number of Orthodox, indifferent to Church life in their countries of origin, 'discovered' Orthodoxy in the context of Emigration. For many Orthodox in France, converts or not, the use of French language in Church is a necessity.

As for the Christian ecumenical dialogue, a great variety of attitudes is found ; certain Orthodox being opposed to any dialogue and others, being convinced of its necessity, participate in it actively.
As for inter-religious dialogue, it remains for the time being a personal step of some clergy and laypeople, but it is taken little into account by the Orthodox Churches.

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www.exarchat.org

http://ortradio.free.fr

www.franceculture.com

www.forum-orthodoxe.com

Addresses

Patriarchate of Constantinople
His Grace Emmanuel (Adamakis), 7 Rue Georges Bizet, 75116 Paris

Patriarchate of Moscow
In 2021 :
1 quai Branly 75007 Paris
Archevêché des Églises Orthodoxes Russes en Europe Occidentale, 12 Rue Daru, 75008 Paris ; www.exarchat.org

Patriarchate of Serbia
Bishop Luka (Kovacevic), Serbian Diocese in France and in Western Europe (France, Benelux countries and Iberian peninsula), 23 Rue du Simplon, 75018 Paris ; website : www.egliseorthodoxeserbe.org

Patriarchate of Romania
Metropolitan Joseph (Pop), Metropolitanate of Western and Southern Europe (France, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Great Britain, Ireland, The Netherlands and Belgium), 1, Bd. du Général Leclerc, 91470 Limours; website: www.mitropolia-paris.ro

Patriarchate of Antioch
Bishop Ignatius (Al Hochi), 22 Avenue Kléber, 75016 Paris

Georgian Church
Parish : 6-8 Rue de la Rosière Paris 15e; Father Artchil Davrichachvili 27 Rue Desaix 75015 Paris ; website: http://213.11.4.131/georgie-agf/la_paroisse_sainte_nino.htm

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THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE BRITISH ISLES

by Bishop Kallistos (Ware) of Diokleia

New yet old

It is only in recent times that the Orthodox Church has become firmly established in the British Isles. Two hundred years ago, anyone wishing to attend the Orthodox Divine Liturgy would have found in the whole of Great Britain and Ireland no more than a single Orthodox place of worship, the Russian embassy chapel in London.[1] Such was the total Orthodox presence in these lands at the start of the 19th century: a dozen worshippers in a small room. Today the situation has greatly changed. In 2005 there are reckoned to be in Great Britain and Ireland some 217 Orthodox parish churches and eucharistic centres, with the Liturgy celebrated regularly on every Sunday in about half of them; and there are in all 205 Orthodox clergy.[2] As to the number of baptized Orthodox Christians, no reliable statistics are available. A figure of 250,000 – 350,000 is often mentioned, but this is no more than a guess.

What cannot be doubted, however, is that the number of practising Orthodox is much smaller than this. According to an independent survey carried out in 1998,[3] on an average Sunday (not a Great Feast) there were in England about 25,200 Orthodox attending church. This represents an increase on previous years: in 1979 the figure was 10,000, and in 1989 it was 12,300. In Holy Week and at Pascha, the number in church is of course much higher.

Many will be disturbed, and rightly so, by the startling discrepancy between the notional number of Orthodox in Britain and the actual number of those attending church each Sunday, which is less than 10% of the total. Yet I suspect that, if we Orthodox are to be honest with ourselves, we would need to admit that the same is true also of Orthodoxy in other countries of Western Europe, and likewise elsewhere. Almost always our Orthodox statistics of church membership are grossly inflated.

Of these 217 Orthodox parish churches and eucharistic centres existing in the British Isles today, about 95% have been founded since the end of the Second World War, during the last sixty years; and over 75% have been established since 1965. This shows at once how recent is the growth of Orthodoxy in Britain.

Yet British Orthodoxy is old as well as new. The existing Greek and Russian communities in London have a 'prehistory' dating back to the 17th and early 18th centuries. Indeed, if we are seeking for the distant origins of Orthodoxy in these British lands, it is necessary to go back much further than that. Orthodox living in present-day Britain should never forget that the British Isles' people embraced the Christian faith at a time when there was as yet no schism between the Greek East and the Latin West (1054). As Orthodox, we are not here simply as strangers and newcomers. Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England were once as much an integral part of the Orthodox world as are Greece, Russia or Serbia.

We need to explore our pre-schism roots. There is a prophecy attributed to St Arsenios of Cappadocia (1840-1924), stating that the Orthodox Church in the British Isles will begin to grow again only when the Orthodox there once more venerate their own saints.[4] In obedience to St Arsenios, let us make sure that there are icons of the early saints of these lands in our churches and our homes, and let us not fail to journey in pilgrimage to their shrines – to Iona in Western Scotland, founded by St Columba; to Holy Land, off the coast of Northumbria, blessed by the presence of St Cuthbert; to St Davids, where the Apostle of Wales lies buried; to Canterbury, with its

archbishops St Augustine and St Theodore. These are but a few examples out of many. Wherever we go in the British Isles, we are treading on holy Christian ground. Nor should we forget how – following the Norman conquest of England in 1066 (undertaken with the blessing of the Pope of Rome) – large numbers of Anglo-Saxons fled for refuge to Constantinople, the capital of Byzantine Orthodoxy. Here many of them enrolled in the Emperor's Varangian Guard (that is of the Vikings), and they were even assigned a special church for their use.[5]

'Prehistory' (17th and 18th centuries)

The story of Orthodoxy in the British Isles, since the schism between East and West in 1054, falls into four chapters: first, the period of 'prehistory' during the 17th and 18th centuries; second, the beginnings of organized parish life, from the early 19th century until the end of the Second World War; third, the era of major expansion from 1945 to 1979; and fourth, the time of transition and consolidation from 1979 onwards. The fact that the stage of 'beginnings' extends as late as 1945 underlines very clearly the radical newness of our Orthodox church life in Britain.

In the early 17th century, during the epoch that we have styled 'prehistory', isolated Greeks begin to make their appearance in different parts of England.[6] One of them was a descendant of the Byzantine imperial house, Theodore Palaeologus, who died in 1636 and lies buried in the churchyard of Landulph in Cornwall.[7] During the reigns of James I (1603-25) and Charles I (1625-49), Oxford harboured several Greeks, such as Christopher Angell or Angelos, author of the earliest work of the Greek Church written for English readers, and also a future Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, Metrophanes Kritopoulos.[8] Another Greek at Oxford during 1637-48, Nathaniel Canopius (or Conopius), is credited with introducing the practice of coffee-drinking into this country. What, one wonders, did these Greeks do about Holy Communion? Kritopoulos and Canopius were both priests, but there is no surviving evidence to suggest that they celebrated the Orthodox Liturgy while at Oxford.

During 1694-1704 there was even an attempt to establish a 'Greek College' at Oxford, but the scheme lacked a sound financial basis and collapsed.[9] A few years later, during 1716-25, detailed proposals for unity were discussed between the Eastern Patriarchs and the ‘Nonjurors’ (a group of 'High Church' Anglicans who remained loyal to King James II (1685-88) and his descendants). Although no agreement was reached, the correspondence shows how lively an interest in Orthodoxy was taken at this time by many Anglicans.

Somewhat earlier, in 1677, the first Greek Church was opened in London by the exiled Greek Archbishop of Samos, Joseph Georgirenes, in the then fashionable district of Soho, where its memory is still preserved in the name 'Greek Street'. It proved shortlived, and was closed around 1684. The Anglican Bishop of London, Henry Compton, considering that the Greek church in Soho came under his episcopal jurisdiction, forbade the Orthodox clergy to have any icons in their place of worship or to invoke the Virgin Mother of God (*Theotokos*) and the saints during services. Another Orthodox chapel was opened in London around 1713, which by 1721 had become the Russian embassy chapel. Because of its diplomatic status, it was not subject to any irksome restrictions from the Anglican authorities. Until 1837 this was the only Orthodox church in Britain, and Greek clergy as well as Russian served here on a regular basis.

Two surprising Anglo-Orthodox events occurred in the course of the 18th century. First, Orthodoxy was involved in the origins of Methodism. In 1763 John Wesley,

unable to find an Anglican bishop willing to ordain his preachers, invited a Greek bishop living in Amsterdam, known as Gerasimos or Erasmus, to come and perform an ordination for him. To this Erasmus agreed; the ecclesiological implications of his action do not seem to have troubled him. It has been suggested that Wesley was duped by an impostor, but on the whole this seems improbable.[10]

A second unexpected happening took place in 1791, when a young member of the English aristocracy, The Honourable Frederic North, the son of a former prime minister, was received into the Orthodox Church by baptism on the Greek island of Kerkyra (Corfou). On returning to England, however, he kept his conversion secret. During 1792-4 he was Member of Parliament for Banbury, at a time when, under the terms of the Test Act of 1673, only Anglicans could sit in Parliament.[11] Inheriting the family title, North became Fifth Earl of Guilford, and in his later years acted as the first Chancellor of the Ionian Academy at Kerkyra. Searching through the registers of the Russian embassy chapel preserved at the Public Record Office in London, I was gratified to find a note by the embassy chaplain, Archpriest Yakov Smirnov, dated 13 October 1827, one day before North's death, stating that he had visited the Earl and given him Holy Communion. Despite his secrecy, North had remained faithful to the Orthodox Church up to the end.[12]

The beginnings of organized parish life

The second chapter of our story, the beginnings of organized parish life, starts in the 1820s with the arrival of Greek refugees, especially from Chios, fleeing from Turkish atrocities during the War of Independence. In London the Greeks worked mainly in commerce, in merchant banking, and later in shipping; and by the end of the 19th century, although never large in numbers, they had grown into a wealthy community. A significant number of them, as a result of intermarriage with the English upper classes, abandoned Orthodoxy and joined the Church of England.

A Greek church, the first since the short-lived venture in Soho, was opened in 1837 (or perhaps late in 1836) in Finsbury Circus, within the City of London. In 1850 the parish moved to Winchester Street, London Wall, still within the City. This was replaced by the Church of St Sophia, an impressive domed building in the Byzantine style, at Moscow Road, Bayswater (in the West End of London), which opened for worship in 1879.[13] Outside London, Greek churches were established at Manchester in 1843 (the present church was opened in 1861), at Liverpool in 1865 (consecrated in 1870), and at Cardiff in 1905 (consecrated in 1919). This last was the first Orthodox church to be built in Wales.

Thus, at the outbreak of the first world war (1914), there were in the British Isles altogether five Orthodox places of worship: four Greek churches and the Russian embassy chapel. During the interwar period (1919-39), there was surprisingly no expansion at all, apart from the foundation of a Greek parish in Birmingham in 1939. A further Greek parish was established in Glasgow in 1944; this was the first Orthodox parish in Scotland. Indeed, during the 1920s and 1930s the Greek community in Britain had if anything diminished in size. In 1922, however, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople founded a diocese for Europe, the Metropolis (later Archdiocese) of Thyateira, with its seat in London.[14] The earliest Metropolitan, Germanos (Strinopoulos), who held office from 1922 until his death in 1951, was the first Orthodox hierarch to reside permanently in this country. He played a prominent role in the Ecumenical Movement, attending all 'Faith and Order'

and 'Life and Work' Conferences during 1920-37, and participating in the creation of the World Council of Churches in 1948.
On the Russian side, the number of *émigrés* arriving in Britain after the 1917 Revolution was rather limited: probably no more than one or two thousand.[15] There was nothing in interwar London comparable to the remarkable flowering of Russian Orthodoxy in Paris during the 1920s and 1930s. Following the closure of the embassy chapel, the Russian community moved in 1922 to a church placed at their disposition by the Anglicans, St Philip's, Buckingham Palace Road (where the Victoria Coach Station now stands). In 1926 the Russian community split into two parishes, one belonging to the Paris diocese under Metropolitan Evlogy (this parish was within the Ecumenical Patriarchate during 1931-45, after which it transferred to the Moscow Patriarchate), and the other belonging to the Karlovtsy Synod (i.e. what is today the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia [ROCOR]). Until 1956, when St Philip's was closed, the two groups used the church on alternate weekends.

Expansion

The third major epoch in the history of British Orthodoxy, the years 1945-79, was a time of rapid expansion. After the relative stagnation during the interwar period, in the late 1940s there were two major developments. First, there was a wave of Orthodox immigrants from Eastern Europe, fleeing from the advance of Communism – Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Poles. Within a few years, a network of Slav parishes had been built up throughout the Midlands in most of the major industrial towns. Secondly, there was also a large influx of Greeks from Cyprus (then still a British colony). A second Greek church in London, serving mainly the Cypriots, was established at Camden Town in 1948, and a third at Kentish Town in 1957. The Slavs, apart from a small minority of Russians who obtained university posts, usually found jobs in factories. The Greeks for the most part opened restaurants or worked in the tailoring trade.
In London, the Serbian parish was established in 1942, the Romanian parish in 1965 and the Bulgarian parish in 1981.
Following the civil war in Lebanon (1975–90), many Orthodox of the Patriarchate of Antioch started emigrating to Great Britain. For them and other Arabic speaking Orthodox from Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt a parish was organized in 1989.
By 1963 there were 5 Orthodox bishops resident in Britain, with 39 priests and 11 deacons. The number of places of worship had increased from 5 to 58 (but in half of these the Liturgy was only celebrated occasionally).[16] The total number of Orthodox in the British Isles, so it was reckoned, now amounted to little short of 200,000, of whom the vast majority, perhaps 90%, were Greek Cypriots. But in the whole of Britain there were only ten regularly constituted Greek parishes, four of them in London. This was grievously inadequate.
The pastoral challenge was boldly confronted by the new head of the Greek diocese, Metropolitan (later Archbishop) Athenagoras II (Kokkinakis), appointed in 1963, who arrived in Britain in 1964 and held office until his death in 1979. During his episcopate the ten Greek parishes rapidly increased to nearly forty. A fundamental diocesan reorganization was taken in hand, with the creation of a central office, the publication of a magazine, the convening of clergy-laity conferences, and a full programme of charitable and youth work. By the late 1970s Archbishop Athenagoras was making plans for a diocesan seminary, but these were abandoned after his death.

Just as the Greek situation was transformed by the coming of Archbishop Athenagoras, so somewhat earlier the position of the Russian parish under the Moscow Patriarchate was radically altered by the arrival in England during 1949 of Fr Anthony (Bloom), later Metropolitan of Sourozh.[17] With his appointment as its rector in 1950, the Moscow parish in London began to grow, especially after moving in 1956 to the former Anglican church at All Saints, Ennismore Gardens (Knightsbridge). Consecrated bishop in 1957, he remained in London until his death in 2003. Under his leadership, what had been a single parish at his appointment grew into a diocese of some thirty communities throughout Great Britain, most of them with English clergy and using the English language.

Metropolitan Anthony sought to apply, so far as possible, the Diocesan Statutes of the 1917-18 Moscow Council (never as yet implemented in Russia itself). These provide, among other things, for the election of the bishop by the clergy and laity of the diocese. In general, the Sourozh diocese has been much closer in ethos to the 'Paris jurisdiction'[18] in France (‘Rue Daru’ under the Ecumenical Patriarchate) than it is to other dioceses of the Moscow Patriarchate in the Western world. The annual diocesan conferences, held since 1974 first at Effingham and then at Oxford, have been marked by a spirit of openness and by close co-operation between clergy and laity. Metropolitan Anthony was the first Orthodox in Britain to become widely known outside the narrow limits of the Orthodox community. An attractive speaker, through his talks, his appearances on television, and his books such as *Living Prayer* – first published in 1966, and frequently reprinted – he was for over four decades one of the principal Christian voices in this country.

Transition and consolidation

What of the fourth period, from 1979 (the year of Archbishop Athenagoras's death) until the present?

In the Greek Archdiocese, under Archbishop Methodios (in office 1979-88) and Archbishop Gregorios (since 1988), it has been a time of consolidation rather than startling growth. The rate of immigration has slowed down. The last major influx of Cypriots was after the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974. The entry of Greece into the European Community in 1981 has led to a modest increase in the number of Greeks holding professional positions in Britain, usually on a temporary basis; but it has also meant that many Greek shipping firms in London have relocated in Athens and Piraeus. British universities are full of Greek students, but most of them do not attend church regularly. Nevertheless, over the last fifteen years the Greek Archdiocese has continued to grow at the rate of (on the average) one new parish each year.

On the Slav and Romanian side, the collapse of Communism produced a fresh wave of immigrants during the 1990s. In the Moscow diocese, where by the late 1980s English converts outnumbered the Russians, today the situation has been reversed, at any rate in the cathedral at Ennismore Gardens. It is reckoned that there are now over 80,000 persons from the former Soviet Union in the British Isles, many of them unbaptized. Metropolitan Anthony's successor, Bishop Basil of Sergievo (an American born in Alexandria in Egypt), is faced by an urgent need to open new churches, alike in London and in other major cities such as Birmingham, where there is at present no Russian parish.

During recent years there has been a significant growth of Orthodoxy in Ireland. The earliest priest resident in Ireland, Fr Nikolai Couriss, ordained in 1967, belonged to

ROCOR. A Greek parish was founded in Dublin in 1981. Today there are three well-established parishes in Dublin (Greek, Romanian, and Russian Patriarchal); in the whole of Ireland (including Northern Ireland) there are now altogether nine parishes and eucharistic centres.

Most Orthodox communities in Britain, and particularly the Greek Archdiocese, stand at this moment at a crucial point of transition. The generation of immigrants, who arrived in such large numbers during the late 1940s, the 1950s and the 1960s, is becoming inevitably a thing of the past. Who will take their place? Are we not losing our young people at a tragic rate? It is a demographic commonplace that in almost every religious group (and not just among the Orthodox), the changeover from an initial generation of immigrants to the first generation born and brought up in the West involves a traumatic loss of membership. The immigrants, even if not regular churchgoers, for the most part continue to remember their Orthodox roots. But how shall we retain the loyalty of their children, who have been educated here in Britain, who usually speak only English, and who for the most part marry non-Orthodox? We are not helped by the present general social and cultural situation in England today, with its deeply secular spirit and its low level of churchgoing. We need to ask ourselves: Who will be in our churches in thirty years' time?

Strenuous efforts are certainly being made to respond to this crisis. The Greek Archdiocese, for instance, has at the moment some 57 parish schools, with over 4,000 pupils.[19] But it is to be feared that many of these schools teach the Greek language rather than the Orthodox faith. In the Greek and other dioceses, the summer youth camps are often doing excellent work. But Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira was probably right when he said recently that our Orthodox youth work in Britain is not as well organized as in France.[20] Doubtless a greater use of English at church services will help to retain the interest of our young people, but this in itself will not solve all our pastoral problems.

Hitherto the Orthodox Church in Britain has been steadily expanding, but it would be naive to assume that this growth will continue indefinitely. On the contrary, in the coming decades we may well witness loss rather than gain. One thing at any rate is clear. In the future, fewer and fewer of our people will come to church simply for ethnic and nationalist reasons, out of inherited habit and social conformity. They will come, if indeed they still do so, only because they hear the faith of Christ clearly proclaimed in our churches – only because they experience the eucharistic celebration there as truly 'heaven on earth', only because they find that we live out in practice what we affirm in words at each Sunday liturgy, 'Let us love one another …'.

Unity in diversity

Let us look more closely at our present situation. Of the 217 Orthodox parish churches and eucharistic centres that exist at the moment in the British Isles, 7 are in Wales, 12 are in Scotland, 9 are in Ireland, 2 are in the Channel Islands, and the rest are in England. The number of Orthodox in Wales, Scotland and Ireland is small. These 217 parishes, and the 205 clergy who serve in them, are subdivided as follows:

(1) Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain (Ecumenical Patriarchate): 5 bishops, 95 priests, 14 deacons, 110 parishes.

(2) Ukrainian Orthodox (Ecumenical Patriarchate): 7 priests, 12 parishes.

(3) Patriarchate of Antioch: 14 priests, 4 deacons, 19 parishes.

(4) Diocese of Sourozh (Moscow Patriarchate): 2 bishops, 28 priests, 7 deacons, 36 parishes.
(5) Patriarchate of Serbia: 10 priests, 1 deacon, 25 parishes.
(6) Patriarchate of Romania: 4 priests, 3 deacons, 3 parishes.
(7) Patriarchate of Bulgaria: 1 priest, 1 parish.
(8) ROCOR: 7 priests, 2 deacons, 9 parishes.
(9) Byelorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church: 1 priest, 1 parish.[21]
Of these 217 parish communities, which of course vary enormously in size, 75 follow the Old (Julian) Calendar, and the rest the New (Revised Julian) Calendar.
As this list indicates, we Orthodox in the British Isles, reflecting the general pattern of the Orthodox Church in the Western world, are subdivided into a multiplicity of jurisdictions. We are a unity in diversity, and all too often the diversity is more evident than the unity. For reasons that are unclear, there does not as yet exist in Britain any inter-Orthodox episcopal committee or assembly, such as can be found elsewhere in the Western world. In spite of this (or perhaps because of it), relations between the different Orthodox 'ecclesial families' in Britain are on the whole friendly and constructive, even if a little distant. Fortunately we have never had in the British Isles any inter-Orthodox lawsuits over church property, such as have embittered Orthodox life in other countries of Europe.
A modest yet encouraging example of Orthodox co-operation can be found in Oxford, where the two parishes, the Russian and the Greek, have been sharing the same church on an equal footing for more than thirty years. The origins of the Russian parish go back to 1941, when Archimandrite Nicholas (Gibbes), an English convert who before the Russian Revolution has taught the children of the last Tsar, began to hold services in Oxford.[22] The Greeks who arrived in Oxford after the war grew accustomed to worshipping in the Russian chapel. When a Greek parish was formally established at Oxford in 1966, the Russian parish invited its members to continue using their chapel. Then in 1972 the two parishes decided to build a church together, and this was consecrated in 1973 jointly by the Greek Archbishop Athenagoras and the Russian Metropolitan Anthony, assisted by the local Serbian Bishop Lavrentije and five other hierarchs. The signatures of all three of the chief consecrators are inscribed on the *antiminsion* resting upon the Holy Table. It would be difficult, I think, to find another such *antiminsion* elsewhere in the Orthodox world.
Each of the two parishes in Oxford, the Russian and the Greek, has its own clergy, and its own parish council and officers. But on every Sunday there is only a single celebration of the Divine Liturgy, in which both parishes participate, and at which the hierarchs of both are always commemorated. Canonically we belong to two jurisdictions, but liturgically we form a single worshipping community. Even though the example of Oxford has not so far been followed elsewhere in Britain, it shows how, despite our jurisdictional divisions, Orthodox unity can in fact be realized at the grass-roots level.
The main organization in Britain dedicated to inter-Orthodox co-operation is the Orthodox Fellowship of St John the Baptist, founded in 1979 with the blessing of the local Orthodox hierarchs. Similar in its aims to the Fraternité Orthodoxe in France, this holds each year a summer conference, as well as a study weekend devoted to a book of the Bible or a Patristic text, and it has recently begun to sponsor a 'Youth Celebration' each spring. For a time it also ran a lively discussion group on women in the Church, and it has undertaken pilgrimages to the shrines of early British saints. It issues a twice-yearly journal *Forerunner*, an annual Directory of Parishes, and a

Church Calendar and Lectionary.[23] The Fellowship has grown significantly in membership since convening its first major congress at Swanwick in August 2004.

If St Theodore the Studite (759-826) was correct in claiming, 'Monks are the sinews and foundation of the Church'[24] then we Orthodox in Britain are greatly blessed to have in our midst a relatively large and flourishing monastic community, with both men and women: the Stavropegic Monastery of St John the Baptist in Essex (Ecumenical Patriarchate), founded by Archimandrite Sophrony (Sakharov) (1896-1993), disciple of St Silouan the Athonite (1866-1938). Pan-Orthodox in character, with a particular devotion to the Jesus Prayer, the community at Tolleshunt Knights combines the traditional values of Orthodox monasticism with an openness to contemporary culture. There are also two smaller monasteries, both belonging to ROCOR: one for men, at Brookwood in Surrey, where the relics of St Edward, King and Martyr (*c.*962-78) are enshrined; and one for women in London. The Romanian Church has a hermitage in the remote hill country at Gatten in Shropshire. But Britain has fewer Orthodox monasteries than France.

There is in Britain no regularly constituted theological school, comparable to the Institut Saint Serge in Paris. The effects of this lack are painfully evident. In the Archdiocese of Thyateira, which has existed as a diocese for more than eighty years, almost all of the priests (apart from convert clergy) continue to be imported, already ordained, from Greece and Cyprus. There are disturbingly few vocations from the new generation of Greeks born and brought up in Britain, the children of the original immigrants. Surely the time has come when the Greek Archdiocese should be meeting its pastoral needs from its own local resources.

Recently several efforts have been made to fill the gap left by the absence of a theological school. First, the Archdiocese of Thyateira has opened a seminary at Wood Green in North London. This provides evening classes for Greek students, not all of whom are candidates for the priesthood. It has not yet developed an organized syllabus, and it has not so far obtained validation from any British academic authority. It would be excellent if it could grow into a full-time residential school.

Secondly, on a more ambitious level, the Institute for Orthodox Christian Studies was founded in Cambridge in 1999.[25] Pan-Orthodox in scope, this has the blessing of the six main Orthodox bishops who have pastoral oversight in Britain. There are about 5-6 full-time students and 40 part-time students; qualifications are validated by the University of Cambridge. While upholding Western academic standards, the Institute seeks at the same time to preserve the 'holistic' approach to theology that is characteristic of Orthodoxy, whereby study and worship, doctrine and spirituality, are treated as an integral unity. While not itself specifically a school for training clergy, the Cambridge Institute is playing its part in fostering vocations to the priesthood. More recently, a similar but smaller organization, the Midlands Orthodox Study Centre, has been opened at Walsall (West Midlands).

Western Orthodoxy

Turning now from the internal life of the Orthodox Church in Britain to its broader outreach, let us ask: What are we Orthodox doing to make contact with the non-Orthodox Christian communities around us? And what efforts are we making to bring the Christian faith to the British population at large, most of which is today entirely 'unchurched'?

As regards the first question, the main Orthodox Churches are members of Churches Together in England, and of the equivalent ecumenical bodies elsewhere in the

British Isles. There are two long-established societies dedicated more particularly to Orthodox-Anglican relations: the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association, originally founded in 1864 as the 'Eastern Church Association', and the 'Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius', founded in 1928. The annual conferences of the Fellowship, especially in the 1930s and the immediate post-war period, were a creative meeting-point between Orthodoxy and the West. They were attended by leading Russian theologians such as Archpriest Sergei Bulgakov (1871-1944), Archpriest Georges Florovsky (1893-1979), and the layman Vladimir Lossky (1903-58). The Fellowship journal *Sobornost* continues to maintain a high theological standard. The work of the Fellowship was promoted with infectious enthusiasm by Nicolas Zernov (1898-1980) and his wife Militza (1899-1994). Together they founded the House of St Gregory and St Macrina in Oxford, which – along with its sister foundation the St Theosovia Centre for Christian Spirituality, inaugurated after Nicolas's death – has done much to promote East-West Christian rapprochement.

Our second question, about bringing the Christian faith to the British population at large, raises the basic issue: Is the Orthodox Church in the British Isles concerned simply to minister to foreign immigrants and their children, or does it have a wider mission? How far is it our aim to build up an Orthodox presence in these lands that is not only Eastern but Western? Two Orthodox pioneers in the 19th century, Archpriest Stephen [Timothy] Hatherly (1827-1905) and Joseph Julian Overbeck (1820-1905), were both firmly convinced that Orthodoxy has indeed a mission in the West. Hatherly, originally Anglican, a gifted musician, became Orthodox in 1856, and was ordained priest at Constantinople in 1871. He set up an Orthodox community in Wolverhampton, but his pastoral work was curtailed when in 1873 the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, under strong pressure from the Anglican authorities, issued a decree forbidding him to 'proselytize …. even a single member of the Anglican Church'. In later years he served as priest in Cardiff and Bristol, but because of this prohibition from the Patriarchate his ministry was limited mostly to Greeks. Overbeck,[26] of German birth, a Syriac scholar of some distinction, was initially a Roman Catholic priest who was received into Orthodoxy in 1864.

Hatherly and Overbeck worked on opposite principles. Hatherly was an ardent Philhellene for whom Christianity was 'a Hellenistic thing'. He believed that the Orthodox Church in Britain should establish English-language parishes that adhered strictly to the Byzantine rite. Overbeck, for his part, dismissed Hatherly's programme as 'an unlawful encroachment of the East on the West'. He devised an ambitious scheme for a Western-rite Orthodox Church.

Hatherly and Overbeck died as disappointed men. Yet, even though they failed in their plans for a specifically English Orthodox mission, much of what they hoped to achieve has in fact come to pass during the last fifty years in a gradual and unobtrustive way. From the 1950s onwards an ever-increasing stream of British people has been joining the Orthodox Church, and English-language Orthodox parishes have now sprung up in most parts of the British Isles (but surprisingly not in London: here there are now nearly forty Orthodox places of worship, yet at none of them so far is the Liturgy celebrated solely or predominantly in English on every Sunday). This steady growth in the number of converts has occurred without aggressive proselytism, which would in any case be alien to the true spirit of Orthodoxy. It has come to pass through personal contacts, and above all through the missionary witness of the Eucharistic Liturgy itself.

The first Orthodox church leader to embark on pastoral work with English inquirers was Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh, but it was his practice to receive people into

Orthodoxy only after careful and often lengthy preparation. He was also willing to ordain English converts as priests. With the arrival of Archbishop Athenagoras II in 1964, it became easier for the English to find a home also in the Archdiocese of Thyateira. When he ordained me as deacon in 1965 and as priest in 1966, I was the first non-Greek among the clergy of the Archdiocese. Now I am no longer alone! When I was consecrated bishop in 1982, I suppose that I was the first Englishman to become a member of the Orthodox episcopate (Greek or non-Greek) since the schism between East and West.

In 1995 a group of Anglicans, disturbed by the ordination of Anglican women to the priesthood– about 12 priests and perhaps 200-300 laypeople – were received into the Antiochian diocese, and they now constitute an active and expanding British Deanery under Fr Michael Harper.

What neither Hatherly nor Overbeck can have foreseen is that, a hundred years after their death, more than 40 per cent of the Orthodox clergy in Britain would be converts from a Western background: no less than 84, out of a total of 205. Of these, 30 are in the Archdiocese of Thyateira, 27 in the Moscow Patriarchal diocese, 16 in the Antiochian diocese, 7 in ROCOR, 3 in the Romanian diocese, and 1 in the Ukrainian diocese. In the Archdiocese of Thyateira, the convert clergy are in a minority (30 out of a total of 116), but elsewhere they are sometimes in a substantial majority: in the Moscow diocese, 27 out of 37; in the Antiochian diocese, 16 out of 18. Among the laity the proportion of converts is very much lower, probably little more than 2 or 3 per cent of the overall number of Orthodox in these lands.

Even though restricted in numbers, the British Orthodox converts have been active in bearing witness to their faith. In particular they have been concerned to make available in the English language as much as possible of the primary Orthodox sources. Liturgical translations – drawing on the work of Anglicans such as John Glen King in the 18th century, and of John Mason Neale and Richard Frederick Littledale in the 19th – have been made by Fr Stephen Hatherly, by Mother Mary (1908-80), an English-speaking nun who belonged to the Monastery of Bussy-en-Othe, France (with whom I collaborated), by Archimandrite Lazarus (Moore) (1902-92), and by Archimandrite Ephrem (Lash) (born 1930). Gerald [G.E.H.] Palmer (1904-84), from the early 1950s onwards, worked on the English translation of the *Philokalia*, assisted in particular by Philip Sherrard (1922-95) and myself. Sherrard, an outstanding translator of Greek poetry and himself a poet, wrote with passion and insight about the Orthodox doctrine of creation and the present-day ecological crisis. Fr Andrew Louth (born 1944), professor at Durham University and a prolific author, is generally recognized as the leading Patristic scholar (of any denomination) throughout the English-speaking world. Among English Orthodox active in the realm of the arts, the most celebrated is the composer Sir John Tavener (born 1944), who in his music makes creative use of Byzantine and ancient Russian chants. There are several English Orthodox iconographers, in particular Aidan Hart (born 1957). This list, far from complete, indicates the varied ways in which British Orthodox have placed their talents at the service of the Church.

Whether 'cradle' Orthodox or converts, we still comprise only a small minority in the British religious scene. At the same time, we have every right to regard ourselves, no longer as a Church of the 'diaspora', but as an established presence in the local religious life of the British Isles. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that our presence is as yet little recognized by the British public as a whole. It is sobering to note that a standard work of reference, *A History of English Christianity 1920-1990* by Adrian Hastings, in the course of 720 pages devotes no more than a single paragraph,

running to a mere twelve lines, to the Orthodox Church in Britain.[27] This helps us to see ourselves as others see us, or rather, as they fail to see us. Orthodoxy in Britain still remains a well-kept secret, even if it is a secret that, year by year, is coming to be more widely shared.

The main reason why we are being marginalized in this way is undoubtedly our fragmentation into different jurisdictions. How much more effective would be our witness if we spoke with a common voice and co-operated in our activities! While one in faith and one in eucharistic communion, we are still far from constituting in practice a single local Church. Here is a task to occupy our best efforts in the 21st century.

Notes

1) *The Classical Journal*, vol. 36, no. 72 (1827), p. 179.

2) Unless otherwise indicated, all statistics are taken from the 2005 edition of the *Directory of Orthodox Parishes and Clergy in the British Isles*, issued by the Orthodox Fellowship of St John the Baptist which includes addresses of the Republic of Ireland as well as the United Kingdom (England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland). The statistics do not include the non-Chalcedonian Churches, which lie outside the scope of this article. Some addresses of the non-Chalcedonian Orthodox (or Oriental Orthodox Churches) are found in the Directory.

3) See Peter Brierley, *The Tide is Running Out: What the English Church Attendance Survey Reveals* (Eltham: Christian Research, 2000), pp. 34, 35, 36. This survey refers to England only; if Wales, Scotland and Ireland are also included, the weekly attendance figure for Orthodox needs to be increased by about 1,000 – 1,250. Apart from certain Baptist and Pentecostal groups, the Orthodox Church is the only body whose church attendance increased during the period 1989 – 98.

4) See Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira and Great Britain, 'The Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain and Orthodoxy in the British Isles', 2005 *Year-Book* of the Archdiocese, p. 481.

5) See Sigfús Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, translated and revised by Benedikt S. Benedikz (Cambridge: University Press, 1978), pp. 187-8.

6) On Orthodoxy in 17th-century England, see Steven Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity. A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: University Press, 1968), pp. 289-319; Judith Pinnington, *Anglicans and Orthodox*. *Unity and Subversion 1559-1725* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2003).

7) See Donald M. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor. The life and legend of Constantine Palaiologos, last Emperor of the Romans* (Cambridge: University Press, 1992), pp. 121-4.

8) See the excellent monograph by Colin Davey, *Pioneer for Unity: Metrophanes Kritopoulos (1589-1639) and Relations between the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches* (London: British Council of Churches, 1987).

9) A conference on the Greek College was held at Oxford on 30 August – 2 September 2001; its proceedings, edited by the Rev'd Dr Peter Doll, are shortly to be published by Peter Lang.

10) See A.B. Sackett, 'John Wesley and the Greek Orthodox Bishop', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* 38 (Chester, 1971-2), pp. 81-87, 97-102.

11) To the best of my knowledge, the only other Orthodox who has been elected to the British Parliament – this was long after the repeal of the Test Act – was the Greek Pandely Thomas Ralli, who was a Member during 1875-85. G.E.H. Palmer was

Member of Parliament for Winchester during 1935-45, but this was before his reception into the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia in 1950.

12) On North, see the revised version of my article, 'The Fifth Earl of Guilford and his Secret Conversion to the Orthodox Church', to appear in the proceedings of the 2001 conference on the Greek College (cf. note 9).

13) See Michael Constantinides, *The Greek Orthodox Church in London* (Oxford: University Press, 1933). Compare Theodore Dowling and Edwin W. Fletcher, *Hellenism in England. A Short History of the Greek People in this Country from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, with an introduction by Joannes Gennadius (London/Milwaukee: Faith Press/Young Churchman Company, 1915) (sometimes in need of correction); Timotheos Catsiyannis, Bishop of Militoupolis, *The Greek Community in London* (London: Nikos Smyrnis, 1993).

14) Initially, the Greek diocese of Thyateira included the whole of Western and Central Europe, but it has been gradually subdivided, so that today it includes only Great Britain and Ireland.

15) For a vivid account (with some inaccuracies) of the Russian community during the interwar period, see Vasilii Zakharov, *No Snow on their Boots: About the First Russian Emigration in Britain* (London: Basileus Press, 2004).

16) For these figures, see *Year Book of Orthodox Parishes and Clergy in Great Britain 1963-4* (London: Orthodox Youth Association, 1963).

17) For his own recollections of his early life, see Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh, *Encounter* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2005), pp. 165-217. Compare Gillian Crow, *'This Holy Man': Impressions of Metropolitan Anthony* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2005).

18) I use the term 'jurisdiction' for convenience, although I share Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's distaste for the word.

19) See the 2005 *Year-Book* of the Archdiocese, p. 145.

20) See his message to the 2004 Swanwick conference of the Orthodox Fellowship of St John the Baptist, in *Forerunner* 44 (Winter 2004-5), p.7.

21) Apart from the dioceses of Thyateira and Sourozh, the other Orthodox groups are under bishops resident outside Britain.

22) See Christine Benagh, *An Englishman in the Court of the Tsar: The Spritual Journey of Charles Sydney Gibbes* (Ben Lomond, CA: Conciliar Press, 2000); Frances Welch, *The Romanovs & Mr Gibbes: The Story of the Englishman who taught the children of the last Tsar* (London: Short Books, 2002).

23) These can be obtained by writing to the Fellowship at 26 Denton Close, Botley, Oxford OX2 9BW, UK (e-mail: bjgerrard@compuserve.com).

24) *Shorter Catecheses* 114.

25) For further information, apply to the Principal, IOCS, Wesley House, Jesus Lane, Cambridge CB5 8BJ, UK (www.iocs.cam.ac.uk).

26) See Wilhelm Kahle, *Westliche Orthodoxie: Leben und Ziele Julian Joseph Overbecks* (Leiden/Köln: E.J. Brill, 1968).

27) Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920 – 1990*, revised edn (London: SCM Press, 1991, pp. 605-6.

Bishop Kallistos (Ware) of Diokleia has been teaching Patristics at Oxford University and has published many articles and books on Orthodoxy and the Orthodox Church among which *Orthodoxy. The Church of the Seven Councils* (London, 2nd edition 1997).

Some addresses :

- Greek Archidiocese of Thyateira, 5 Craven Hill, London W2 3EN
- Russian Archidiocese of Moscow, 67 Ennismore Gardens, London SW7 1NH

For the other addresses, see the Directory (cf note 23).

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The Orthodox Church in Germany

by Dr Wassilios Klein

The background

Germany produced many saints whom the Orthodox faithful can recognize as such since they predate the Church schism in 1054 partly due to the introduction of the *filioque* under Charlemagne (768-814). In Germany there are some famous saints who are important in the Orthodox tradition. The holy Emperor Constantine the Great (306-337) resided for several years in the West German city of Trier (today in Western Germany), as witnessed by the Constantinian Basilica, his throne room, which has been preserved to this day. His mother, Saint Helena, also lived there, and took advantage of the well-developed military roads to visit Cologne, and perhaps also Bonn, which was home to a Roman military camp, and still has a Romanesque chapel dedicated in her name. Trier became the home of Saint Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373) when he was banished during the Arian dispute. Trier was also the birthplace of Saint Ambrose (340-397), later bishop of Milan. However, after the 4th century, the cities existing under the Romans disappeared, for centuries. From an ecclesiastical point of view, the Christians of the German territory belonged quite clearly to Rome and were following the Latin tradition. The medieval world was culturally more diverse than we often imagine today. For example, in the 10th century, Theophano, the niece of Emperor John I Tsimiskis, married King Otto II (973-983), a German emperor and son of Otto I. After his death, she acted as a powerful regent for Otto III until he came to power. Her grave is still to be found in Saint Panteleimon Church in Cologne and is visited by some Orthodox believers. In the 11th century, a monk of Sinai, Symeon Pentaglottos, who was born in the Byzantine part of Sicily and was educated in Constantinople, died in Trier which had returned to importance as the seat of a bishopric. Shortly after his death, he was canonized by Rome; in 1996, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem followed suit by making him an Orthodox saint[2]. However, these remained isolated episodes. It was not until the Reformation, which, in Germany, began with Martin Luther (d. 1546), that there were Christians who were independent of Rome.

The immigration of Orthodox believers to Germany[3]

The first Orthodox parish recorded on German territory was founded in 1718. Its members initially met on the private premises of the Russian envoy, and later at a chapel in the embassy in Berlin. This parish was wholly dependent on the presence of diplomats and it did not have a continuous existence. However, it is worth noting that, as early as 1836, the Metropolitanate of Saint Petersburg, which had jurisdiction for this Russian parish in Berlin,[4] gave permission for the Liturgy to be celebrated in German. To this day, many parishes in Germany still use the translations completed by Archpriest Alexis Malcev, who served in Berlin from 1886 to 1914, with great benefit. The Russians did not remain restricted to the capital. Thanks to the close relations between Russia and Prussia, a parish was established at a very early stage in Potsdam, near Berlin, when Tsar Peter I sent to the Prussian ruler, Frederick William I, some Russian grenadiers, who were accompanied by a priest in 1718. However, the parish did not survive. Tsar Alexander I (1801-1825) sent to the Prussian King Frederick William III (1797-1840) a Russian soldiers' choir, for whom a colony called Aleksandrovka was built near Potsdam, with wooden Russian houses, some of which are still standing today. Under the supervision of the famous architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel, a church dedicated to Saint Alexander Nevsky was also built in Potsdam, and was consecrated in the presence of Tsar Nicholas I and the Prussian royal family in 1829. The church is now under the Moscow Patriarchate. There were similar origins in several German towns and cities. Thanks to dynastic links, a few Russian merchants as well as a large number of visitors who belonged to the Russian nobility came to German territory, and many house chapels, cemetery chapels and parish churches were built, such as those in Breslau (now Wroclaw in Polish Silesia), [5] Bad Ems, Baden-Baden, Bad Homburg, Darmstadt, Dresden, Leipzig and Wiesbaden. This heyday of the Russian parishes initially came to an end when the First World War (1914-18) made Germany and Russia into enemies. The Russian emigration following the October Revolution in 1917 led to a dramatic rise in the number of Russian Christians in Berlin and other German cities, but only a minority remained in Germany after the 1920s when most went on to Paris or elsewhere in France, or to North America. Those Russians who stayed in Germany had to decide whether they wanted to belong to the jurisdiction of the ‘émigré’ Metropolitan Evlogy, which was under the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople

after 1931; the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) also called the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad; or the Moscow Patriarchate. As part of Adolf Hitler's policy of *Gleichschaltung*, all Orthodox Christians were to be 'brought into line' by making the Russian Church Abroad the only recognized Orthodox jurisdiction in the Third Reich, and granting it all the rights associated with the Russian church buildings. It was even able to build a new cathedral in Berlin in 1938, which the Allies put at the disposal of the Moscow Patriarchate in 1945. Today the Russian Church Abroad still owns most of the old Russian churches in Germany, but its parishes are shrinking visibly. Until 1990, the parishes under the Moscow Patriarchate were even smaller in number.

The origins of Greek-language Orthodoxy in Germany[6] are connected with the Greek merchants in the Ottoman Empire who maintained particularly active links with the Leipzig trade fair. The first Orthodox Liturgy was celebrated there in 1743. Greek scholars then found better opportunities to print their books in Leipzig than in Venice, which they had previously preferred, and their presence was an intellectual stimulus. Many Greeks were also drawn to Munich by the educational opportunities there. When the Greek state was founded and when a Bavarian king, Otto I (1832-1862), began ruling Greece, contacts intensified. King Ludwig I of Bavaria (1825-1848) decreed that the Church of the Saviour situated in the centre of Munich be handed over to the Greeks, and to this day it is used by a large Greek parish.[7] In 1904, a chapel was also established in Berlin. From 1922 onwards, the Greek parishes in Germany came under the newly-established Metropolitanate of Thyateira (Patriarchate of Constantinople), based in London. When the German economy saw an unforeseen upturn in the 1950s and was desperately short of labour, other countries, particularly in southern Europe, were suffering from mass unemployment. From 1960 onwards, several hundred thousand Greeks came to Germany. As a result, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople decided, in 1963, to establish the Metropolitanate of Germany, with its headquarters in what was then the capital city, Bonn. Since 1980, this is headed by Metropolitan Augoustinos, Metropolitan of Germany and Exarch of Central Europe. While there were only 12 Greek parishes in Germany when the Metropolitanate was founded, there are now about 70. Most of

the priests now serving in Germany have a theological background and were trained in Greece. Between 1972 and 1980, under Metropolitan Irenaios, it was not easy to find qualified priests and several working men with no theological training were ordained priests. It was not easy for any of them to adapt to the language of their environment, the often very high level of fluctuation in the parishes, the diaspora situation and, above all, to the mentality of the industrial society of Germany, which was relatively secular compared to that in Greece at that time. It was uncertainty about the future of the Greeks in Germany which made work in the parishes particularly difficult. This was because the 1960 Agreement between Greece and Germany on the recruitment and placement of Greek employees in Germany provided for the return of the workers to Greece as soon as they were no longer needed in Germany. This was before the European Community gave freedom to its citizens to work in other member states and to receive a permanent residence permit. Before, both the workers and their priests had to assume that the Greek Orthodox Church in Germany would be only a temporary institution. For decades, people kept their suitcases packed in their cupboards; every year, they thought that they would return to Greece the following year. So the priests made little effort to find their own church buildings, and concentrated on meeting the most immediate spiritual needs, which meant celebrating services and sacraments such as marriage and baptism, throughout Germany.

There were similar problems, in addition to having a communist government in their home country, for the Yugoslav *Gastarbeiter* (‘guest workers’) who came to Germany, among them about 180,000 Orthodox Serbs. In 1969 a separate Serbian Diocese of Western Europe was set up, based in London, which was moved to Hildesheim-Himmelsthür in Germany in 1979.

Developments since 1990 and the present situation

A completely new development took place with the collapse of the Soviet Union which led to a massive increase in the immigration of people of Jewish and German origin together with their Russian relatives from all former Soviet states. The provisions in German law that allowed this immigration had their origins in the Cold War (1945-85) between the Soviets and Americans and their respective allies. This development has had a particularly strong impact on the Russian parishes. The

immigrants hardly knew where to turn between the Russian Church Abroad or the Moscow Patriarchate, and, most of the time, went to the nearest Russian-language parish, without paying attention to jurisdictional problems. Many Russian parishes were at the second, third or even fourth generation after the emigrations triggered by the 1917 Revolution and the end of the Second World War (1945). Some of them already used German as a liturgical language, sometimes as the main liturgical language, and some parishes even followed the new calendar. The established parish members then felt that they were being taken over by the much larger numbers of the new immigrants. Many parishes decided to stop using German and returned to the use of Slavonic. The new calendar was also abandoned.

In 2005, the Archbishop representing the Moscow Patriarchate in Germany, Feofan, was residing in Berlin. There was another Russian bishop of the same Patriarchate, Archbishop Longin, responsible for ecumenical dialogue in Germany, residing in Dusseldorf.

Since the 1990s, and until now, pastoral care is made more difficult by the fact that a substantial proportion of the immigrants are unemployed, living on state welfare benefits, or not being legally resident in Germany. This means that the parishes do not have the financial means to build larger churches or set up new parishes. But this is exactly what is urgently needed, because German immigration policy means that the immigrants are distributed around many small German towns. This would require having priests in all these different towns, but they are not available. Therefore it seems that many of the recently arrived Orthodox immigrants will not be in contact with the Orthodox Church.

The 1990s have seen the establishment of further dioceses on German soil[8]. In 1994, the Romanian Patriarchate of Bucharest set up the 'Romanian Orthodox Metropolitanate of Germany and Central Europe'. [9] A substantial number of Romanian parishes in Germany, which were previously under the Romanian Church Abroad, have moved to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, with the result that the Romanian Orthodox in Germany are still divided; today the great majority is under the Romanian Patriarchate.

The Bulgarian Patriarchate of Sofia established a Metropolitanate of Central and Western Europe in 1993. Finally, there are also a few Ukrainian parishes under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and a small number of parishes under the Patriarchate of Antioch, which belong to the Western European Exarchate based in Paris. In 2003, the Patriarchate of Georgia established a Diocese of West Europe in Regensburg.

Because it is difficult for non-Orthodox to understand the multiplicity of these different Orthodox dioceses, it was an important step when the 'Commission of the Orthodox Church in Germany -Association of Dioceses' was set up in 1994. The Commission allows us to present a unified picture of the Orthodox Church to the outside world on a number of issues, for example to make clear to the German state and religious bodies the fact that the self-proclaimed 'autocephalous' Ukrainians and various other groups are not in communion with the Orthodox Church. Each year, the Commission organizes a Liturgy in a parish from a different diocese, which is broadcast on TV on a Sunday morning; it issues a joint Lenten pastoral letter from the Orthodox bishops to all Orthodox parishes; it also publishes a directory of the Orthodox parishes in the dioceses in Germany mentioned above; it coordinates talks on religious education with the relevant departments of the 16 German 'states' (*Länder*), it has set up a pan-diocesan Orthodox Youth Association, which has become a member of *Syndesmos*; and it publishes a joint press information bulletin (*Orthodoxie Aktuell*) containing news relating to the life of the Orthodox Church in Germany and all over the world, as well as important documents. The Commission also has a website (www.kokid.de). All these activities involve challenging the tendency of Orthodox people to act in separate ethnic groups, and indeed pushes them to use German as the common language. This has had a significant impact on the integration of the Orthodox in Germany. Some of the dioceses welcome this cooperation; others feel that their national identity is being threatened.

According to statistics published in the bulletin of the Orthodox dioceses in Germany, *Orthodoxie Aktuell*,[10] in 1999, Orthodox services were held in 282 different places in Germany served by about 160 priests. Half of the services take place in non-Orthodox places of worship - mainly Catholic or Protestant churches, but also parish halls-, while the other half are held in buildings that are used on a permanent basis by Orthodox worshippers and are adapted to liturgical requirements, although only a small proportion are purpose-built Orthodox churches. However, in addition to the

Metropolitanate in Bonn, there are now several other newly-built Orthodox parish centres, mainly Greek, but also some Serbian.[11]

Over the last ten years, more and more former *Gastarbeiter* have come to realize that their children and grandchildren will stay in Germany, and a significant number, who are now starting to reach retirement age, have, for this reason, also decided to stay. So it was not until about thirty years after the first Metropolitanate of Germany was set up that the people, and also the priests, were ready to give up the idea of a provisional institution and started preparing to remain in Germany on a permanent basis. In the last ten years it has become almost 'fashionable' for each priest who can afford it to build a church for at least one of the parishes he serves.

An estimate of the total number of Orthodox in Germany is around 1.2 million, which with a total population of 88 million works out at about 1.3% of the whole.[12] The regional distribution of parishes is closely linked to the location of Germany's major industrial centres, where most of the *Gastarbeiter* were first recruited. The state with the largest number of Orthodox places of worship is North Rhine-Westphalia, with a total of 86, followed by Baden-Württemberg with 69 and Bavaria with 48. There is a significant jump to Lower Saxony, the next in line with 22, then Hesse with 18 and Rhineland-Palatinate with 10 places of worship. As one might expect, the states (*Länder*) covering the territory of former East Germany have hardly any Orthodox parishes. One should not forget that in that Eastern part of Germany, the former GDR, only about 20% of the population is baptized, and that only in the older generation, who will soon die out.

The Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate of Germany has the largest number of members, with about 400,000, and serves the largest number of locations. It includes more than half of all Orthodox places of worship having 157 of the 282. The second largest group is the Serbian Diocese of Central Europe, with around 350,000 members and 34 parishes. The Russian diocese has the same number of parishes, but fewer worshippers, only about 50,000. The Romanian Metropolitanate of Germany has 24 parishes and 80,000 members. The Ukrainians, the Arabs of the Antiochian Patriarchate and the Bulgarians each have 5 to 15 places of worship.

There are two small parishes with celebrations in German, in Dusseldorf and Munich,

both under the Patriarchate of Constantinople. There is a small monastery in Geilnau, near Frankfurt (Serbian diocese).

In Munich, since 1985, Professor Theodore Nikolaou has been teaching Orthodox theology until he retired in 2005; and, since 1987, he has been publishing the academic journal *Orthodoxes Forum*. This chair was developed into a 'Training Institution for Orthodox Theology', where four professors began teaching in 1995. The courses offered there allow students to gain undergraduate degrees (*Diplom*) and doctorates in theology. There is another possibility for studying Orthodox theology in Germany.[13] In 1979, a chair of Orthodox theology was set up at the University of Munster, but the holder of this position, Professor Anastasios Kallis, retired in 1999. From the winter of 2005, his successor is Professor Doctor Assaad Elias Kattan, a Lebanese Orthodox.

Some students become teachers for Orthodox religion in German schools. Some teachers for Orthodox religion are also trained in Orthodox universities, in Greece or Serbia or in Germany.

In Germany, the Orthodox Church has the right to give religious education, but in practice it is given only seldom. Since 1985, in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Orthodox teaching has been officially introduced in school, not by law, but by decision of the Minister for school affairs. For a few years other 'states' (*Länder*) like Hessen and Niedersachsen (Lower Saxony), offer the same possibility.

Training centres such as the ones in Munich and Munster are of great significance for developing even more the integration of the Orthodox in Germany; for making Orthodoxy better known in Germany; and for Orthodox to learn from certain strengths of Western European Christianity, such as methods of preaching and social work.

When the first Orthodox priests came to Germany, they found literally no Church organization in order to serve the Orthodox people living in Germany. The achievements of this first generation should not be underestimated.

Notes

1) W. Klein, ‘St Symeon Pentaglottos of Trier (d.1035)- A new Greek Saint of Mount Sinai in the Light of the Christian Arabic Studies’, in *Parole de l’Orient,* (Acts of the VIth Conference in Christian Arabic Studies, 2001).

2) This account is based on Gerhard Feige, ’Die Orthodoxen Kirchen in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart’, in *Orthodoxes Forum* 10, (1996), pp. 201-233. Most recent summaries: Athanasios Basdekis, *Die orthodoxe Kirche, Eine Handreichung für nicht-orthodoxe und orthodoxe Christen und Kirchen*, Frankfurt, (2000), pp. 17-26; Nikolaus Thon, ’Der historische Weg der Orthodoxen Kirche in Deutschland’, in: *Orthodoxie Aktuell* 4/5 (2000), pp. 2-7.

3) *Ein Stück Russland in Berlin, Die Russisch-Orthodoxe Gemeinde Reinickendorf*, eds. Wolf-Borwin Wendlandt and Volker Koop, Berlin, (1994).

4) ’Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche, zusammengestellt und eingeleitet’, by Nikolaus Thon, with a preface by the Russian Orthodox Bishop Longin of Dusseldorf, Trier (1983), *Sophia* 23, pp. 549-551.

5) Antonios Alevisopoulos, ’Die Anfänge der griechischen Orthodoxie in Deutschland’, in: *Dienst am Volk Gottes, Leben und Wirken der Griechisch-Orthodoxen Metropolie von Deutschland, Exarchat von Zentraleuropa*, ed. Anastasios Kallis, Herten (1992), pp. 97-116. This volume also contains other important contributions on the history of Greek Orthodox people in Germany.

6) Jürgen Kielisch, *Die Geschichte der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirchengemeinde zum Erlöser in München 1828-1944*, Hamburg, (1999), (*Studien zur orientalischen Kirchengeschichte* 8). Karin Hösch, *Griechisch-orthodoxe Kirchen*, Munchen/Passau (2000).

7) Reinhard Thöle, *Orthodoxe Kirchen in Deutschland*, Göttingen, (1997), (Bensheimer Hefte 85). Several contributions in: *Die orthodoxe Kirche, Eine Standortbestimmung an der Jahrtausendwende*, Festgabe für Prof. Dr. Anastasios Kallis, eds. Bishop Evmenios of Lefka, Athanasios Basdekis and Nikolaus Thon, Frankfurt, (1999), pp. 296-372.

8) For the history of the Romanians in Germany see Mircea Basarab, ‘Rumänische Orthodoxe Kirche, Rumänische Orthodoxe Metropolie für Deutschland und Zentraleuropa’, in *Orthodoxes Forum* 14, (2000), pp. 25-34.

9) Nikolaus Thon, ’Die Orthodoxe Kirche in Deutschland im Spiegel der Statistik’, in *Orthodoxie Aktuell* 3/2 (1999), pp. 5-7.

10) *Fünfzig Jahre der Serbisch-Orthodoxen Kirchengemeinde in München 1946-1996*, Munich, (1997). In 2000 the seat of the bishop was transferred from Hildesheim to Munich.

11) Nikolaus Thon, 'Wieviel orthodoxe Christen leben derzeit in Deutschland?', in *Orthodoxie Aktuell* 3/4, (1997), pp. 4-7.

12) Theodor Nikolaou, 'Orthodoxe Theologie an der Universität München', in: *Orthodoxie in Begegnung und Dialog,* Festgabe für Metropolit Augoustinos, eds. Anastasios Kallis and Bishop Evmenios (Tamiolakis) of Lefka, Munster, (1998), pp. 171-198; Christoph Papakonstantinou, 'Streiflichter einer westlich-integrierten orthodoxen Theologie', *Das Lehr- und Forschungsgebiet Orthodoxe Theologie an der Universität Münster*, in ebenda, pp. 199-215.

Addresses

- Kommission der Orthodoxen Kirche in Deutschland, pwebsite: www.kokid.de (see Schüler, Universität, Jugend; also www.orthodoxer-jugendbund.de)
- Orthodoxe Fraternität in Deutschland : website: www.orthodoxfrat.de
- *Orthodoxie Aktuell* Heinkelstr. 8, 42285 Wuppertal, e-mail: KOKID_OA@compuserve.com; website: www.kokid.de

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b)Archidiocese of the Russian churches in Western Europe, 12 rue Daru, 75008 Paris
c) Ukrainian Orthodox Eparchy in Western Europe, 2 Azalealaan, 3600 Gand, Belgium

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Diocese of Berlin and Germany, Wildensteiner Strasse 10, 10318 Berlin,

Patriarchate of Belgrade
Serbian Diocese of Central Europe, 12 Obere Dorfstraße, 31137 Hildesheim-Himmelsthür ; website: www.serbische-diozese.org
49 Putbrunnerstrasse, 81739 Munich

Patriarchate of Romania
Metropolitanate of Germany Metropolitan Seraphim, 166 Fürterstrasse, 90429 Nürenberg ; website: www.mitropolia-ro.de

Patriarchate of Bulgaria
Diocese of Central and Western Europe, Metropolitan Symeon, 73 Krausenstrasse, 10117 Berlin

Patriarchate of Georgia

Father Mamuka Tavkhelidze, Stadelheimer Strasse 45, 81549 Munich

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The Orthodox Church in Austria and in Liechtenstein in the 20th Century
by Professor Grigorios Larentzakis

In Austria, there are about 400,000 Orthodox of whom about 150,000 are Serbs. The Orthodox Church has been present in Austria[1] for centuries, since the time of the Empire. There are a number of Orthodox Churches of different jurisdictions represented in Austria today.[2]

The Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate

After the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453, many Greeks came to this country, merchants and above all refugees. But one can only speak of a real Orthodox colony in Austria after the 17th century.
In Vienna, the Greeks organized two communities: the congregation of Saint George (with Greeks coming from the Ottoman Empire), and the congregation of the Holy Trinity (with Greek subjects of the Habsburg monarchy) to which the Serbs linked themselves before building their own church of Saint Sava in 1890-1893.
In 1776 Empress Maria Theresa granted the Greeks favours, which were confirmed by Emperor Franz I: in 1794 for the community of Saint George and in 1796 for the community of the Holy Trinity. An Act of Tolerance was promulgated by Maria Theresa's son, Emperor Joseph II (1780-1790); it was of great significance for the recognition of the Orthodox Church (known in Austria by the name of 'Oriental Greek'), as well as for the Protestant Christians of Austria. Even though this Act did not give equality to these Churches in Austria, it nevertheless made their existence easier.
As for the jurisdiction of these two Orthodox parishes, they were under the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. For a while, between 1908 and 1924, the Ecumenical Patriarchate gave the responsibility for all the Greeks living in the diaspora to the Church of Greece (after having granted it autocephaly in 1852). Since 1924 the Ecumenical Patriarchate resumed direct responsibility, canonically speaking, for the Greeks in the diaspora. In Austria, Hungary and Italy independent metropolitanates were instituted. From 1924 to 1935 Metropolitan Germanos (Karavangelis) was in charge of the Greek metropolitanate in Austria, with his seat in Vienna. After his death, the Greek Orthodox Church of Austria was put under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Thyateira in London (Patriarchate of Constantinople). In 1955 the Greek priest in Vienna, Chrysostomos Tsiter, was consecrated as auxiliary bishop of the archbishop in London. He continued his functions in Vienna until his election as Metropolitan of the Metropolitanate of Austria, Hungary and Italy which was inaugurated by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1963. In June 1967, the Greek Orthodox Church was recognized by the Austrian state. At the same time the metropolitan was recognized as adviser for Orthodox affairs in Austria. The Ecumenical Patriarchate accepted and published the status of the Metropolitanate on 12 April 1994, which was confirmed by the Austrian state on 30 November 1995.
After the resignation of Metropolitan Chrysostomos (Tsiter) in 1991, Michael Staikos (who had been priest from 1977 to 1985 and Auxiliary Bishop of Christoupolis since 1985) was appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to be the new metropolitan of Austria and the exarch for Hungary and Central Europe.
Nowadays, in Vienna, there are two Greek parishes : the Holy Trinity and Saint George.

Since 1804 there is also a Greek national school whose director is the metropolitan. This school also provides courses of Orthodox religion.
There are other Greek parishes in Graz[3], Linz, Innsbruck and Vorarlberg.
Metropolitan Chrysostomos Tsiter maintained a very good relationship with the Catholic archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Franz König[4], and he has supported the initiative of the latter to ameliorate relations with the Orthodox by establishing the foundation *Pro Oriente* in 1964. Metropolitan Michel is an adviser to this foundation. He has also been elected as president of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Austria.
Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople has been given the title of doctor *honoris causa* at the Faculty of Law of Vienna in 2004 and at the Faculty of Theology of Graz in 2004.

The Orthodox parish of the Patriarchate of Antioch

There is a parish under the Patriarchate of Antioch in Vienna since the 1970s when members of this church arrived from Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. Until 2002 they shared the celebration of the Liturgy in the Greek and Romanian parishes ; later on they organized their own parish with a priest from their own patriarchate.

The Russian Church (Patriarchate of Moscow)[5]

The presence of the Russian Church in Vienna was continuous since 1762 when a priest began serving a small chapel at the embassy. A church was built at the end of the 18th century for the embassy. The Russian Cathedral of Saint Nicholas in Vienna is one of the many churches built after the style of the architect Constantin Andrejevic at the end of the 19th century. It was consecrated in 1899. Because of World War I (1914-1918), the church could not be used for 32 years. There were other Russian parishes in Vienna and in Baden. The parish in Graz was under the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia and it attached itself to the Patriarchate of Moscow, of its own will, in 1993[6]. The present bishop of the Patriarchate of Moscow in Austria is His Grace Hilarion Alfeyev. Patriarch Alexis came to Vienna in 1997 ; he also took part in the 2nd European Ecumenical Assembly in Graz as a speaker.

The Serbian parishes

In 1690, Emperor Leopold had planted 90,000 Serbs, subjects of the Habsburg Empire, as a bulwark to the Ottoman progression. In compensation the latter received, among other privileges, the right to religious freedom and thus the free exercice of their religion. The Serbs came to Austria for political and economic reasons, usually at times of international political upheaval. A first Serbian colony was established in Vienna during the 17th century. In Austria, the Metropolitanate of Sremsky Karlovtsy was recognized in 1848 as a ‘patriarchate’ by a decree of the Catholic Emperor Franz Joseph I. After the foundation of the Serbian Patriarchate by the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1922, the metropolitanate went under this newly instituted Patriarchate.
In 1893 the Serbian Church of Saint Sava was consecrated in Vienna.
As was the case in Germany, many Serbs came to Austria in the 1960’s as ‘immigrant workers’ (*Gastarbeiter*), due to the economic expansion of Austria. Since the 1970s, a second Serbian church was built, consecrated to the Dormition of the

Mother of God. Even after the political upheavals of 1989, Orthodox Serbs continued to come in significant numbers to Austria. The Serbian Church of Austria is under the diocese of Central Europe whose seat is in Germany and which is headed in 2006 by Bishop Constantin (Djokic). There are six Serbian priests in Vienna. Serbian parishes have also been established in other places: Graz, Salzburg and Klagenfurt. Patriarch Pavle (Paul) has visited Austria in 2000.

The Romanian parish

The Romanian Church, like other Orthodox Churches, has been in direct or indirect relation with Austria since the time of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In the 1870s there were about 3.2 million Orthodox who were subjects of that empire, the majority being Romanians[7]. First of all, the Romanians were associated either with the Serbian community (especially the one under the Metropolitanate of Sremsky Karlovtsy), or with the Greek community. In 1906 they founded their own parish in a chapel dedicated to the Resurrection of Christ, in an apartment at no. 8, Löwelstrasse in Vienna. In 1967 the parish was recognized as a statutory body. In 1998 the Romanian Church in Austria became a vicariate under the jurisdiction of the Romanian metropolitanate of Germany and Central Europe created in 1993 and presided over by Metropolitan Seraphim (Joanta).

There are other Romanian parishes in Salzburg, Graz, Linz and Knittenfeld.

As the number of parishioners was growing in Vienna, the rented chapel no longer satisfied the needs of the community and it was decided to build a new church, dedicated to Apostle Andrew; the corner stone was laid in 2001. The first patronal feast was celebrated there in 2003. On this occasion the Greek metropolitan entrusted relics of Saint Andrew to the parish.

The Bulgarian Parish

The presence of Bulgarians in Vienna is recorded at least since the 19th century. They were merchants and emigrants. In Vienna the Bulgarians developed not only commercial and cultural activities, but also nationalist and political activities. As they had no church, they were looked after by the Serbian or Russian Church. Their first parish founded in 1967 named after Saint Ivan Rilski was recognized by the Austrian state in 1969. It is associated with the Patriarchate of Bulgaria in Sofia.

As is the case for other Orthodox Churches, the Bulgarian parish followed all the evolution of its mother Church.

First the Bulgarians held their services once a month in the Russian Church of Saint Nicholas, in the Bulgarian language. Only in 1993 did the Embassy of Bulgaria place at the disposal of the community a room in the embassy for use as a church. It was refurnished and consecrated in 1994 by Metropolitan Simeon who is responsible for Western and Central Europe, including the Orthodox Bulgarians living in Austria.

In general, one can say that Orthodoxy is very well represented in Austria. It cooperates very actively in the general development of the Churches in Austria. It plays an active rôle in the ecumenical field. All the Orthodox Churches in Austria are members of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Austria and of other ecumenical organizations as well.

They cooperate with the foundation *Pro Oriente* in Vienna and its sections in Linz, Salzburg and Graz, in order to strengthen the relations between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Churches in Austria and in their home countries.

Several Patriarchs and Metropolitans as well as high functionaries and many university professors, all Orthodox, have come to Austria to take part in meetings, symposiums and academic sessions all around Austria[8]. The highlight of these ecumenical activities was their intense and guiding collaboration in the formation, organization and realization of the Conference of the European Churches and of the Catholic Council of the European Bishops' Conferences in Graz in 1997[9]. They were also very active in the elaboration and publication of the *Social Mission Statement of the Council of Churches in Austria* in Vienna in 2003, as well as for the cooperation in view of elaborating a new Austrian constitution.
The life of the Orthodox Churches is regularly featured on Austrian television and radio. Some members of the different Orthodox Churches collaborate with very diverse public institutions as well as with cultural institutions, with diverse faculties (including faculties of Catholic theology), and with other universities (including technical, musical and artistic sections).

One can say that the Orthodox communities have played an active, and sometimes influental rôle in the development of economic, political and cultural life in Austria for centuries, their fundamental impact can be seen in the most diverse fields. Family names such as Sima, Dumba and Karajan, to quote but a few, form an essential part of this country's heritage.

In Liechtenstein, Orthodox Christians have been living for more than 70 years. According to the last census, there are about 365 Orthodox living in Liechtenstein, most of them of Greek and Serbian descent. In 1995 an Orthodox Church Federation was founded which was recognized by the State in July 1996. In 2006, there are two congregations, one Greek and one Serbian, which have priests coming from Saint Gallen (Switzerland): Archpriest Ignatios Papadellis (Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople) and Father Ljubomir Kotarcic (Serbian Patriarchate). Their services take place three to four times a year in Schaan and Vaduz. The Orthodox Federation is also a founding member of the Working Group of the Christian Confessions in Liechtenstein.

Notes

1) For an overview, see F. Gschwandtner, and C. Gastgeber, *Die Ostkirchen in Wien*. *Ein Führer durch die Orthodoxen und Orientalischen Gemeinden* (A guidebook of the Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox parishes in Austria), published by R. Prokshi, W.N. Rappert and M. Popovic in Vienna in 2004. This publication contains a lot of detailed information on the Orthodox churches in Austria.
2) Fundamental information on this topic can be found in G. Larentzakis, *Die Orthodoxe Kirche. Ihr Leben und ihr Glaube*, Styria/Graz/Vienna, 2001.
3) For complementary information see G. Larentzakis, Die Orthodoxe Kirche in der Steirermark im 20. Jahrhundert, in *Konfession und Ökumene. Die christlichen Kirchen in der Steiermark im 20. Jahrhundert*, (eds. E.C. Gerhold, R.A. Höfer and M. Opis) Vienna, 2002, pp. 190 and following.
4) See A. Stirnemann et G. Wilflinger (eds.), *30 Jahre Pro Oriente, Festgabe für den Stifter Franz Kardinal König zu seinem 90. Geburtstag*, (Pro Oriente vol. XVII), Innsbruck/Vienna, 1995.

5) See A. Stirnemann and G. Wilflinger, *Russland und Österreich*, Innsbruck/Vienna, 1999.
6) G. Larentzakis, Die Orthodoxe Kirche in der Steirermark im 20. Jahrhundert, in *Konfession und Ökumene. Die christlichen Kirchen in der Steiermark im 20. Jahrhundert*, (eds. E.C. Gerhold et R.A. Höfer et M. Opis) Vienna, 2002, p. 192.
7) F. Gschwandtner and C. Gastgeber, *Die Ostkirchen in Wien*, p. 100.
8) All these documentations and transcripts of most speeches are found in the numerous publications of *Pro Oriente*.
9) See the documentation by R. Noll and S. Vesper, *Versöhnung Gabe Gottes und Quelle neuen Lebens. Dokumente der Zweiten Europäischen Ökumenischen Versammlung in Graz*, published by the Council of the European Bishops' Conferences and by the Conference of the European Churches, Graz/Vienna/Cologne, 1998.

Addresses and websites

Greek Church
Metropolitanate of Austria and Exarchate of Hungary and Central Europe, 13 Fleischmarkt, 1010 Vienna

Russian Church (Patriarchate of Moscow)
2 Jauresgasse, 1030 Vienna

Romanian Church
161 Simmeringer Hauptstrasse, 1110 Vienna (under the Metropolitanate of Germany)

Serbian Church
(under the Serbian Diocese of Central Europe in Germany)

Bulgarian Church
Barichgasse 33/21, A-1030 Wien

A general overview is also given under:
http://www.univie.ac.at/ostkirchenkunde/kirchen_in_wien.htm

Sources for Liechtenstein : Dr. Cyril Deicha, President of the Orthodox Federation in Liechtenstein in 2006

Since 1970 Professor Grigorios Larentzakis was teaching Orthodox theology at the Faculty of Catholic Theology of Graz University. He was Associate Director of Pro Oriente's section at Graz founded in 1987.

The Orthodox Church in Switzerland

by Noël Ruffieux

In Switzerland a national census is taken every ten years; it includes a question about religious affiliation. According to the census taken in 2000, there were 132,000 Orthodox Christians, out of 7.3 million inhabitants, that is 1.8 % of the population. Ten years earlier, the Orthodox numbered 71,000, that is 1 %. This important increase is comparable to that of the Muslims (from 2.2 to 4.3 %) during the same period, and the main reason is the same - a very marked immigration from the countries of ex-Yugoslavia since 1990. Thus the Serbian community is the main component in the Orthodox presence in Switzerland.

Some historical references

Until the end of the first millenium, Switzerland was both Catholic and Orthodox. Some of its saints thus figure in the calendar common to East and West: Maurice, Clotilde, Gall, Lupicin, Marius, Urs, Verena, Victor, Felix and Regula.
After the schism of 1054, the relations between the Eastern Churches and the Catholic Church in the country were sporadic. At the Council of Basle (1431-1449), the coming of envoys from the Emperor of Constantinople led to hopes that dialogue would be resumed.
During the Reformation of the 16th century, which deeply affected the Swiss religious landscape, contacts between the Reformers and the Orthodox Church went on for a century. In their writings, Zwingli alludes to Orthodoxy and Bullinger points out that Christians exist all over the East. Oecolampade of Basle, as well as Gualther, Bibliander and Ulrich, all of Zurich, translated works of the Church Fathers and Orthodox authors. In the next century, Patriarch Cyril Lukaris of Constantinople published his famous *Confession* in Geneva in Latin (1629) and Greek (1633). His disciple, the monk Metrophanes, made several trips to Switzerland where he had conversations with Protestant theologians.

Before World War I

In modern times, the first Orthodox presence was the result of the many contacts which developed between Russia and Switzerland from the beginning of the 19th century on. But it was not for the Russian Legation that the first Orthodox chapel was created in Switzerland. In fact, young Russians were studying in Swiss schools, which already enjoyed a good reputation; Grand Duchess Anna Feodorovna, the repudiated wife of Grand Duke Constantin Pavlovitch, had settled in Switzerland, where she lived from 1813 until her death in 1860. She encouraged the opening of a chapel for her spiritual needs and those of the young Russians, first near Bern. At the end of 1817 a parish was set up in Reichenbach, and then in Elfenau. Capo d'Istria played an important part in this, asking the Russian Minister of Religious Affairs, Golitsyn, to choose a competent priest who spoke French and German, as well as four good Church singers, to be sent to Switzerland.
It may be recalled that Capo d'Istria (born Kapodistrias in Corfu in 1776) was the first minister plenipotentiary (or 'ambassador') of Russia in Switzerland, from 1813 to 1815. His future career is well-known: Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1816, he left Russia in 1822 because of his disagreement with the politics of the Holy Alliance. He withdrew to

Geneva, where he took part in the struggle for Greek independence. He became the provisional President of Greece in 1827 and was assassinated in Nauplion in 1831.
As for the parish, it was moved to Geneva to a private house in 1854, when Geneva and the shores of its lake had become favourite destinations for members of Russian high society. Anna Feodorovna herself often stayed in Geneva.
In the middle of the 19th century, the Orthodox population increased with the arrival of students, young girls coming to learn the language, convalescents and old people who appreciated the healthy air of the Lake of Geneva area, and also political dissidents. At that time, nearly 4,000 Russian tourists used to visit Switzerland every year. The Orthodox Church also wished to protect the young Orthodox from Protestant and Catholic influences. In 1860, 160 young Orthodox were studying in educational establishments in Geneva, among them a good number of Greeks; the initiators of the Russian parish promised them that the Liturgy would be celebrated in Slavonic as well as Greek in the future church in Geneva.
The parish set up in Geneva in 1854 began the procedure for building a church in 1862. In the nature of things, it was served by Russian priests, but it was open to Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian and Romanian Orthodox; it can be seen that they had a growing presence in the life of this parish until 1918.
In 1863, the Genevan authorities gave permission for the building of an Orthodox church and provided a splendid plot of land in a then uninhabited area which is now one of the most fashionable districts of the city, Rue Toepffer. A foundation was set up which became the owner of the plot provided; it was responsible for the construction of the church. Father Athanasius Petrov, the priest in Geneva from 1856 to 1883, made great efforts to collect funds, turning to Russian travellers and the Imperial family for help; he also visited Russia several times to find donors.
The plans were the work of David Grimm. The church was consecrated on 14 September 1866 (five years after the Cathedral of Rue Daru in Paris) and was dedicated to the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Some Orthodox charitable organizations connected to the church helped those who were most in need, providing them with moral and material assistance.
From the middle of the 19th century on, leading Russian personalities stayed in Switzerland, such as Dostoievsky, Tolstoi and Tchaikovsky. Igor Stravinsky lived and composed in the French- speaking part of Switzerland from 1914 to 1918. Besides the Russians who were church-goers, others - anarchists, nihilists, opponents of autocracy - found refuge in Switzerland: Bakounin, who died in Berne in 1876, Plekhanov, and Vladimir Oulianov, known as Lenin. In Zurich, there was a crowd of Russian students, women and men.
In 1878, a second Russian church was consecrated in Vevey, on the Riviera near Lausanne, which was more and more appreciated by the Russians. The result of a private initiative, it was built by a Russian aristocrat in memory of his daughter Barbara, who had died in childbirth in Vevey. The Church of Saint Barbara now serves a community which is in the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR), as is the one already mentioned in Geneva.
Orthodox parishes were also created in mountain resorts such as Davos and Leysin where numerous Russians came for the good climate and to get the necessary medical treatment to recover their health. In 1912, 3,422 Russians were registered in Davos in the Grisons (south-east Switzerland). The building of a church there seemed a natural development; the foundation stone was laid in 1914, but the war prevented the project being carried out.

It is worth insisting on the creation of these first Russian parishes because it reveals the spirit in which a parish was then conceived. A parish was not only a place of worship but also a centre of education, charity and culture.
At the beginning of the 20th century the ground was prepared to welcome the new wave of Russian émigrés.

From 1917 to 1990

Following the 1917 Revolution, hundreds of thousands of Russians settled in Western Europe and North America after passing through Constantinople, Serbia and other places. This influx had a lasting beneficial effect on Orthodox life in Switzerland. Moreover, descendants of Swiss who had long ago emigrated to Russia, where they had become assimilated culturally, returned to the land of their forefathers; many attended the Russian churches in Switzerland.
The priest in Geneva from 1905 to 1944, Father Sergius Orlov, had a great influence.
In the 1920s, when the Russian churches had to decide which jurisdiction to belong to, the parishes of Geneva and Vevey joined the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia.
In Berne, from 1930 on, Orthodox faithful used to gather for liturgical celebrations from time to time. A parish was organized there at the end of the war, in October 1944, when the last Swiss emigrants returned from Russia.
In Zurich, the first Russian community began in 1935; to begin with, it was served by Father Sergius Orlov. In 1936, some of the members left to create a new parish consecrated to the Resurrection, which was placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. From 1949 on, an important figure there was Father Seraphim Rodionov (1905-1997), who gave Orthodoxy considerable influence among the people of Zurich. He caused the parish to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Moscow. He was the man who negotiated the entry of the Patriarchate of Moscow into the World Council of Churches in 1961. Father Seraphim became a bishop in 1971, and a Swiss citizen in 1974.

The first Greek immigrants arrived in Switzerland in the 18th century. Their presence increased at the turn of the 19-20th centuries. There was a Greek community in Lausanne before 1914, mainly made up of well-to-do merchants. Because of the military conflicts and the persecutions in Asia Minor in the years 1915-20, Greek immigration grew. The present Greek parish of Lausanne, established in 1920, had its church consecrated in 1925, with Saint Gerasimos as its patron. Other Orthodox from Lebanon, Cyprus and Egypt also became parishioners there. At the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s, thousands of Greeks came to Switzerland looking for work.

World War II (1939-45) created a new wave of immigration. The refugees from Eastern Europe who arrived in Switzerland helped to ‘rejuvenate’ the already existing communities which were somehow ‘aging’**.** New parishes were established.
After the occupation of Eastern European countries by Soviet troops in the late 1940s, communist regimes were set up; this drove many Orthodox from Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to claim political asylum in Switzerland or to look for work there. The most famous Russian dissident, Solzhenitsyn, lived in Zurich from 1974 to 1976.
This immigration also included Greeks from Asia Minor, Cyprus and Egypt and Arabs from Palestine. The first waves of these refugees settled in the French-speaking part

of Switzerland to begin with, and then in the German-speaking part, above all in the industrial centres. Since 1980, Romanian communities have been established in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, and a large Serbian parish has been opened in Zurich.
Inaugurated in 1967 by Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople, the Patriarchal Centre of Chambésy, near Geneva, was built thanks to Greek sponsors. The large church of Saint Paul of the Nations is now the parish of the Greek community. In the crypt the first French-speaking community of Switzerland was founded in 1974, thanks to the initiative of some Orthodox laypeople of Geneva. In 1982, another group of Orthodox faithful set up the second French-speaking community, in Fribourg.
1982 also saw the creation of the archdiocese of Switzerland under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. Archbishop Damaskinos (Papandreou), who was also in charge of the preparation of the Holy and Great Council, became the first Orthodox bishop of Switzerland.

Recent years

After 1990, because of the war in former Yugoslavia, a new and extensive wave of refugees - tens of thousands of people, among them many Orthodox from Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Macedonia - arrived in Switzerland. Thus the Serbian community has become the largest Orthodox community in Switzerland, including about 60 % of all Orthodox, and mainly settled in the German-speaking part of Switzerland.
Among these new immigrants some were fleeing war and others were looking for work in a country at peace. After the fall of communism, difficult economic conditions at home also forced Romanians, Bulgarians and Russians to build their future abroad. Opening the borders also made it easier for Russian, Romanian, Georgian and Bulgarian students to enrol in private schools or universities in Switzerland. Due to the development of economical exchanges, a number of businessmen, in particular Russian, settled in Switzerland with their families.

The immigration of the 1990s has sometimes provoked reactions of suspicion among older parishioners used to fitting into the Christian landscape of Switzerland as much as possible and having ecumenical contacts with other Christian communities. It is not always easy for different generations of immigrants to coexist in the same ethno-ecclesiastical community, and as in other Western European countries and in North America, certain problems of integration may occur.
The Greek communities, encouraged by the creation of their diocese in 1982, developed rapidly and became more visible. In 1995, Patriarch Bartholomew I consecrated the Greek Church of Saint Demetrios in Zurich and opened its cultural Centre. And in 2003 he consecrated the new Greek church built at Riehen, near Basel, and dedicated to the Holy Wisdom.

Another institution set up by the Greek diocese deserves special mention, the Pastoral and Philanthropic Foundation, set up in 1984. It plays an important rôle in charitable work and serving all Orthodox, whatever their country of origin or jurisdiction, in Switzerland.

The situation today

Some facts

At the beginning of the 21st century, the Orthodox presence in Switzerland is important. It includes some 50 parishes. Zurich, the largest city in the country, has four Orthodox communities, Russian, Greek, Serbian and Romanian.
For many years the Serbian Orthodox were not well served. But the Patriarchate of Serbia has increased the number of its priests and strengthened its pastoral presence in the cities of Basle, Berne, Solothurn, Lugano, Saint Gallen and Lausanne since the 1990s. In 2003, the oldest Serbian community, that of Zurich, consecrated the Church of the Holy Trinity in a former Old Catholic church entirely refurnished in the Orthodox tradition.
The diocese of Switzerland (Patriarchate of Constantinople) has Greek parishes in Chambésy (Geneva), Lausanne, Berne, Zurich, Basle, Olten, Saint-Gallen and Lugano. Two parishes of the diocese celebrate in French, in the crypt at Chambésy and in Fribourg; these parishes, publish a bulletin, *Voix Orthodoxe*, since 1991. *Episkepsis* is published by the Greek Centre in Chambésy.
The Patriarchate of Moscow has had a place of worship in Geneva since 1961, connected with its representatives at the World Council of Churches. In Zurich, the Parish of the Resurrection has been celebrating in a former Evangelical church transformed into a Russian church since 2002. A little monastery dependent on the Patriarchate of Moscow has been founded by Bishop Seraphim (Rodionov) in 1995 at Dompierre (Vaud), not far from the Orthodox parish of Payerne.
For the last ten years or so, the clergy of the Patriarchate of Romania have been probably the most dynamic of the Orthodox in Switzerland. After Geneva and Lausanne, they have set up new parishes in Zurich, Berne, Basle, Lugano, Martigny, Neuchâtel, Coire and Saint-Gallen. Several Romanian priests who have had a considerable part of their university education in Switzerland serve these parishes. Two parishes of the Patriarchate of Romania include Orthodox of various origins and celebrate in the local language.
Geneva was for long the centre of gravity of Orthodoxy in Switzerland, especially because the World Council of Churches (WCC) is close by. Today Zurich is gradually taking its place. It is in this metropolis of a million inhabitants with its dynamic economy that the most numerous Orthodox community in Switzerland now lives.
The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia is a special case. The heir of the oldest Orthodox communities in the country, it serves the historic churches in Geneva and Vevey and also communities in Basle and Zurich. These parishes include members of Slav origin as well as Swiss converts to Orthodoxy.

Most Orthodox parishes in Switzerland are enriched by the presence of Swiss who have become Orthodox. It is impossible to give an exact figure for them, but they are not negligible, for these new Orthodox often make up a significant proportion of the active core of the parishes. Some of them have found their way to Orthodoxy through the 'Eglise Catholique Orthodoxe de France' (ECOF).
The great majority of the clergy of the Orthodox parishes in Switzerland are from Orthodox countries of origin. Thanks to scholarships offered by the Catholics, Protestants or Old Catholics, some Orthodox priests have studied in Switzerland and a few of them settled there and are well integrated. All the jurisdictions include some priests or deacons of Western European origin.

In October 1997, the Orthodox Institute of Advanced Theological Studies was inaugurated at Chambésy. Each year it accepts around fifteen students, men and women. It cooperates with the Protestant Faculty of Theology in Geneva and the Catholic Faculty of Theology in Fribourg.
Protestant (Neuchâtel), Old Catholic (Berne) and Roman Catholic (Fribourg) Faculties of Theology are developing fruitful contacts with Orthodox Faculties or Academies in Russia, Bielarus and Romania. In 2005, Bishop Hilarion (Alfeyev), bishop of Vienna (Patriarchate of Moscow) was appointed to the teaching staff of the Faculty of Theology in Fribourg. The task of these institutes is not to train local clergy but rather to teach Orthodox theology in an ecumenical spirit. Several Orthodox priests working in parishes in Switzerland have been educated in Swiss universities. Nonetheless there is a lack of Orthodox priests for Switzerland as a whole.
The presence of the ancient Oriental Orthodox Churches in Switzerland should also be mentioned. For long, most of the Oriental Orthodox attended Orthodox parishes, but today their own communities are developing more and more in Switzerland.

Some questions

The Orthodox communities in Switzerland have the same problems as other parishes of what is still – incorrectly – called the diaspora. The Orthodox diaspora is thought of as temporary, a dispersion of the faithful who are believed to be attached to their community of origin. In fact, however, the seed has to put down roots in a new country, grow into a tree and bear fruit.
Moreover, it can be seen that from the second or third generation on, the integration of the Orthodox in Switzerland poses problems for Church and society more complex than those linked to a simple faithfulness to the culture of origin. It is possible to know how many people living in Switzerland describe themselves as Orthodox. It is more difficult to know what they mean by this and how they feel linked to the Church. Do they come together for ethnic, social, emotional, cultural or religious reasons? Can they speak of themselves as Orthodox before they are Greeks, Russians or Romanians?
For many years, several parishes, especially the two French-language parishes, have welcomed Orthodox of different origins, including refugees, and these parishes were truly multi-ethnic and pan-Orthodox. Now that the Mother Churches are taking their members living abroad in hand again, this risks bringing to nothing the efforts of certain Orthodox to pray together and thus witness to the oneness of the Orthodox Church, so as to make it more credible to those outside.
This recent trend risks making ecumenical work even more difficult. The Orthodox Churches cooperate with the other Churches and Christian communities in Switzerland timidly. In the Working Community of the Christian Churches in Switzerland (CTEC-CH), in 2004, the Orthodox were only represented by one delegate from the Archdiocese of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and one delegate of the Church of Serbia. Two national dialogue commissions exist (with the Catholic Church and the Federation of Protestant Churches), but their results are modest. In several cantons or cities, the Orthodox are active in the organizations for dialogue between Christians. Others work in the ‘houses of dialogue’ established to facilitate inter-religious dialogue. There is on-going cooperation with ENBIRO, an official organization in French-speaking Switzerland whose task it is to prepare teaching material for religious and inter-confessional education.

There is no organization which brings together all the Orthodox, who thus cannot speak with a single voice or even always act together, for instance on the pastoral or educational level or in dialogue with other Christians. The inter-Christian commissions would like to talk to a single, united Orthodox opposite number; the political authorities want to meet the Orthodox Church and not separate Orthodox Churches.

To conclude, three signs of hope.
On 11 September 2003, the nine Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox communities in Zurich celebrated together the office of Vespers for the feast of the city's Patron Saints, Felix, Regula and Exuperantius (3rd century), at the very place where the saints were martyred, in the Wasserkirche, on the banks of the Limatt.
On 6 March 2005, when the Romanians, Russians, Serbs and French-speaking Orthodox celebrated Orthodox Vespers, at the invitation of the Council of Churches and Christian Communities in the Canton of Vaud, the great Protestant Cathedral of Lausanne was full.
In the entrance to the new Greek church in Zurich, on the icon of the patron saint, Saint Demetrios, the artist has reinterpreted the iconography and brought it up to date; it is not Thessalonica which Saint Demetrios is protecting, but the city of Zurich.

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Addresses

Swiss Archdiocese of the Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople
Archdiocese of Switzerland, 282 Route de Lausanne, 1292 Chambésy

Russian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate of Moscow)
Russian Orthodox Auferstehungskirche, 10 Narzissenstrasse, 8006 Zurich

Romanian Orthodox Church
Diocese of Western and Southern Europe / Deanery of Switzerland
Archbishop Joseph Pop, 1, bd. du Général Leclerc, 91470 Limours (France)

Serbian Orthodox Church in Switzerland (Patriarchate of Belgrade)
Under the Serbian Orthodox bishop in Vienna

Orthodox Parish of the Patriarchate of Antioch in Geneva
For the Antiochian Orthodox Parish in Geneva, contact 22 Avenue Kléber, 75016 Paris

Website on the Orthodox Communities in Switzerland: www.orthodoxie.ch

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THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN ITALY IN THE 20th CENTURY

by Hieromonk Ambrose (Cassinasco)

The current presence of Orthodox churches in Italy could be defined in sociological terms as a new phenomenon, since they have few or no direct links with earlier communities in Southern Italy, who lost their struggle to retain their links with Constantinople in the 15th century.
At the end of the 19th century, there were only three Orthodox jurisdictions with places of worship in Italy: the Greeks, the Russians and the Serbs, the latter with just one church in Trieste, which however became part of the Italian state only in 1918. All of these had, more or less, the character of foreign chaplaincies.

The Greek presence was mostly confined to coastal towns, and the seat of their Italian Metropolitanate, the Church of Saint George of the Greeks in Venice, now with an admirable gallery of icons next to it, was completed in 1573: it had been built to cater for the religious needs of the Greeks, among them mercenaries serving the Republic of Venice and intellectuals. There were famous Greek publishing houses in Venice. For centuries (1662-1905), the *Flaginean College*, next to Church of Saint George, was an ecclesiastical academy providing many regions of the Orthodox East under Ottoman rule with educated priests and teachers. The abolition of the Republic of Venice in 1797 by Napoleon initiated the decline of the wealthy Greek Orthodox Community.

Other churches were built in Italy by Greek merchants, seafarers and diplomats. Very few of their (mostly baroque) buildings presented outward dissimilarities with the nearby Roman Catholic parishes, and they were therefore largely unnoticed except by informed travellers.

The Russian churches trace their roots to the first period of massive travel by Russian nobles to the Mediterranean nations since the end of the 19th century. Many churches were built around the dwellings of noble families in historical towns or holiday resorts. Their appearance was quite Orthodox and different from that of the neighbouring churches, and very striking.

Multi-ethnicity was not seen as a problem at that time, partly due to the small number and size of the parishes, and since all of them maintained very close links with their mother Churches. In a very few cases, ethnic tension was resolved by opening different churches: this was the case in Trieste where, within a couple of decades, the original parish, begun in the second half of the 18th century for the Greek and Serbian Orthodox, split into two different groups, with two parishes which still exist today.
The end of the First World War (1918) brought major and unexpected changes. The Italian occupation of Rhodes and other Greek islands increased the influx of Greek immigrants, who started to appear in sizeable numbers, in inland areas also. The great post-revolutionary turmoils of the Russian people brought a number of problems: the previous financing of the Russian churches was nearly gone, and some of the parishes had to struggle very hard to survive; on the other hand, a large number of refugees abruptly changed the character of the previous congregation; last but not least, the jurisdictional fractures in the Russian Church started a series of

conflicts in church ownership that are not yet fully settled today. The arrival of other Russian refugees (some fleeing from ex-Yugoslavia) after the Second World War did little to change these disputes.
In the middle of the 20th century, in the years before the Council of Vatican II (1962-65), the response to the presence of Orthodox immigrants was generally the fostering of Eastern rite Catholicism: sometimes this happened through the Uniate colleges in Rome, in other cases through the phenomenon of 'bi-ritualism' (licence to celebrate in various Eastern rites, given to certain Latin-rite priests). Paradoxically, these activities, which cannot easily be regarded as positive by the Orthodox, created a wave of general interest in Orthodox faith and worship, and actually proved beneficial to the founding of new Orthodox parishes.
The formation of the first 'Italian' Orthodox communities occurred rather late, and largely in a spontaneous way. Around the year 1960, some groups, originally gathered around non canonical bishops, or *episcopi vagantes*, sought their way into the Orthodox Church. A few of them, based in Sicily and Southern Italy, tried to affiliate with the Greek Church, but most of them were made far more welcome by the Moscow Patriarchate. Some of these communities were organized around dubious personalities and were short-lived. Repeated jurisdictional changes took place, involving the Polish autocephalous Church, and the Patriarchates of Serbia and Bulgaria. Some groups also joined Oriental Churches (like the Assyrian Church of the East) and various non-canonical Orthodox bodies, bringing about a mosaic of very intricate and mobile affiliations. Most of the active parishes led by Italian Orthodox clergy stayed under the Moscow Patriarchate, and made up the most consistent 'local' Orthodox network at the time of the fall of the Iron Curtain (1985). Despite tensions between the Vatican and the Moscow Patriarchate in recent years, relations between the Moscow Patriarchate and Roman Catholics in Italy have been on the whole quite positive at a local level. This may be due in part to the presence of an Orthodox clergy who are fully integrated into Italian life and culture.
At present, the parishes of the Moscow Patriarchate are integrating a very differentiated range of faithful with varying levels of culture and wealth and with diverse ethno-linguistic roots, such as increasing numbers of Moldavians and Ukrainians.

By far the greatest changes in the Orthodox communities in Italy (quantitative, structural and on an inter-Orthodox level) took place in the 1990s, and the consequences of the events of this last decade have yet to be fully estimated. The Orthodox population has increased to a previously unimaginable level, and the ethno-linguistic range of the pastoral scene has widened dramatically.
The new situation has brought some changes to the largely ethnic Greek jurisdiction, which in the early 1990s started to receive more non-Greek parishes and clergy.
The monastic communities which are the most developed are part of the Greek archdiocese. A monastery, started by monks from Mount Athos, has been revived in Calabria. Its patron, Saint John Therstis, is a saint born in Sicily and who lived in Calabria (d. 1129). This brings back memories of the centuries-old links between Southern Italy and Greece. There is one convent in Montaner (Treviso) dedicated to the Transfiguration.
This enlarged scope has helped the Greek Archdiocese to become the first Orthodox body to be officially recognized by the Italian Republic as a jurisdiction. In 1991, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople founded the Holy Archdiocese of Italy and Exarchate of Southern Europe, in Venice. The Church of Saint George was elevated

to the Metropolitan Cathedral of the new Archdiocese. Since 1996 the Metropolitan is His Grace Gennadios.
Other Orthodox Churches, including most of the historical Russian parishes, are recognized separately, if at all, and only as local associations.
The Russian Exarchate under the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (Rue Daru) has remained, on the whole, quite stagnant, more concerned with keeping its historical churches than with opening new parishes or undertaking other pastoral work.
The Serbian Church, while maintaining its large parish in Trieste, has been busy coping with large arrivals of refugees from the recent Balkan conflicts; only quite recently new communities, mostly in Northern Italy, have been acquiring continuity of life and activity.

The largest and most spectacular increase of Orthodox parishes in Italy is due to the Romanians, who started a massive immigration after the end of the dictatorship of Ceausescu in 1989. Within a decade, the number of Romanian Orthodox parishes and clergy has risen more than ten times, and is still growing. In 2005 Romanians living in Italy may be about 300,000, with 41 parishes and 45 priests. Since 2005 Bishop Silouan (Span) is the vicar bishop for Italy of the Romanian Metropolitanate of Western and Southern Europe. The Romanians have been the first Orthodox to open multiple parishes in large towns, and to extend their activities beyond the major centres, not only into provincial towns, but in some cases into villages and suburbs. Curiously, and despite its claims to Latin roots, the Romanian Church has been so far the least welcoming to the Italian converts. An urge to cater to recent immigrants may partially account for this attitude, but there is also a diplomatic aspect. Almost all of the Romanian Orthodox places of worship have been made available by the Roman Catholics, and this may account for a certain reluctance to open up potential sources of disagreement.
The Romanian immigration brought, as an unexpected surprise, a large presence of Russian Old Believers (from the depleted Russian enclaves near the Romanian coast). They are affiliated to the largest community of Old Believers (Belaya Krinitsa) which acquired an episcopal hierarchy in 1846 in Bucovina. They are now present in Russia, Romania and the United States and have a parish in Turin: so far, it is the first organized Old Believer parish in Western Europe.

With the ongoing immigration, and particularly with the new Eastern countries joining the European Union, further changes in the Orthodox population of Italy are likely. The recent opening of the first Bulgarian Orthodox parish in Rome (in summer 2003) is an example of these new developments.

It is difficult to estimate the number of Orthodox Christians in Italy, since this involves taking many conflicting sources into account. For instance, in a few cases in the past, each community claimed as its membership a number of Orthodox faithful which included that of the ‘rival’ churches. When calculating general figures, these numbers were simply added together, thereby multiplying the actual faithful for the number of the communities involved. A future analysis will have to take figures such as these with some caution.
In some official documents, the Greek Archdiocese gave 150,000 as the number of its faithful, a number difficult to reconcile with the sheer capacity of their parishes.

Likewise the Romanian Orthodox simply listed the approximate number of Romanian immigrants to Italy as their local membership, ignoring the percentage of Romanians of Roman Catholic or Evangelical background, as well as minorities like the Old Believers.
When talking of recent immigrants, of course, statistics are almost by definition inaccurate: there are always immigrants whose status is irregular; some of the legal immigrants return home (this is especially easy for the Orthodox of the closest countries of Eastern Europe), and others move from Italy to other countries. Accurate evaluations of the number of Orthodox faithful in Italy are thus practically impossible at the present time.

In conclusion, very little of the Orthodox development in Italy at the end of the 20th century could have been foreseen a hundred years ago: the current situation is more diversified, richer in potential and open to new developments. Tracing the growth of these various Orthodox Churches ought to be accompanied by a careful analysis of the successive stages of immigration to Italy.

Selective Bibliography

Though many books have been written about Orthodox Churches in Italy, very few cover a large area or more than a single community. There is practically no complete study of the whole development of Orthodoxy in Italy in the 20th century.
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For an analysis of all Eastern Christian churches in a whole region of Italy, Piemonte, see Luigi Berzano and Andrea Cassinasco, *Cristiani d'Oriente in Piemonte*, Torino: L'Harmattan Italia, (1999).
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Historical and sociological details of various churches and communities are published in *Italia Ortodossa*, which began life as a bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate parish in Modena, and is now developing as a widely circulated inter-Orthodox magazine.

Some addresses
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese in Italy : Church of Saint George of the Greeks, Castello 3422, Campo dei Greci, 30122 Venezia

The webistes of two Russian parishes under Moscow give information in Italian:
http://www.stcaterina.org
http://www.ortodossiatorino.net

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ORTHODOXY IN SPAIN
by Christine Chaillot

The presence of Orthodox in Spain dates from the end of the 19th century, when a number of Greek merchants settled in the country for business reasons. Later, after World War I (1914-18), refugees from a number of Eastern European countries under communist regimes also began to settle in Spain.

In 1949, the Parish of Saint Andrew the Apostle was founded in Madrid, Calle Luis Diaz Cobena 20, under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, to serve the pastoral needs of all the Orthodox residents in Spain, without distinction of nationality. This foundation was the initiative of the family of the princes Bagration of Georgia, resident in Spain, with the collaboration of the Greek Embassy. Father Raphael Ivanitzky, of Georgian origin, was appointed as parish priest.

In 1967, he was succeeded by Father Dimitri Tsiamparlis, of Greek nationality. In 1968, the parish was officially registered in the Register of Religious Entities, at the Department of Religious Affairs of the Ministry of Justice of Spain (Registro de Entidades Religiosas de la Direccion General de Asuntos Religiosos del Ministerio de Justicia de España). The arrival of the new priest also meant that the construction of a new church could begin, with the collaboration of Orthodox faithful, at Calle Nicarágua 12. In 1973, the building was inaugurated by His Grace Meletios, the then Archbishop of France and Exarch of the Patriarchate of Constantinople for Spain and Portugal, and dedicated to Saint Andrew the Apostle and Saint Demetrios the Great Martyr and Myrrh-Gusher.
The church was constructed entirely in the Byzantine style, and the iconostasis and paintings are by Greek artists. In 1975, the entire building was declared an historical monument by the Municipal Council of Madrid. It now receives a great number of non-Orthodox visitors.
The Liturgy is served every Sunday, in various languages (principally Greek, Slavonic and Spanish), as befits the pan-Orthodox and international character of the parish, which welcomes Orthodox from various national origins (Greek, Russian, Bulgarian, Georgian, Ukrainian, Serbian, Romanian, Moldavian and Arab) as well as Spanish converts.
All parishes under the Patriarchate of Constantinople situated in the Iberian Peninsula were placed under the jurisdiction of the Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate of France (whose headquarters are in Paris) from the date of its creation in 1963.
In 2003, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople decided to organize the parishes of Spain and Portugal into a new diocese. In 2003, Metropolitan Epiphanios was enthroned at the Cathedral of Saints Andrew and Demetrios, in Madrid, where Archpriest Dimitri Tsiamparlis is serving, as well as Hieromonk Rogelio-Dimitrios Saez, a Spaniard.
Other parishes under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in Spain are those of Saint Nektarios in Barcelona (founded in 1975) and of the Holy Spirit, in Las Palmas.

Other Orthodox jurisdictions are also present in the country. The number of these Orthodox faithful has increased considerably in the past years according to the recent waves of immigration of Orthodox coming from Eastern Europe.

The Romanian Orthodox are linked to the Romanian Orthodox Metropolitanate of Western and Southern Europe headed by Metropolitan Joseph, resident in Paris. Since 1980, there has been a Romanian parish in Madrid dedicated to the Virgin. As of 2005, there are 18 Romanian parishes in 18 Spanish towns and 17 priests. The number of Romanians is estimated to be about 200,000.

There are also parishes and communities under the Patriarchate of Moscow, under the auspices of the Diocese of Korsun, whose head is Archbishop Innocent, resident in Paris. Parishes have been established in Madrid, Barcelona, Altea near Alicante, Málaga, Oviedo, Sevilla, Almeria, Tenerife and Las Palmas (both in the Canary Islands), and also in Palma de Mallorca where the Parish of the Nativity is served by Archimandrite Macarios Rosello, who is also the abbot of the small Monastery of the Dormition there. There are four priests. Father Andrew Korotchkine, responsible for the parish in Madrid, also visits other parishes.

In addition, there are four parishes under the jurisdiction of the Rue Daru (Patriarchate of Constantinople).

There are also ten Orthodox parishes and communities which are under the Patriarchate of Serbia: one in Barcelona, four in the province of Girona, (Girona, Navata/Figueras, and two in Planils/Corça), two in Alicante (in town and in Benitatxell), in Palma de Mallorca, Cerdanya and Errenteria/Gipuzkoa (in the Basque Country). These parishes are under the jurisdiction of the Serbian diocese of France and Western Europe (Spain and Benelux), headed in 2005 by Bishop Luka, who resides in Paris.
It was in 1988 that the Synod of the Patriarchate of Serbia received the first community, that of Barcelona. The reception of Fathers Joan Garcia and Martí Puche, as well as of Deacon Josep Santos, all three from Barcelona, took place during a concelebration at the Serbian Cathedral of Saint Sava in Paris, presided over by Bishop Laurentiye, in charge of the Serbian community at that time. From 1978 and until 1983, the Barcelona community was attached to the Catholic Orthodox Church of France (ECOF), then part of the Romanian Patriarchate. Then the community was in contact with the Orthodox Fraternity of France until it was received by the Patriarchate of Serbia.
Thanks to its manifold activities, it has made Orthodoxy much more widely known, especially in Catalonia, and continues to do so.
Located at the Barcelona parish (Calle Aragó, 181), the Saint Gregory Palamas Theological Institute, which functions in association with the Theological Institute of Saint Sergius in Paris, offers weekly courses in Orthodox theology.
There are icon workshops in Barcelona and Alicante.
In Barcelona, the Brotherhood of Saint Eulalia of Barcelona (a 4th century martyr from the city) was founded in 2000 to help certain parishioners, for example, recently-arrived immigrants.
Translations of numerous liturgical texts have been made by members of the clergy in Catalan, Spanish and Basque, many of which are available at the following website: http://www.angelfire.com/music5/doxologia/Parroquia.html

The communities under the Patriarchate of Serbia are made up not only of Spanish and Catalan Orthodox, but of faithful of other origins. Consequently, according to the

number of faithful of any origin present during the offices and Liturgy, the languages used are Catalan, Spanish, Slavonic, Romanian and Greek.

The Orthodox presence in Spain has grown considerably since the 1990s on account of the large number of immigrants coming to work in the country, and of mixed marriages. It is difficult to estimate the total number of the Orthodox population in Spain. The size of the country and the growing number of parishes means that all Orthodox clergy in Spain, who are few in number, are obliged to travel with a certain frequency.

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This article was written on the following basis : some information received from Protopsaltis Ivan Moody (Portugal) through websites and checked by Christine Chaillot by telephone ; other oral and written information (including by Maria Rosa Garcia, Barcelona), and a text published by the Greek parish in Madrid published in *Santoral Ortodoxo Espanol* published in Athens by Apostoliki Diakonia of the Church of Greece in 2003 ; *Service Orthodoxe de Presse* (*SOP*) 275.1 and 295.17.
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Addresses and websites

Patriarchate of Constantinople
Cathedral of Saints Andrew and Demetrios, Calle Nicaragua 12, Madrid 12

Patriarchate of Serbia
Archpriests Joan Garcia and Martí Puche, Parish of the Protection of the Mother of God, Carrer Aragó 181, 08011 Barcelona; websites : www.iglesiaortodoxa.es; http://www.angelfire.com/music5/doxologia/Esglesies.html

ORTHODOXY IN PORTUGAL
by Miguel Ferro

Overview

The canonical territory under the jurisdiction of the Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate of France, created in 1963, covered the Iberian Peninsula. The Metropolitan of France was, therefore, Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople for Spain and Portugal until 2003.
At the time of the establishment of the Metropolitanate, the Orthodox community in Portugal was very small in size, made up principally of a number of families of Greek origin. Sporadic celebrations were held, presided over by priests coming from France or Greece, a situation which lasted until the end of the 1980s.
Notwithstanding the existence of the Exarchate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate for Spain and Portugal, the so-called 'Orthodox Church of Portugal' (see the section dealing with the Orthodox Church of Poland below) was the only Orthodox community with any visible presence in the country until the 1990s.
The situation of Orthodoxy in Portugal has changed dramatically since the fall of the Berlin Wall. The end of the totalitarian regimes in the countries of Eastern Europe has allowed thousands of citizens from these countries to emigrate and live in Western Europe. Gradually, Russians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians and Moldavians arrived in Portugal in successive waves, often in extremely difficult conditions, but their professional qualities and capacity for integration ensured them a positive reception as far as work was concerned. Most of them were Orthodox. In a few short years these immigrants gave rise to sizeable communities throughout the country, but above all in the more important economic centres. The way was prepared for the beginning of a new era in the life of the Orthodox Church in Portugal. Various parishes, Russian, Romanian, Bulgarian and Ukrainian were thus established from the end of the 1990s onwards. Fortunately, the creation of Orthodox parishes in Portugal according to ethnic criteria has not brought about separation between the Orthodox of different nationalities. These good pan-Orthodox relations are evident in frequent contact, mutual assistance and concelebrations, notably on great annual feasts and on parish feasts.

Parishes under the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople

The ordination to the priesthood of Father Alexander Bonito, in 1986, by Metropolitan Jeremy, Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarchate for Spain and Portugal at that time, was of the greatest significance in many senses: not only because it was the first time a Portuguese national was ordained to the priesthood within the Ecumenical Patriarchate, but also because from then on the Patriarchate had, for the first time, a priest resident in Portugal.
Though initially celebrations continued to be sporadic, the existence of a canonical Orthodox priest in Portugal encouraged some Orthodox already resident in the country – Greeks, but also Russians, Bulgarians, Romanians and also Western converts – to establish, with Father Alexander Bonito as its priest, a parish in Lisbon, dedicated to Saint Nectarios of Aegina and Saint Gregory V (Patriarch of Constantinople in the 19th century, one of the new hieromartyrs of the Greek Church, celebrated on April 10th), and under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

The Liturgy began to be celebrated twice a month, initially in the Catholic chapel of Saint Hieronymus (Jerónimo) and later in the Catholic parish church of Caselas, a situation that still obtains today, in the absence of any church belonging to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in Lisbon. The Liturgy is celebrated on the first and third Sunday of every month, after the Catholic mass, as well as on the great feasts of the Orthodox Church. Since the parish is made up of believers of various nationalities, celebrations have always been in a number of languages, and are thus pan-Orthodox in character.
Another parish of the Ecumenical Patriarchate was established in Porto in 2001. It is dedicated to Saint Panteleimon, the ancient patron saint of the town, a part of whose relics have been preserved in the Catholic Cathedral since the Middle Ages. The parish of Saint Panteleimon is made up above all of Ukrainian immigrants, but also of Moldavians, Greeks and some Portuguese converts. Initially, Father Alexandre Bonito was celebrating the Liturgy once a month, in the beautiful and ancient pre-romanesque church of Cedofeita. Since 2002, an Ukrainian priest, Hieromonk Hilarion Rudnik, became rector of the parish. Celebrations were moved to another church, also lent by the Catholic diocese of Porto. The Liturgy is celebrated on great feasts, as well as each Sunday, preceded by Vespers on Saturday evening.
On 20th January 2003, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate resolved to re-organize the parishes of Spain and Portugal, hitherto part of the metropolitanate of France, into a new diocese. Metropolitan Epiphanios was enthroned in June of the same year at the Cathedral of Saints Andrew and Dimitri, in Madrid. In January 2005, Hieromonk Hilarion Rudnik was named auxiliary bishop of Spain and Portugal of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, assisting Metropolitan Epiphanios, particularly with regard to Portugal and the numerous communities of immigrants from Eastern Europe which have become established there, the great majority being Ukrainian. His episcopal consecration took place on 23rd January 2005, in Istanbul. The ordination of a number of Ukrainian priests and the establishment of new parishes are foreseen in the near future.

Parishes under the Patriarchate of Moscow

In around 1995, a parish was established in Lisbon under the auspices of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR). Served by priests coming from Paris on a monthly basis, celebrations took place in a chapel of the Catholic Church of São João de Deus in Lisbon. This situation continued for several years, during which the Russian community in Portugal continued to increase.
The canonical problems of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia led a number of parishioners to join the Patriarchate of Moscow. To meet this need, in the spring of 2002, a priest from the Moscow Patriarchate, Hieromonk Arsenius Sokolov, at the time resident in Madrid, began to celebrate in Lisbon once a month. The parish of All Saints was established, part of the Diocese of Korsun of the Moscow Patriarchate, whose headquarters are in Paris. Hieromonk Arsenius became resident priest in Lisbon in October 2003. The presence of a resident priest has allowed celebrations to become more frequent and regular. In Lisbon, the Liturgy is celebrated in Slavonic twice a month, in the chapel of the Catholic Convento dos Cardaes. Other parishes have been established in Porto (Parish of the New Martyrs of Russia) and in Faro (Parish of the Blessed Xenia of Saint Petersburg), the latter served by Father Ioan Gerbovetsky.

Parishes under the Patriarchate of Romania

The Romanian community was one of the first amongst those who came from Eastern Europe to become established in Portugal at the beginning of the 1990s. Romanian Orthodox Christians in Lisbon attended the Ecumenical Patriarchate parish of Saints Nectarios and Gregory V for several years. From time to time, priests of the Romanian Patriarchate would visit and concelebrate with Father Alexander Bonito, thus completing his pastoral work and also witnessing to the unity of the Orthodox Church. With the growth of the Romanian community, these visits became increasingly frequent, until the archbishopric of the Romanian Patriarchate in Western Europe decided that the moment was opportune for the transition to a permanent priest in Lisbon, and the foundation of a parish dedicated to the Presentation of the Mother of God (Theotokos) ensued. Initially, celebrations took place, like those of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, at the parish Church of Caselas, but the Romanian community soon obtained from the Catholic diocese of Lisbon the right to use a chapel in the historic centre of the town, in which the Parish of the Presentation of the Mother of God continues to celebrate.
The rector of the parish has, from the beginning, been Father Marius Viorel-Pop and the language used in celebrations is Romanian. Vespers are celebrated every Saturday. Preceeded by Matins, the Liturgy is celebrated every Sunday, as well as on great feasts. Like all the other Orthodox priests in Portugal, Father Marius travels often around the country in order to serve the spiritual needs of the faithful. Other communities have thus been established, in Porto and in the Algarve, in Faro, where the community uses the Catholic Church of São Luís, whose rector is Father Ioan Rishnoveanu. One speaks of 50,000 to 100,000 Romanians present in Portugal in 2005.

Parishes under the Patriarchate of Bulgaria

The Parish of Saint John of Rila serves the Bulgarian Orthodox Community of Lisbon. It was inaugurated by Metropolitan Symeon, titular bishop of the Western European Diocese of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, on 3rd March 2001, the Bulgarian National Day.
The chapel in which the Parish of Saint John of Rila has its celebrations has an unusual history, in that it was built at the end of the 1990s, as an ecumenical chapel, at the residence of Queen Ioanna of Bulgaria who, since the end of the Second World War, had lived in Estoril, near Lisbon. After the death of the Queen, the chapel was bequeathed to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, and the entire building and contents were transferred to the grounds of the Bulgarian Embassy in Lisbon, and adapted to the needs of a larger community. The rector of the parish is Father Gotze Christov, who has served the parish since December 2003.
Services are held in Slavonic and Bulgarian, every Sunday (Matins and Liturgy), as well as on great feasts.

The Polish Orthodox Church

In 1968, Hieromonk João, of Portuguese nationality, was received into Orthodoxy, tonsured and ordained deacon and priest by Archbishop Anthony of Geneva, of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia. Becoming an archimandrite some months

later, he lived in France for several years before returning to Portugal in 1975, where he began a missionary work with the blessing of his archbishop.

Shortly after his return to Portugal, Archimandrite João and the community of believers, almost all converts, which he had gathered around him, left the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia and were received by the Old Calendarists of Greece, under Archbishop Auxentios. The episcopal consecration of Archimandrite João, who became Metropolitan Gabriel and head of what came to be called the 'Orthodox Church of Portugal', took place in the Monastery of Kapandriti, belonging to the Old Calendarists of Greece, in 1978.

Having broken with the Old Calendar Church of Greece in 1988, the 'Orthodox Church of Portugal' was received by the Orthodox Church of Poland in 1990, and remained in communion with this Church until shortly after the death of Metropolitan Gabriel in 1997.

After the death of Metropolitan Gabriel, his successor, Metropolitan João, was excluded from the Orthodox Church of Poland in 2001, and is still not in communion with any canonical Orthodox Church. Initially, the great majority of the faithful of the 'Orthodox Church of Portugal' remained with him, but an important schism took place in June 2003.

Notwithstanding, a few dozen Portuguese faithful, with two priests, including Father Simeão Reis, chose not to follow Metropolitan João, but to remain with the Orthodox Church of Poland. Today there is a small number of parishes directly responsible to the Metropolitan of Warsaw, one of which is situated in a suburb of Lisbon (dedicated to the Protection of the Mother of God), and another in Portimão (Parish of Saint Nicholas) in the Algarve. In order to serve these communities, today made up not only of Portuguese converts but also of immigrants from Eastern Europe, other ordinations have taken place. Relations with other canonical Orthodox communities in Portugal have begun little by little to stabilize.

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The Orthodox Church in Belgium and in Luxemburg

by Father Serge Model

Early origins

Situated in the Latin and Germanic borders, the regions of the future Belgium and of the future Luxemburg have been evangelised since the first century; several martyrs gave their lives there. After the barbarian invasions, when stability was re-established, Christianisation was able to develop in a deeper way. The 7th century is called the 'century of saints', with Saint Amand, Saint Remacle the apostle of Ardenne, Saint Lambert of Liège and Saint Gertrude of Nivelles. The following centuries were marked by the activity, among others, of Saint Hubert and of Saint Godelieve. As these regions were under the Patriarchate of Rome, after the schism of the 11th century they were separated from the Orthodox Church. Contacts with Orthodoxy stopped, except for some events such as the visit of Peter the Great of Russia to what today is Belgium in 1717, or the marriage of Prince William of Orange to the sister of Tsar Alexander I in 1816.

Modern History

As for the modern period, the first place of Orthodox worship in Belgium was organized in the second half of the 19th century when, in 1862, a chapel dedicated to Saint Nicholas was established by the Russian embassy in Brussels and served by priests sent from Russia. This was the only Orthodox church in the country until 1900, when a second church was created in the harbour city of Antwerp for Greek sailors and merchants. In 1926 another Greek church was opened in Brussels and remained for a long time the main Greek parish in Belgium.

The Orthodox presence in Brussels is marked above all by the emigrations of the 20th century, among them by the Russian one. The Revolution of 1917 provoked the exile of over a million Russians of whom about 8,000 came to Belgium. The Orthodox churches, perceived by the refugees as shelters, became at that time spiritual and material rallying places; new parishes were created everywhere.

In the 1920s and 1930s Russian churches were founded in several places: in Antwerp, Charleroi, Ghent, Liège, in the Russian orphanage of Namur and in the university town of Louvain (thanks to Cardinal Mercier). These churches were installed in private houses, in warehouses or in garages and served by clergy from the emigration of which here are some names: Fathers Peter Izvolsky, George Tarassov, the future archbishop in Paris (1893-1981), Vladimir Feodorov, Paul Golychev, future archbishop in Russia (1914-1979) and Valent Romensky.

During those years some jurisdictional problems arose in the emigration, which were linked to the division of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR). In Brussels, in 1926-27, some parishioners of the Church of Saint Nicholas broke their contact with Metropolitan Evlogy (Rue Daru) in order to follow the bishops of the ROCOR headed by Metropolitan Anthony (Khrapovitsky); then they created their own parish served, among other priests, by Fathers Basil Vinogradov and Alexander Chabachev, then by Father Tchedomir Ostojic. In Brussels, in 1935, the same jurisdiction erected a church, which looked Orthodox, with a cupola in the Russian style of the 16th century. Dedicated to the memory of Tsar Nicolas II, to his family and

to other victims of Bolshevism, this beautiful looking church, consecrated to Saint Job, in 1950, was directed by Bishop John (Maximovitch) (1896-1966), who was titled ‘of Brussels’ from 1950 to 1962, but resided in France; then by Father Dimitri Khvostov.

Except for these latter parishes, all the other Russian parishes in Belgium were then depending on Metropolitan Evlogy, and, since 1929, on his auxiliary in Belgium, His Grace Alexander (Nemolovsky) (1880-1960). At the arrival of this first Orthodox bishop in Belgium, the parish of Saint Nicholas became a parish-cathedral, and Brussels then had an Episcopal Orthodox seat. The Belgian state confirmed this situation by a royal decree in 1937 which recognized the diocese giving it the status of an establishment of public use, and to its superior the title of Russian Orthodox archbishop of Brussels and of Belgium.

During World War II and the occupation of Belgium by the Germans, the Orthodox of Belgium had difficult times: some resisted the Germans authentically (such as Archbishop Alexander who was arrested in 1942 and deported to Germany), while others wished the victory to Hitler who, according to them, would liberate Russia from bolshevism. Some parishes (such as the one in Antwerp) stopped functioning, whereas others (such as in Liège) hardly escaped total destruction. In Liège a new church with five little cupolas was built after the war and consecrated in 1953.
After World War II, the situation of the Orthodox Church in Belgium changed a lot; the Church of Saint Nicholas, under the direction of Archbishop Alexander, who had come back from captivity, went under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Moscow in 1946, while other Russian communities disappeared over time (Ghent, Leuven).
In the 1950s, an important Greek immigration came to Belgium, for economic reasons. Many of them were working in coalmines. The Greeks then constituted the most important Orthodox community (about 27,000 people) and the best organized one. About a dozen parishes were created around the country served by priests such as Father Emilianos Timiadis (future metropolitan and representative of the Patriarchate of Constantinople at the World Council of Churches in Geneva) and Father Panteleimon Kontoyiannis. In 1969, the Patriarchate of Constantinople created its own archbishopric, the metropolitanate of Belgium and exarchate of The Netherlands and Luxemburg, and appointed His Grace Emilianos (Zacharopoulos) as the first metropolitan. In 1974, His Grace Panteleimon (Kontoyiannis) became his auxiliary and, in 1983, succeeded him.
Among the changes which took place over the years, was the arrival of new personalities such as that of His Grace Paul (Golychev) (1914-1979): first he was a priest in Belgium, then became a bishop in the USSR, then came back to Brussels in 1976; and above all of Archbishop Basil (Krivochéine) (1900-1985), a monk of Mount Athos and a theologian scholar who had succeeded Archbishop Alexander (metropolitan since 1959) in 1960. A specialist of the Church Fathers, Archbishop Basil did not hesitate to intervene in the questions concerning what was actually happening on the ground in the Russian Church in the Soviet Union.
The growth of Orthodox in Belgium, the arrival of new personalities and the birth of an ecumenical atmosphere drew the attention of the local authorities. Some Catholic churches were lent or sold to the Orthodox, such as the one in the ‘Stalingrad Avenue’ (near the Brussels South Station), which became the Greek cathedral of Belgium.

Step by step it became necessary however for the children of emigrants or for Westerners who became Orthodox to profess Orthodoxy in the local languages. This was well understood by bishops like Archbishop Basil (Krivochéine) of Brussels and Archbishop George (Tarassov) of Paris (Rue Daru) : French speaking and Dutch speaking communities were created in the years 1960-1970, after a fruitless attempt in 1935-40. Then French speaking and Dutch speaking communities were opened: in Brussels, the parishes of the Protection of the Virgin (Father Joseph Lamine) and of the Holy Trinity and of Saints Cosmas and Damian (Fathers Pierre Struve and Marc Nicaise) ; and in Ghent that of Saint Andrew (Father Ignatius Peckstadt).
From that time on, the Orthodox were better integrated in Belgian society, in particular after the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). Since then diverse activities (conferences, congresses, retreats and week-ends of reflection, youth movements, sessions of icon painting, etc.) have a certain impact. One can note a certain interest in the Orthodox Churches when Orthodox Patriarchs visit the country, for example when Patriarch Justinian of Romania came in 1972, and when Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople came in 1993, 1994 and 1996.

As for the Belgian authorities they mark their benevolence towards the Orthodox, for example when King Baudouin visited the Orthodox parish in Ghent in 1980, and especially when Orthodoxy was recognised as an official religion in Belgium in 1985 (and in 1998 in Luxemburg). Thanks to this recognition and to the action of diverse people, the Orthodox Church has become a real living reality in the ecclesial scene of Belgium and Luxemburg today.

Present Situation

Today there are between 70,000 and 80,000 Orthodox Christians in Belgium. In Luxemburg, there are about one thousand faithful. About 45 places of worship are served by about 4 bishops living in the country, 52 priests and 10 deacons of the diverse jurisdictions.

The Archbishopric (or Metropolitanate) of Belgium and Exarchate of The Netherlands and Luxemburg (Greek diocese of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, with its seat in Brussels) has 23 parishes in Belgium and 3 in Luxemburg (a Greek, a Romanian and a Bulgarian parish). The archbishopric is led by Metropolitan Panteleimon (Kontoyiannis), who is assisted by two auxiliary bishops, Maximos (Mastichis) and Athenagoras (Peckstadt). As exarch of the Patriarchate of Constantinople for the Benelux countries (Belgium, Luxemburg and The Netherlands), he is considered as the ‘first’ Orthodox bishop of the three countries and he also represents the Orthodox Church (including all jurisdictions) to the authorities of Belgium and Luxemburg.
The Greek parishes of this diocese keep their linguistic and cultural identities for the Hellenistic community; the diocese also has some ‘Western’ parishes celebrating in the local languages: in Courtrai, Bruges, Brussels and in Ghent, where a church in the Orthodox style with a cupola was recently built (2001). Bishop Athenagoras Peckstadt (the son of Father Ignatius) is responsible for these communities. An interesting experiment is being made in the Greek parish of Peronnes (Binche) to translate into French the tradition and chants of Byzantine origin. For some years a Georgian parish has functioned in Brussels, affiliated to this diocese.
It is worthy of note that this diocese has a Centre of theological training founded in 1997 by Father Dominique Verbeke and linked with the Orthodox Theological

Institute of Saint Sergius in Paris. The diocese organizes the programmes of Orthodox religious teaching for the public schools of Belgium. The diocese is also providing an Orthodox presence for the Belgian medias and the Orthodox chaplaincy in the hospitals, jails and airports of the country.

The Belgian diocese of the Patriarchate of Moscow (Archbishopric of Brussels and Belgium, with its seat in Brussels), has 11 communities including a monastery in Pervijze (near Dixmude, on the Belgian side) since 1976, and, since 2000, a little convent in Trazegnies (near Charleroi). Since 1987 the diocese is presided over by Archbishop Simon (Ichounine) who is also provisionally in charge of The Netherlands. These parishes include longstanding Russian emigrants or their descendants, new emigrants, as well as Belgians and other Westerners. The offices and liturgies are celebrated in Slavonic, French or Dutch, according to the communities.
In the frame of its representation by the European institutions, the Patriarchate of Moscow also opened in 2002, in Brussels, a church, which is under the direct administration of the Patriarch. The same year Queen Paola visited it.

The Archbishopric for Russian Orthodox Churches in Western Europe (Patriarchate of Constantinople, Rue Daru), which until 2003 were presided over by Archbishop Sergius (Konovaloff) (1941-2003), includes 4 parishes, which are put together with the deanery in northern France; the dean is Father Guy Fontaine, of Liège. The offices are celebrated in Slavonic, French and Dutch, according to circumstances. When he was elected as archbishop in Paris (Rue Daru), Archbishop Sergius (Konovaloff), former priest in Brussels, used to come back regularly and visit these communities. His successor, Archbishop Gabriel (De Vylder), is also Belgian, but he resided for a long time in The Netherlands. Until his election he served the parish of Liège and was in charge of the vicariate of the archbishopric for the Benelux countries.

Two parishes, one in Brussels and the other in Luxemburg (an Orthodox looking church with a cupola built by Father Serge Poukh), are under the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR). There are aged Russian people as well as new faithful from diverse origins. These parishes are under Bishop Agapit (Gorachenko) who resides in Germany.

These Greek and Russian communities gather faithful who integrated into the Western reality and who have learned to use different languages during the celebrations as well as to take into account the environment where they live. However, the great flux of new emigrants from Eastern Europe may change this situation.

Let us also note the existence of three Romanian communities (in Brussels, Antwerp and Liège), of a Bulgarian parish and of a Serbian parish (both in Brussels) which depend on their respective mother Churches, through the dioceses of Western Europe whose seats are situated outside Belgium.

There are also three parishes under the Ukrainian Church in Exile. In Genk (in Limburg) a beautiful church was built in Ukrainian baroque style. The Patriarchate of

Constantinople has received these communities in 1990; they seem to keep isolated from the other Orthodox communities in Belgium.

As a whole, even though there is no Orthodox Episcopal organ of coordination in Belgium, the links between the Orthodox communities are brotherly. One of their common manifestations is the celebration of the Sunday of Orthodoxy which every year gathers the representatives of all the jurisdictions in Brussels.
Other signs of pan-Orthodox collaboration can be seen through some organisations (such as the Orthodox Fellowship in Brussels or the local movement of Orthodox Youth linked to Syndesmos) where Orthodox of different jurisdictions collaborate. There are also other events organized in common, such as the Orthodox congresses organized by the Belgian Orthodox Fellowship (in Bruges-Maele in 1972, in Natoye in 1977 and in Blankenberge in 2000); as well as the congresses of the Orthodox Fellowship in Western Europe (in Ghent in 1983 and in Blankenberge in 1993 and in 2005). Some parishes publish a bulletin. Some books and reviews are also published in common by Orthodox of Belgium.

There are ecumenical relationships: some Orthodox take part in different ecumenical associations (ACAT that is 'Action by Christians for the Abolition of Torture', 'Pax Christi') and in official institutions. One may consider that the Orthodox presence in ecumenical circles in Belgium could be stronger, even if the Orthodox are a minority in the country.
Some Orthodox have cordial links with Catholic communities of Eastern rite, for example with the parishes of Saint John the Forerunner or of the Theophany in Brussels or with the Abbey of Chevetogne.

One cannot keep silent about the fact that some Orthodox Churches have their own representations in the European institutions in Brussels. The Patriarchate of Constantinople set up the first representation in 1995, followed by the Churches of Greece, Russia and Romania. Other Churches may follow their example.

This panorama of Orthodoxy in Belgium and in Luxemburg would not be complete without speaking of the legal situation. In 1985, the Orthodox Church was recognized by the Belgian state as an official denomination, as is the case for the Catholic, Protestant, and Anglican denominations, and Jewish and Muslim religions. This legal recognition, completed by decrees in 1988, does give rights to the Orthodox of Belgium and at the same time imposes duties. An identical recognition was given in the Great Duchy of Luxemburg in 1998. The rights are linked to the recognition of determined parishes with salary for the priests as well as to the possibility of involvement in the medias (with Orthodox programmes on radio and television), in the hospitals and jails; beside other confessions and religions (Catholic, Protestant, Anglican, Jewish and Muslim) the Orthodox may organize courses of Orthodox religion in public schools (since 1988-1989 in Flanders, and since 1997 in the French speaking part of the country). The imposed duties imply not only a respect for the conditions of application of these dispositions, but also to understand that the acts of the Orthodox community have, from now on, feedback in Belgian society.

As is the case for all the Christian communities, the future of the Orthodox Church in Belgium and in Luxemburg is in God's hands. From a human point of view, one could wish that the Orthodox might move towards a deeper rooting in the country where

they live while remaining united to traditional and universal Orthodoxy. The Orthodox, despite their diverse origins, are linked by the unity of faith and of sacraments. In the future, they should reinforce their common testimony, without forgetting they are in Western Europe on ancient Christian ground. They have to become conscious, with the other Christians, of the realities of the contemporary world; together they are responsible for being living witnesses of the Gospel.

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See the Annuary of Belgium

In 2006 Father Serge Model was an Orthodox priest in Brussels (Moscow Patriarchate)

The Orthodox Church in The Netherlands

by Professor Joost van Rossum (with collaboration of Father Theodore van der Voort and Sister Martha)

Beginnings

The first Orthodox parish in The Netherlands was founded between 1763 and 1766 in Amsterdam by Greek merchants and sailors. Not only Greeks attended the services, but also Russians. Until the first half of the 19th century, the parish was served by Greek priests only. After 1852 all the priests of the parish were Russian. The church was located in an attic of a house in Amsterdam, at Oude Zijds Voorburgwal, and dedicated to Saint Catherine.
In the beginning of the 19th century a chapel was installed by a Russian Princess, Anna Pavlovna, who was married to the Dutch King William II. It was a private chapel situated in her palace in The Hague, dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalene. A priest and some singers were sent from Russia in order to celebrate the liturgical services. After the death of King William in 1849, Queen Anna Pavlovna retired to the village of Soestdijk, in the central part of the country, where another Orthodox chapel was built. The Queen also gave financial support to the parish in Amsterdam and honoured it with her presence a few times. The year of her death, 1865, marked the end of the existence of the Orthodox Church in The Netherlands at that time, for very soon the parish in Amsterdam, which had only a very few parishioners, was also closed down. The arrival of Russian emigrants following the Russian Revolution of 1917 marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the Orthodox Church in The Netherlands, with the foundation of a parish in 1922 in The Hague.

Towards a 'Dutch Orthodoxy'

In the period following World War II (1939-45), Orthodoxy became gradually more known. Several reasons can be indicated for this phenomenon. For example the publication of books on Orthodoxy such as those written in 1937 and 1940, *Russian Christianity* and *Beautiful Pascha*, by a charismatic personality, a Catholic, Dr. Pjotr Hendrix (d. 1979). He was teaching in a high school before being professor of Byzantine studies at the University of Leyden. His two books are a living testimony of what he had seen during his trips in the Soviet Union. There he had also met some high dignitaries of the Russian Church such as the Metropolitan Sergius of Moscow. Another book written by a Protestant theologian, Pastor Fetter, *The Russians and their Church,* was published in 1947. In certain circles, such writings have contributed to a better understanding of Orthodoxy.

The work accomplished in some Catholic parishes of the Byzantine Rite (called 'Uniates' as being attached to the Catholic Church), which were located in several major cities of the country, has often allowed a first introduction to Orthodoxy; there they respected strictly the Orthodox way of praying according to the Slavonic ordo or *typikon*. This exercised a strong attraction on those interested in Orthodoxy and also contributed largely to the conversion of certain people. Among them some entered priestly and monastic ranks. In fact, the reception into the Orthodox Church of two young Benedictine monks in 1940, who became priests**,** Jakob Akkersdijk in 1946 and Adriaan Korporaal in 1952, marked the beginning of a 'Dutch' Orthodoxy. They

had been guided in their choice by Father Dionysios (Loukine), a Russian who began his priestly work in the parish in The Hague when he arrived in 1936. He was a young graduate of the Theological Institute of Saint Sergius in Paris. He quickly learned the Dutch language. He was the real pioneer of Dutch Orthodoxy, for example by beginning to celebrate some parts of the Divine Liturgy in Dutch. In 1947 he was able to publish a book on the Orthodox Church, *Russian Orthodoxy*, originally a series of lectures which he had held in The Netherlands in the beginning of the 1940s. This book also had a certain impact.

Then the number of Orthodox started to grow, not only because there were some Dutch people who converted to Orthodoxy, but also because a new wave of Russian emigrants came to the Netherlands, following World War II (1939-45).
Among the first parishes where the Dutch language was used, let us mention that of the University town of Groningen founded in 1961 by Father Johannes (Jan) Haveman, a Dutch convert to Orthodoxy who was teaching sociology at the university.
The translation of all the liturgical books into Dutch from original Greek texts took many years and was mainly done by Father Adriaan Korporaal. This contributed in a decisive way to the liturgical development of all the parishes and monastic communities which were then founded in the Netherlands and also in Belgium.

In 2005, the total number of the Orthodox people in the Netherlands was estimated to be about 20,000, and the greatest number of parishes are under the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The 'Russian' parishes under the Archbishopric of the Russian Orthodox Churches in Western Europe (Rue Daru, Paris) are under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and so are the Greek parishes (under the Greek Metropolitan residing in Brussels). There are several parishes under the Patriarchate of Moscow which, since the death of Archbishop Jakob (Akkersdijk), a Dutch convert (1914-91), are temporarily under Archbishop Simon of Brussels. There are also some parishes under other jurisdictions. Some parishes are under the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR).
The history of the Orthodox parishes in The Netherlands will now be presented, place by place.

The parishes of Russian tradition

In The Hague, the parish founded by the Russian emigrants in 1922, again dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalene, was located in a house, at Sweelinckstraat 54. The house still serves today as the rectory of the parish. The first priest was Father Alexis Rozanov. His successor was Hieromonk Dionysios (Loukine). With the help of a committee of Dutch friends, an empty house was bought in Obrechtstraat 9, at the other end of the rectory's garden ; it was transformed into an Orthodox church, which was consecrated in 1937 by Metropolitan Evlogy of Paris (Rue Daru, Patriarchate of Constantinople).
Father Dionysios and the parish decided to join the Moscow Patriarchate, following the example of Metropolitan Evlogy of Paris (d. 1946) who took this decision at the end of his life, in 1945**.** However, a considerable number of the Russian emigrants in The Netherlands did not agree to this choice, and joined the Russian Church Outside Russia. They founded some parishes, which still exist, in Amsterdam and Arnhem. Since 2001 their parish in The Hague is used by the Bulgarians and is under the

Church of Bulgaria which is not in communion with the official Patriarchate of Bulgaria.

After Father Dionysios had left The Hague in 1951 in order to continue his activities in Rotterdam, the parish was served by other priests: during the 1950s by Father Irenaeus Souzomil, during the 1960s by Father Vladimir Gousseff, and from 1968 until 1971 by Father Nicholas Ozoline, a young graduate of Saint Sergius' Theological Institute in Paris. He was succeeded by Father Benjamin Dergatsch (till 1982) and Archimandrite Nikon Yakimov (since 1982 till now).

In Rotterdam, Father Dionysios founded a parish in the 1950s which was first located on a boat which also served as rectory. In 1958 a new location was found in a private house (in Persijnstraat no 16) and there, in 1959, a chapel was consecrated and dedicated to the Mother of God 'Quick to Hear' (*Skoroposlushnitsa*). The boat was later used by the parish in Haarlem, however only for a short time. The name *Skoroposlushnitsa* was given to the new chapel because Father Dionysios had helped in the Dutch resistance during World War II and had made a promise, after a painful search of his house by the SS, to dedicate to that name the first Orthodox church in Holland to be founded after the war. Father Dionysios was consecrated Bishop in 1966; he retired in 1972, and died in 1976.
A new church, dedicated to Saint Alexander Nevsky, was constructed completely in the Russian style elsewhere in Rotterdam; its consecration was made by Metropolitan Cyril of Smolensk in 2004. Since 1990, the priest is Father Gregory Krasnotsvetov. Services are held in Slavonic.

Before becoming monks and priests, Fathers Adriaan Korporaal and Jakob Akkersdijk had been members of the parish of Father Dionysios in The Hague. During the war, they founded a hermitage in the province of Limburg. In 1948, they founded a 'Dutch' Orthodox parish in The Hague, dedicated to Saint John the Baptist ; and, in 1954, a monastery with the same patron saint, also in The Hague. Following a personal meeting in 1953 with Archbishop John Maximovitch of San Francisco of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, then residing in Europe, who visited the new foundation several times and who became the spiritual father of both Father Jakob and Father Adriaan, the community was placed under that jurisdiction in 1954.
In that monastery and parish, the liturgical language was, and still is, strictly Dutch.
In 1965, Father Jakob was ordained bishop for the Netherlands in the Russian Cathedral of Saint Job in Brussels by Metropolitan Philaret of New York (Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia). Later however, in 1972, after the retirement of Bishop Dionysius, the parish and the monastery returned to the Patriarchate of Moscow and Bishop Jakob was named Archbishop in 1979. He retired in 1988 and died in 1991. Father Adriaan died in 2002. Since that time the priest is Father Boris Chapchal.

Besides the churches in The Hague, Rotterdam and Groningen, another parish under the Moscow Patriarchate was founded in Amsterdam in 1974 by Alexis Voogd, a lecturer in Russian language at the University of Amsterdam. He was received into Orthodoxy in 1967 by Metropolitan Anthony (Bloom) of Sourozh of the Moscow Patriarchate in London. First he served as reader and choir director in Saint Mary Magdalene's Church in The Hague. He then felt the need for a new parish in

Amsterdam, the capital of the Netherlands. Alexis Voogd (d. 2002) was ordained deacon in 1974 and priest in 1978, by Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh. At the beginning, services in Amsterdam were celebrated in several Catholic churches, with the Serbian Orthodox community for a while (1975-80) ; then in 1995, an old Protestant church was purchased and transformed into an Orthodox sanctuary, dedicated to Saint Nicholas the Wonderworker.
Father Alexis' son-in-law, Father Sergius Ovsiannikov, a graduate of the Theological Academy of Saint Petersburg, has succeeded him as rector of the parish. In 2005 this community bought a Catholic monastery (Tichelkerk) in the middle of the city to make it into an Orthodox church. Liturgical languages : Slavonic and Dutch.

In Groningen, the Orthodox community was founded by Father Jan Haveman. In 1961, he was ordained priest in the Moscow Patriarchate in The Hague by Metropolitan Nicholas (Eremine). Father Jan started to celebrate liturgical services in Dutch in this parish of Groningen dedicated to the Holy Transfiguration. Soon some students started to attend the services and joined the choir. Several among them became Orthodox. After his retirement, in 1972, Father Jan moved to Maastricht where he started another parish (see Maastricht).
Since 1970 the parish of the Holy Transfiguration celebrated in a Catholic chapel in a cemetery. In 1988, the parish acquired an old warehouse which was rebuilt as a church, with two appartments. The church was consecrated by Archbishop Simon of Brussels (Patriarchate of Moscow) on the day after Christmas 1993. Since 1990 the parish is served by the hieromonk Onufry and since 1998 as well by the hieromonk Yewsevy (Eusebius), (see monastery at Himmelum).

In Maastricht, Father Jan Haveman (see Groningen) started celebrating in 1972, before going under the jurisdiction of Rue Daru in 1974. Being of fragile health, he needed help at the altar and a young local icon-painter, Paul Hommes, was ordained deacon in the Saint Alexander Nevsky's Cathedral, in Rue Daru in Paris, by Archbishop George (Tarassov). When his health deteriorated, the dean of the Russian Archdiocese in Western Europe, Father Marc Nicaise, in concert with Archbishop George, designated in 1977 the newly ordained priest Father Guido De Vylder to assist Father Jan. At that time, Archbishop George recognized the community and gave his blessing for the new parish. Father Jan moved to Belgium where he died in 1993.
A former shop was acquired in the centre of Maastricht, and it required a lot of work to be transformed into a worthy place of worship ; the new church was consecrated in 1985 by Archbishop George (Wagner), (Rue Daru). Services are celebrated in Dutch.

From his residence in Maastricht, Father Guido assisted in the foundation of parishes in Deventer, Breda and Kollumerpomp. In 1992 he was appointed rector of the old Russian parish of Saint Alexander Nevsky in Liège (Belgium) and, after giving his monastic vows and receiving the name of Gabriel, he became dean of the parishes under the Rue Daru in The Netherlands, Belgium, West-Germany and the North of France. In Maastricht he was succeeded by Father Lambert van Dinteren. Since 2004 the parish is served by Father Theodore van der Voort.

In 2001, Archimandrite Gabriel became vicar bishop of Archbishop Sergius (Konovaloff), (Rue Daru). After the death of the latter, in 2003, Bishop Gabriel was

elected Archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Churches in Western Europe and Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (Rue Daru) in Paris.

In Deventer, as far back as the 1950s, a small group of Russian families living in and around, joined together regularly in order to celebrate the Liturgy. Originally in the jurisdiction of the Russian Church Outside Russia, after a conflict with the serving priest, this group was served by some Dutch priests of different juridictions. Father Stephan Bakker (see Amersfoort) and, later, Father Guido De Vylder (see Maastricht) visited the parish regularly. In 1983 the parish put itself under the jurisdiction of the Rue Daru. Services were held in a medieval powder-tower, and in 1984 in the chapel of an old hospice. It was only with the arrival of Father Theodore van der Voort, in 1984, that the parish became really organized. In 1999, the parish was able to purchase a former shop in the centre of the old city and changed it into a lovely chapel consecrated in 2001 by Archbishop Sergius and Bishop Gabriel (Rue Daru). Services are held in Dutch and partly in Slavonic.

The need was felt by some Orthodox for having an Orthodox church in the south-western area of The Netherlands. A community began to be established in Breda in the 1980s with the coming of some priests speaking Dutch. For a few years, Father Guido used to come from Maastricht every month to celebrate the Liturgy. Once a regular priest was found, the parish began to grow. The parish is part of the jurisdiction under Rue Daru. Regular services began in 1985, and after a time of celebrations in different Catholic chapels, in 1988 the Liturgy was celebrated regularly in the chapel of a Catholic convent. In 1990 the parish received its canonical status and Father Martin Erlings became its first rector. Since 1992, the parish found another place, the chapel of the Polish cemetery. After Father Martin died in 2003, the deacon of the parish, Father Lucas Gabriels, was ordained priest in the same year, so that parish life could continue. Services are held in Dutch.

In Kollumerpomp, the parish of Saint Panteleimon began in the following way. In the beginning of the 1980s, a small group of Orthodox from the northern province of Frysland organized their own place of worship. Services started in the chapel of the private property of an Orthodox family, on one Saturday every month. For several years Father Guido came all the way from Maastricht to celebrate the Liturgy, until his nomination as archbishop in 2003. The community belongs to the jurisdiction of Rue Daru. The liturgical languages are Dutch and Frys which is not a dialect but an official language. Since 2004, Father Theodore van der Voort is responsible for this community. Since 2003 he is also the dean for the parishes under the Rue Daru in the Netherlands and in Flanders.

In Amersfoort, the parish, dedicated to Saint Cornelius the Centurion (‘Sotnik’), was founded in 1983 by Father Stephan Bakker, who had been ordained in 1975 by Archbishop Jakob of The Hague. Originally the parish was under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate, but since 1987 it is under the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The liturgical language is Dutch.

In Eindhoven, a parish, dedicated to Saint Nectarios of Aegina, was founded in 1991, and is under the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The rector is Father Silouan Osseel. Services are held in Dutch.

Greek Orthodox parishes

In 1947, the Greek community in Rotterdam decided to organize a Greek Orthodox parish in this major seaport city. The first stone was laid in 1954. The church, dedicated to Saint Nicholas the Wonderworker, in Byzantine style, was consecrated in 1957. Another Greek Orthodox parish, dedicated to the Holy Annunciation, was founded in Utrecht in 1976.
The two Greek priests residing in the Netherlands celebrate also in Amsterdam, Groningen, Gorinchem, Nijmegen and Wageningen : in these cities they own no church buildings, but enjoy hospitality in Catholic churches. Services are restricted to one Saturday every month. The liturgical language is Greek.

Other jurisdictions

Parishes belonging to other jurisdictions have been founded since the 1980s. In general, they own no church building and services are held once a month.
The Serbian Church is represented in Amsterdam, Culemborg, Ede, Emmer-Compascuum, Nijmegen, Rotterdam and Utrecht ; the Bulgarian Church in The Hague; and the Romanian Church in Haarlem and in Schiedam. These are 'ethnical' churches; their liturgical language is according to their respective jurisdiction.

The monasteries

Several monasteries were founded in the Netherlands, including the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in The Hague (Patriarchate of Moscow) founded in 1954 by Fathers Adriaan Korporaal and Jakob Akkersdijk which was, at the beginning, inhabited by monks and nuns, and after the death of Father Adriaan in 2002, only by nuns.

In Sint-Hubert, in the province of North-Brabant, a monastery was founded in 1972 by Pachom (van Neerven), who had spent some years in the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in The Hague. He was able to purchase a little farm and to transform it into a monastery, dedicated to the Prophet Elias. In 1974 he was tonsured monk by Archbishop George (Tarassov) and was ordained priest in the Cathedral of Saint Alexander Nevsky (Rue Daru) in Paris. The charismatic personality of Father Pachom attracted people from all over The Netherlands and, very soon, a parish was founded there. Father Pachom, a former journalist, is a gifted preacher. Some parishioners took the initiative to publish his sermons, in 1999, under the title *From the Word of Life*. Unfortunately Father Pachom suffers from a serious form of diabetes and, at this moment, he is no longer able to celebrate. However, sitting in his wheelchair, he still loves preaching during the Liturgy, with the same zeal. Otherwise he spends his days in a nursing home nearby. Since the beginning, the monastery has been under the Russian Archdiocese in Western Europe (Rue Daru). Services are celebrated in Dutch, but at the moment infrequently.

In Asten, in the same province of North-Brabant, an Orthodox convent, dedicated to the Nativity of the Holy Mother of God, was founded in 1989 by its present Hegoumena, Mother Maria (Hulsker). Mother Maria spent some years in the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in The Hague and, later, in several convents in

Serbia and Greece. The Monastery in Asten is under the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Services are held in Dutch, Greek and occasionally in English. It is an international community, with nuns coming from different countries. Since 2003 the community has its own priest, Matthew Arnold, an Englishman married to a Dutch woman, who was ordained priest by Bishop Athenagoras, a Fleming from Belgium, vicar bishop of the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan Panteleimon of Brussels.

Another monastery is found in the northern province of Frysland, in the village of Himmelum. It was founded in 1999, by two brothers, who had received their monastic formation in Orthodox monasteries in Poland. In 1990 and 1998 they were ordained monks and priests, receiving the names of Onufry and Yevsevy (Eusebius). With the help of some friends and youngsters from Poland, a former Protestant church was converted into an Orthodox monastery. The monastery, dedicated to Saint Nicholas the Wonderworker, depends on the Patriarchate of Moscow. Services are held in Dutch, Slavonic and Frys.

The Orthodox Association of Saint Nicholas of Myra

A milestone in the history of Orthodoxy in the Netherlands was the foundation, in 1980, of the Association of Saint Nicholas of Myra (*Vereniging van Orthodoxen Hl. Nikolaas van Myra*). The initiative was taken by Theodore van der Voort, a graduate of the University of Groningen, who then followed studies at the Theological Academy of Saint Petersburg (then Leningrad), and who became priest of the parish in The Hague in 1982, and then in Deventer.
The model of the fellowship was taken from Orthodox Fellowships that existed elsewhere in Europe (*Fraternité Orthodoxe* in France and *Fellowship of Saint John the Baptist* in England), but adapted to the Dutch laws. Its main aim is to create a platform where Orthodox of all jurisdictions in The Netherlands could meet. It also allows the Orthodox to manifest in a more precise manner the presence of the Orthodox in The Netherlands. After having obtained the blessing of the three Orthodox hierarchs (Greek Orthodox, and Russian of the Rue Daru under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and Russian from the Patriarchate of Moscow) the opening ceremony took place in Utrecht with the concelebration of a Pontifical Liturgy, presided over by Archbishop Jakob (Akkersdijk) then the only Orthodox bishop residing in The Netherlands. It took place on the Monday of Pentecost, day of the Holy Spirit, in 1980. It was a memorable moment, considering the complex history of the Orthodox jurisdictions in The Netherlands. Some of its common activities are: an annual meeting, usually held in June in one of the parishes; the publication of a 'Yearbook' (*Jaarboek*) with, among other things, articles about theological and other issues concerning Orthodoxy, a 'chronicle', as well as an annual report from all the Orthodox parishes in The Netherlands and a detailed list of all the Orthodox parishes and monasteries in The Netherlands with practical information about location, public transport and roster of the services. Since 1996, the same type of information is published in the Yearbook about the Pre-Chalcedonian (or Oriental Orthodox) Churches in The Netherlands. The Fellowship also organizes several study-weekends during the year, for which speakers from all over Europe are invited; summer camps for children and teenagers, in cooperation with some Belgian Orthodox youngsters of the Dutch speaking area ; the organization of pilgrimages, in and outside The Netherlands. The Fellowship also represents the Orthodox Churches in *The Netherlands in the Dutch National Council of Churches* and in *The Contact Council between the Dutch Churches and the State*.

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The Orthodox Church in Denmark in the 20th Century

by Father Paul Sebbelov

Until the early 1920s, the very existence of the Orthodox Church, Orthodox faith and Orthodox church life were practically unknown in Denmark. And those who did know about Orthodoxy regarded it as something exotic, existing in far away countries, far away from their Danish Protestant Lutheran everyday-life.

However, already in 1884, an Orthodox cathedral, Saint Alexander Nevsky Church, had been consecrated in the capital of Copenhagen. This was due to the matrimonial relations which had been established between the royal families of Denmark and Russia, when Danish Princess Dagmar was married to the Russian crown Prince, the future Alexander III, in the year 1866, and she became Empress Maria Fiodorovna.
This 'royal Russian church' remained during its first four decades a closed realm, and was only used whenever the tsar and his family were visiting Denmark.
These conditions radically changed, however, after the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the arrival of a stream of Russian refugees to Western Europe, including Denmark. The former 'royal' church changed into an ordinary Orthodox parish, mainly for expatriate Russians.

The newly established Soviet regime tried its best to lay hands on the parish and the church building; but a decision from the Danish Supreme Court, in 1924, secured freedom from communist control for the fragile congregation. Thereafter the parish of Saint Alexander Nevsky in Copenhagen was organized, as were so many Russian parishes throughout Europe, under the omophor and authority of Metropolitan Evlogy, an administration which was later to become popularly known as 'the Paris Jurisdiction' (Rue Daru).
From then on, the Russian Orthodox parish in Copenhagen lived in relative peace for the next forty years. In the mid-sixties, however, strong turbulence occurred. Influential members of the parish saw their personal advantage in working for a change of jurisdiction. They therefore made contact with Archbishop Philoteos (Narko, 1905-1984) in Hamburg, Germany, and asked him to accept Saint Alexander Nevsky's Church into his jurisdiction. Archbishop Philoteos belonged to the so-called Synodal Church or Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR). Archbishop Philoteos accepted the invitation and even sent several letters to the lawful parish priest saying he was to consider himself as dismissed and would soon be replaced by a 'Synodal' priest.

This whole disturbance once again activated the Danish authorities, and several court cases followed. The final outcome was a verdict from the Supreme Court, in 1974, stating that the attempt of the Synodal Church to take over Alexander Nevsky's Church was illegal. Furthermore the Court stated specifically that Archbishop Philoteos, and with him the Synodal Church, had no legal authority whatsoever in relation to the Orthodox church building and parish in Copenhagen.
Ten years later however, in 1984, what had proved impossible to implement in a legal way now took place in a way which can only be described as a *coup de théâtre.*
The lawful priest of Copenhagen died, and the Archbishop from the Church in Exile (Archbishop Mark Arndt) and his priests simply took physical possession of the church-building, had locks and keys changed, and summoned their local supporters to a 'general assembly', at which occasion a decision was made that Alexander

Nevsky's Church from that day on was under Synodal administration. The lawful successor to the parish priest, a Norwegian by the name of Father Johannes, and many laypeople of course protested, but the power-balance at that time was to the advantage of the intruders. Many Orthodox believers were deprived of their churchly home as a result of this uncanonical act of violence. To this day (2005), the Church of Alexander Nevsky in Copenhagen is still under Synodal control.

During the last half of the 20th century something else also changed. From being a closed Russian church circle, the Alexander Nevsky's parish gradually became more 'multi-ethnical'. An increasing number of Danish converts joined the parish, as did Greeks, Romanians, Serbs and others, including Ethiopian refugees. At the same time we began to see a growing problem in the fact that second and third generation of Russians no longer spoke Russian, and no longer were familiar with Church Slavonic and the customs from their ancestors' country.

These changes led to an increasing demand that Danish language should be introduced as the liturgical language. Such a demand met, and still meets, severe resistance in some nationalist Russian circles in Denmark who insist that everything must remain the way it 'always' has been, namely as it used to be back in Russia.
The confrontations over liturgical language, and more generally over whether or not Orthodoxy should be forever defined as an exclusively ethnic Russian religion, in the end necessarily led to yet another division of the Alexander Nevsky's parish.

Confrontations and discussions became ever more intense during the 1990s. In 2001, however, a small group of mainly Danish-speaking parishioners left the Alexander Nevsky's Parish and, with the blessing of the late Archbishop Sergius from the Exarchate in Paris (Rue Daru), founded a new parish by the name 'Protection of the Mother of God'.
Therefore there is in Denmark, since 2001, for the first time ever, an Orthodox parish which is based on local parishioners, Danes and other nationalities, but using liturgically the local language, Danish. Being very small, around 25 members plus a number of catechumens, the parish does not yet have a separate church building, but has its divine services, on all Sundays and Orthodox feastdays, in a house north of Copenhagen which is also the priest's residence. Due to its smallness, the parish is connected to the much bigger Saint Nicholas' Parish in Oslo, Norway.
During its four years of existence the parish of the Protection of the Mother of God has seen considerable growth. This we can take as a sign that we are now entering an era in which Orthodoxy is becoming an ordinary part of Christian life in Denmark, for Danes themselves, and for people of different nationalities who live there.

The website below provides more information (in Danish) about the Orthodox Church in Denmark: www.ortodoks.dk

In 2006 Father Paul Sebbelov was the second priest in charge of Saint Nicholas' Parish in Oslo and he was responsible for the parish of the Protection of the Mother of God in Copenhagen, Denmark, under the Russian Exarchate in Paris (Rue Daru). Father Paul is Danish by birth and has had a long career of teaching Danish language, literature and film. After conversion to Orthodoxy in the year 1990, he has

studied theology at the University of Copenhagen and at the Institute of Saint Sergius in Paris. He was ordained deacon in Paris in 2002 by Archbishop Sergius. He was ordained to the priesthood in 2003 in Oslo by Archbishop Gabriel.

The Orthodox Church in Modern Norway

by Thomas Arentzen

The Beginnings

The people of Norway are only a small population; it is even smaller when it comes to Orthodox. Today the less than 10,000 Orthodox believers residing in the country constitute a vigorous minority.

Apart from Christianity in the West before the schism of the eleventh century and the mission of Saint Tryphon of Pechenga (+1583), there was little Orthodox life in Norway in the centuries leading up to our own time. Saint Tryphon, born in the Novgorod region of Russia, evangelized the Lappish population in the very north of Norway; the subsequent religion and culture of these Skolts was Orthodox. However, the Lutheran State more or less banned non-Lutheran Churches. This is true not only despite the fact, but probably also *because*, two of its neighbouring countries, Russia and Finland, were open to Orthodox Christianity.

Like elsewhere in Western Europe, Eastern Orthodoxy made its appearance in Norway in the wake of the Russian Revolution. A Requiem-service for the Tsar's family in 1918 was the first public Orthodox service in modern Norway. On this occasion King Haakon VII of Norway (a cousin of Tsar Nicholas) and the former Russian consul were present. Two years later a number of Russian refugees celebrated Orthodox Easter near Trondheim, in Trøndelag. The 1920s saw sporadic celebrations of the Liturgy in Oslo, attended by refugees and Russians from the consulate.

In the early 1930s, Russians took the first step in establishing a parish in Oslo; their community was initially a branch of the parish of the Transfiguration in Stockholm. Just before the Second World War reached Norwegian shores, the Russian immigrants managed to find a permanent location for their services, renting a room from the Lutheran State Church. The Orthodox Church of Finland bestowed on the little community an iconostasis and other ecclesial artefacts from the old Monastery of Valamo (in Russia). The parish of Saint Nicholas was founded in 1936, dedicated to the popular saint from Myra. It belonged, and still belongs, to the Russian Orthodox Archdiocese in Western Europe, Paris (Rue Daru, Patriarchate of Constantinople).

The Norwegian public was reminded of the existence of the Orthodox Church when the parish priest performed the marriage of Prince Sturdza of Romania to a Norwegian bride in 1936.

At that time, this was the only Orthodox body in the country and it included not only Russians, but also other Orthodox people. It was an event of historical significance when, in 1952, the community got its first non-Russian priest, the Swiss Archimandrite Therapon Hümmerich. He was also the first priest to serve the Church in Norway for a longer period of time. Among other things he set up an Orthodox chapel next to a Russian refugee home (the establishment of which he had also initiated) on the island of Helgøya in Mjøsa, where he was himself buried some thirty years later. The chapel no longer exists, but Saint Nicholas' parishioners continue to commemorate the dead at the Orthodox cemetery there.

Parishes and Monasteries

Greeks in Norway had been working to establish a separate Greek parish. In 1965, they founded the second Orthodox parish in Norway dedicated to the Annunciation. Eventually they got their own church building in the centre of Oslo which was consecrated in 1992, under the jurisdiction of the Greek Metropolitan of Sweden (Patriarchate of Constantinople). The community is still predominantly Greek as is their liturgical language. Since they are served by a priest living in Sweden, the Greeks do not have weekly services.
As is the case in secular society, so also things changed in church life in the decades after the 1960s. The position of the Lutheran state church weakened even more than before. There was an increase in immigration from Orthodox countries, and the 1990s witnessed the establishment of many new parishes, all geographically based in Oslo.
Founded by ethnic groups from within Saint Nicholas' Church, these new parishes are (like that of The Annunciation) ethnical in nature and are concerned not only with the religious, but also the cultural needs of their parishioners. Despite the tension caused by the founding of these new parishes, inter-Orthodox relations have, more or less, been peaceful. Still, however, there is not a great deal of formal cooperation between the different parishes and their leaders.
Most of the new parishes do not have their own permanent church building, but rely on the Greek church in Oslo (or Lutheran or Catholic chapels) for their services.
Since the congregations lack a permanent priest or location, the following conditions are liable to change.

The Serbian Orthodox parish of Saint Basil of Ostrog organizes services at least twice a month. It was officially established in 1992, although there had been sporadic Serbian Orthodox activities in Oslo prior to that. Due to the number of refugees from the former Yugoslavia in Norway and the fact that the parish has had a resident priest since the year 2000, it has grown large and vital. The priest celebrates services in the cities of Kristiansand, Bergen, Porsgrunn and Stavanger. He occasionally serves other towns, as well as Iceland where about 400 Serbs are living as well as Russians. The liturgical language is Slavonic. The parish belongs to the Serbian Patriarchate in Belgrade and is presided over by the Stockholm-based bishop for Great Britain and Scandinavia who resides in Stockholm.
Among the other immigrant Orthodox communities, one finds the Bulgarian and Romanian communities.
The Romanian community of the Romanian Patriarchate has monthly services in the Greek church. The priest of the Romanian parish in Göteborg in Sweden leads the services. Their liturgical language is Romanian.
The Bulgarian parish of Saints Cyril and Methodius uses the same church building. Father Angel Petrunov of the Bulgarian Patriarchate comes from Sweden to serve the community. Liturgies are celebrated in Slavonic. Both communities use the New Style Calendar.
In recent years Orthodoxy in Norway has been subject to an important development. The communities have gone from being small and invisible immigrant communities to becoming more confident participants in the public life of an increasingly pluralistic society. The Church has thus attracted attention from other Christian and non-Christian Norwegians.
In 1997, the Moscow Patriarchate officially founded the Russian Orthodox parish of Saint Olga in order to serve Russians living in Norway. The young Hygumen Kliment Huhtamaki, from Finland, is the rector of the parish. For some time the new

community used the former Soviet consulate for its services and as a residence for the priest. In 2004, however, Metropolitan Cyril of Smolensk and Kaliningrad consecrated a former Lutheran burial chapel – situated in the centre of Oslo in the central cemetery, a beautiful green spot and of easy access – as the Church of Our Saviour. The congregation is very active and has a small, but energetic choir. Liturgies and Vespers are celebrated weekly, in Slavonic. The parish has established active parochial branches in major Norwegian cities such as Tromsø, Bergen and Trondheim. Some of its Norwegian members have started a group within the community – the Holy Trinity group – which works to make the Church more accessible to ethnic Norwegians. Among other things it organizes monthly services in Norwegian and eventually hopes to establish a 'Norwegian' parish under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Moscow.
A small monastery-like farm can be found in Folldal, along the old pilgrimage route from Oslo to Trondheim, where Saint Olaf was buried and where he has been venerated for thousand years. Its chapel is dedicated to Saint Olaf, the patron saint of Norway. The Norwegian monk Jonas Johannessen lives there.
Another parish of the Moscow Patriarchate – the Church of Saint Irene in the city of Stavanger – is served by Father Michael Selyavkin.
Furthermore the Patriarchate of Moscow has some activity in the town of Kirkenes, near the Russo-Norwegian border, where the priest comes from Murmansk (Russia).

The small immigrant parish of Saint Nicholas has grown into a vivid pan-Orthodox community with its own church building in Oslo, and with parochial branches in the cities of Bergen and Stavanger. It is still the oldest, the largest, and the only explicitly multi-ethnic community. Eventually the old church building was becoming too small for the congregation; the new one was consecrated by Archbishop Gabriel (Rue Daru) in 2003. On the same occasion he ordained a priest and a deacon. This was the first ordination of an Orthodox priest in modern Norway. Priests of the Moscow Patriarchate were concelebrating.
The members of the parish are from virtually every Orthodox country in the world – including even Oriental Orthodox – but the priest and deacon and many of its active members are Norwegian. To develop into a parish of 'Norwegian' or local Orthodoxy is its long-term goal. The community celebrates Liturgies and Vespers with a mixture of Norwegian and Slavonic weekly. Once a month the services are held in Norwegian only. Frequent communion is normal.
Saint Nicholas' Church is responsible for revitalising and continuing Lappish Orthodoxy centred around the wooden Chapel of Saint George in Neiden, in the border region of Norway, Russia and Finland. This chapel is the oldest Russian Orthodox building in Norway; it was erected by Saint Tryphon himself in the 16th century. Many Lapps have been baptized in the running waters surrounding the chapel and buried in the soil of the sacred area. The ethnic group of the so-called 'Eastern Lapps' has been Orthodox since the sixteenth century, but was divided by the later, well-guarded borders of Russia, Finland and Norway. Today Liturgies are celebrated in the small chapel every autumn. Faithful and clergy from the three countries gather and concelebrate on these occasions.

The first Orthodox monastery on Norwegian land was founded in 1985. The Saint Tryphon Skete is at present inhabited by two monks. The monastery church is dedicated to Saint Tryphon. In the wilderness of the monastery lies a small wooden chapel built in North-Russian style, the Chapel of Saint Seraphim. The monastery is

situated in the forests of Hurdal, north of Oslo. Despite its location in the 'wilderness', the monks focus on serving the Church in Norway. They do catechetical work and run Saint Tryphon's Publishing House. The achievements of the monks are vast, including almost all of the Orthodox publications in Norway and the translations of a significant amount of the liturgical texts. Apart from this work, there have unfortunately been no more than a handful of Orthodox publications in the Norwegian language. For instance, hardly any Patristic literature has been translated into Norwegian.

Archimandrite Johannes Johansen of Saint Tryphon's Skete is also the leading priest of Saint Nicholas' Church and the Dean of other parishes under the jurisdiction of the Rue Daru in Scandinavia. The other monk, Father Seraphim, serves as deacon in the same parish.

By Dalsfjorden in Western Norway – not too far from the Selja Island where Saint Sunniva died – lies an Orthodox centre called *Johnsegardsakademiet*. Their concern is to let Orthodoxy be known to the people in Western Norway through lectures, prayers and retreats. The centre has a chapel which is dedicated to Saint John the Theologian.

A convent in Greece has for some time wanted to start another convent in Western Norway, but as yet the project has had some practical problems which delay this project.

Concerns at Present

The Orthodox Church in Norway welcomes a small but constant flow of new members and converts. The majority of parishes in Norway use the Old Style Calendar. Converts, especially, tend to question this use of the Old Calendar as they feel the need of adapting more to the culture and environment they live in. A similar question has arisen concerning the use of Norwegian as a liturgical language.

Sadly not one of the Orthodox church buildings in Oslo was originally built in an Orthodox style, and thus they do not look like classical Orthodox churches from the outside. This is a financial question.

In general there is a lack of Orthodox clergy, especially of married priests and deacons. At the present time, the full number of Orthodox priests residing and ministering in Norway is about five; there is one deacon. Most of these are celibate. Getting priests from Russia (or other Orthodox countries) has not proved to be easy as the Norwegian immigration laws are strict.

Although the subject of ecumenism is a controversial one among certain Orthodox in Norway, Saint Nicholas' parish has for a long time been playing an important rôle in the Christian Council of Norway (the local branch of the World Council of Churches in Geneva), and the Greek and Serbian parishes have recently joined the organization.

The influence and awareness of Orthodoxy in public society has increased considerably over the last ten years. The parishes of Saint Nicholas and Saint Olga are both cooperating and communicating actively with other Christian denominations and with secular society. Two recent visits, in 2002 and 2003, by the charismatic Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Bartholomew I, has drawn a lot of positive attention to Orthodoxy.

The parishes are careful not to proselytize; being, however, a small minority in a culture that is mainly Protestant or secularized, they generally find contact with non-Orthodox to be an important part of their vocation.

The parishes of Saint Nicholas (Patriarchate of Constantinople) and Saint Olga (Patriarchate of Moscow) as well as the Skete of Saint Tryphon run their own websites and organize study circles, exhibitions, courses in icon painting and lectures on Christian topics; some Orthodox services have even been broadcast on radio. Unfortunately there is no Orthodox school or seminary in Norway. Attempts have been made to launch an Orthodox private school in Bergen, but there are as yet no results. Dr Stig Symeon Frøyshov is the first Orthodox theologian to teach at the Theological Faculty in Oslo.
Saint Olga's parish has followed Saint Nicholas' in the effort to link modern Orthodoxy in Scandinavia with its ancient roots in pre-schismatic times, before 1054. Thus both churches venerate the Norwegian Saints Olaf, Sunniva and Hallvard. It is becoming customary for people of these congregations to have Orthodox pilgrimages to the holy places of Saint Olaf (i.e. to Trondheim and Stiklestad on the feast day of the saint, '*Olsok*' (29 July), of Saint Sunniva (i.e. to Selja on the feast day '*Sunnivadagen*' 8 July) and Saint Tryphon (Neiden) which are attracting many faithful. Two icon painters, the Norwegian Ove Grant Svele and the Russian Sergei Poliakov, have worked to establish an iconography for these saints.

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www.ortodoks.org

Iceland

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Orthodoxy in Sweden
by Fr Deacon Dr Bengt Hagström (with the collaboration of Father Misha Jaksic)

The first known Christian mission to Sweden was through the bishop of Hamburg, Saint Ansgar, in the 9th century. The first two known martyrs of the Russian Church Calendar, Saints Theodore and John of Kiev, a father and his son, (10th cent.), commemorated on the l2th/25th of July (New and Old Calendars), are said to be of Viking origin. The first saint certainly born in what is to-day Sweden is Saint Anna (d. 1050), the daughter of the first Christian Swedish king, Olov Skötkonung, who married the prince of Novgorod, Jaroslav I. Her feast is on February 10th/23rd.
After the Christian Schism of 1054, Swedish Christians came under the Catholic Church of Rome. Later, in the 16th century, with the Reformation, they became Lutheran. Then it was a time when other Christian confessions were prohibited on Swedish soil.
During many centuries there was recurring enmity with the mighty Eastern neighbour, Russia, of which Swedish history keeps some dark pages. But by the Peace Treaty of Stolbova between Sweden and Russia, in 1617, Russian merchants were allowed to have a church of their own in Stockholm. The present parish of the Holy Transfiguration in Stockholm goes back to that event. The first premises carrying this name were opened in 1768. After several moves, the parish got its present location and church in Stockholm in 1907. The parish remained small even after the Russian Revolution of 1917 and its aftermath. Before World War II (1939-1945), it grew from a few dozen parishioners to some hundreds. After the war it grew so that to-day it serves about 2,500 people, mostly Russians, Ukrainians, Bielorussians and other Orthodox from the former Soviet Union. In recent decades, some convert Swedes and others also joined the parish. All the priests were Russian, except in the case of Bishop Stefan Timchenko, who served the parish from 1936 to 1979, and who was Ukrainian. After the latter's death, a young Swede was chosen, Archimandrite Matias Norström, who then served the parish with great devotion until his death in 2005. He used to celebrate the liturgy several times a week, mostly in the mother church in Stockholm, but also in the many connected parishes in Central and Southern Sweden. He was fluent in Russian and mostly served in Slavonic, but the first weekend of each month he used to celebrate the Vigil and Liturgy in Swedish, and did likewise while going to Lund, the most Southern outpost of the parish.
In the extreme North of Sweden, in Överkalix, a branch of the parish in Stockholm was established in 2004 with Father Benedict Pohjanen (a well-known Swedish writer) as priest, in a wooden, Russian type chapel, decorated mainly by his wife, Monica, who is an icon painter. The parish is multilingual but services are conducted chiefly in Swedish.
For a long time before the 1917 Revolution, the parish of the Holy Transfiguration had been an embassy church, directly under the Metropolitanate of Saint Petersburg.
In 1930, it came under the Patriarchate of Constantinople when all parishes under Metropolitan Evlogy of Paris joined it. It is still under the Exarchate of Western Europe (Rue Daru).
So, until the end of World War II (1945), the only conspicuous Orthodox presence in Sweden was the Russian parish of the Transfiguration in Stockholm.
After the war, things changed. Refugees from the Soviet Union made that parish grow, widening its sphere to other towns like Göteborg, Borås, Linköping and Örebro, where services were then needed.

A group that had earlier belonged to the parish of the Transfiguration left it to establish, in 1990, another parish in Stockholm, that of Saint Sergius, which two years later was received into the Patriarchate of Moscow. Since then, this second Russian parish has created several smaller Orthodox communities in Västerås, Göteborg, Umeå and Luleå. Two priests serve these communities: the vicar, Father Vladimir Aleksandrov, and the priest, Father Alexander Piskunov, both Russians.

Estonians also fled to Sweden when their country became a Soviet republic (1940 and 1944). About 10% of them were Orthodox, that is about 2,000 or 2,500 people, who arrived in Sweden with their Church leader, Metropolitan Alexander. They founded six parishes and came to have priests in Stockholm and Göteborg.
Even Karelians and Finns migrated to Sweden, for political and/or economic reasons. Those Karelians who had fled from Karelia were generously admitted into Finland, but in the years after World War II, many Finns sought to make their living in Sweden, including many Orthodox Karelians. The first Finnish parish was founded in Borås, and the first priest was a Finnish-speaking Estonian, Protopresbyter Martin Juhkam. The Finns and Karelians were active in other cities as well, such as in Stockholm and Göteborg.
As years went by, the number of Estonian and Finnish/Karelian Orthodox decreased, as the succeeding generations did not continue to practise their faith or left the Orthodox Church. To-day the few remaining Orthodox Estonians in Stockholm are served by their ageing Protopresbyter Nicolas Suursööt; whereas the Finnish parish is more active (but much smaller than it used to be) and is served about one weekend a month by priests coming over from Finland.

The next wave of Orthodox Christian immigration to Sweden came from the Balkans, in the 1960s and 1970s, with people mainly looking for work. Among them, the Serbs and Greeks were the most numerous: numbers given in 1992 were about 25,000 Serbs and 17,000 Greeks. During that time, some Romanians also arrived.
The Greeks and Cypriots were headed since the early 1970s by the Greek Orthodox Metropolitans of Sweden and all Scandinavia (Patriarchate of Constantinople), His Grace Polyevktos (1971-3) and then His Grace Paul (Pavlos), who is presently helped by two priests. They have parishes in Stockholm, (where the Metropolitan lives), in Göteborg, Uppsala and Malmö. They own the church buildings in Stockholm, Göteborg and Uppsala. The Finnish and Estonian parishes in Sweden are also under the jurisdiction of the Greek Metropolitan.
The activities of the Greek clergy are concentrated on the pastoral care of the Greeks living in Sweden, as is the case with most ‘national’ Churches which are in charge of immigrants, be they Romanians, Bulgarians or Macedonians.
The Orthodox Romanians in Sweden are about 15,000 with about a third attending church. They have parishes in Stockhom, Göteborg and Malmö.
There are quite a number of Macedonians mostly in Malmö and Göteborg. The Bulgarians are fewer in number.

As for the Serbian community, it is the largest Eastern Orthodox community in Sweden (about 23,000 people). It has many parishes in the central and southern parts of the country, with about l0 priests. Its bishop, Dositej (Motika), residing in Stockholm, is also responsible for the rest of Scandinavia (except for Finland) as well as for the Orthodox Serbs in Great Britain. Bishop Dositej is also building an Orthodox spiritual centre in southern Sweden (between Örkelljunga and Laholm).

What is distinctive in this diocese is that there are three parishes which mainly use the Swedish language and welcome not only Orthodox of different origins but also convert Swedes. The only Orthodox monastery in Sweden is under this jurisdiction (see below).
Saint Anna's parish (named in honour of Saint Anna of Novgorod) was founded in Vadstena in 1968 by Father Christoffer Klasson (d. 1999), a Lutheran priest who converted to Orthodoxy and was ordained priest in 1966 by the Greek Orthodox Archbishop Athenagoras of Thyateira in Great Britain (Patriarchate of Constantinople). He started his priestly work within this jurisdiction, but in the early 1970s he was received in the Serbian Patriarchate by the bishop for Western Europe, Lavrentije (then residing in Germany and then also responsible for the whole of Western Europe).
Father Christoffer first worked to help many Orthodox immigrants of different nationalities, such as the Greeks and the Serbs. After some years, he began to create parishes in Kristianstad (where he had moved) and in Göteborg. He travelled widely in the country, celebrating services and lecturing. He worked very hard to translate the main Orthodox service texts into Swedish. He can be seen as the 'father' of Swedish Orthodoxy. His successor in the parish of Saint Anna in Eskilstuna (the town where the parish was moved after Vadstena), was Archpriest Ignatios Ek. He also worked as a pioneer for the use of Swedish language in Orthodoxy, translating and publishing service texts, helped by his wife Karin Elisabeth (d. 2005) who specially worked with Church music, adapting the use of liturgical texts into Swedish. They even recorded the Orthodox Liturgy in the Swedish language. For health reasons Father Ignatios retired in 2002. He left the parish in the hands of Father Misha Jaksic who lives in Linköping (about 200 km south of Stockholm). He, being of Serbian descent but having grown up in Sweden, serves the offices and the Liturgy in both Swedish and Slavonic. Father Misha, besides being vicar of the parish of Saint Anna, also works part time as the Orthodox coordinator for the Christian Council of Sweden (Sveriges Kristna Råd or SKR), an organisation for Christian cooperation and dialogue. For the time being, the parish of Saint Anna has its centre in Linköping, but services and activities are organized by this parish in other places in central Sweden: Stockholm, Örebro, Norrköping, Motala and Leksand. In January 2006 the second priest of the parish was ordained, Father Michael Liljeström, a former Lutheran priest.

In southern Sweden, in the parish of Saint Dimitri in Kristianstad, Father Christoffer was succeeded by Hieromonk Tikhon (Lundell), who, prior to that, had spent several years in the Monastery of New Valamo in Finland before becoming a monk at the Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Sweden. The deacon of this parish, Father Stefan Rosén, also leads the choir. Here, as well as in Göteborg, the liturgical language is Swedish with some short prayers in other languages according to the presence of faithful of different national backgrounds.

In Göteborg, the parish of Saint Mary Magdalene is led by Archimandrite Gabriel (Askefur), who has also had long connections with the Monastery of New Valamo. He lives in the new Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Bredared, outside of Borås, 70 km east of Göteborg. This Monastery was consecrated in 2001. It has three monks: Father Dorotej Forsner, the higumen (abbot), and the two monks named above. All three are Swedes. Father Dorotej has received monastic training by living for six years in a monastery in Serbia. He makes translations of liturgical texts from Slavonic

and Greek. The services of the monastery are held mainly in Swedish but also with some Greek and some Slavonic - because some variable parts of the daily services are not yet translated into Swedish. In 2005 the people attending regularly for the Sunday Liturgy were about l5-20; sometimes, on feast days, many more come and from far away, people from Orthodox backgrounds and Swedes as well. The monastery is still quite small, but it can play an important rôle for the future of Orthodoxy in Sweden.

After this short sketch of 'Swedish' Orthodox life, (the convert Swedes being only 1 to 2% of the totality of the Eastern Orthodox in Sweden, that is about 50,000 to 60,000), let me underline the fact that Orthodoxy was introduced into Sweden through rather small and poor (economically speaking) groups, nationally defined, who came here at different moments of history, and for different reasons: economic, political, personal. They wished to find here a new start in life, bringing with them their spiritual and cultural traditions.

If some Orthodox had not come together with their clergy (as was the case of the Estonian Metropolitan Alexander), in order to have celebrations they had either to let some priests come or be helped by a convert priest (as was the case with Father Christoffer).
The newcomers also had to find means of living and places for worship. This was done with the help of the Swedish local authorities and different Christian organisations, first and foremost the Swedish Lutheran Church (then still a state church until 1999), which helped the Christian newcomers to get organized.

In this ecumenical spirit the Ecumenical Council of the Orthodox and Oriental Churches (OÖKER), was created at the national level, in 1970, gathering the majority of the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches in Sweden. One of its chief tasks is to distribute subsidies from the Swedish state. This Council also helps Orthodox immigrants to integrate in Swedish society. Also, every year, it organizes some meetings between the Eastern and the Oriental Orthodox.

Since 1992, every year, the Lutheran Church of Sweden organizes a conference, 'Days of Orthodox Dialogue' (Ortodoxa Samtalsdagar) to which are invited Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox and Swedish representatives.

Another national association for education, Bilda, which started its work in 2001, has an Orthodox educational department, the Department for Orthodox Studies and Culture, whose coordinator is Mr Michael Ellnemyr, an Orthodox Swede. The department organizes sessions of Orthodox studies and supports the educational, theological and cultural work of the Orthodox parishes, both Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox. It also organizes pilgrimages to the Holy Land. One of the most important achievements of the department so far was the organization, in 2005, of an international symposium on Christology linked to the schism after the Council of Chalcedon (451) and the prospects for its healing.

At the local level, another body has similar ecumenical tasks: it is 'The Orthodox Collaboration Committee' (Ortodoxa Samarbetskommittén), founded in Göteborg in 1971 on the initiative of Birger Hassel, a Lutheran layman. In earlier times this committee helped to fund the work of the late Archpriest Christoffer.

Some other interesting facts are the following ones.
Both Father Christoffer and Father Ignatios have published books and other written material. Over the years Father Matias produced a multitude of quarterly parish bulletins containing historical, theological and spiritual material (two editions, a Swedish and a Russian, respectively). The most prolific editor of books on Orthodoxy and patristics in Swedish over the last twenty years is a Lutheran priest, Per Åkerlund, who, in the later years together with his son, has translated and published texts about the Desert Fathers, as well as works by Georgij Florenskij, Vladimir Lossky, Bishop Kallistos (Ware), Olivier Clément and Father Sophrony. A translation of a 'Patristic Library' is planned in 12 volumes; four have been published so far (see www.artos.se).
In 2004, with sponsorship from the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Syrian Orthodox, an Orthodox publishing house, Anastasis, has started its work with publications of important Orthodox liturgical and educational items (see www.anastasismedia.se).
There is a monthly journal in Swedish, Ortodox Tidning (Orthodox Journal), published since 1961 under different names by a lay Orthodox, Wollmar Holmström with a circulation of about 700 copies, reaching out to Orthodox as well as non-Orthodox. In Stockholm Wollmar Holmström has an Orthodox bookstore.

Nowadays, Sweden has become a most secularised country. The Estonians who arrived as poor immigrants have reached high positions in their new homeland. But most of their descendants have lost their Orthodox faith in the last fifty years. I see this as a warning and a lesson for all immigrant Orthodox in Sweden today as well as for other Swedish Orthodox.

The Orthodox in Sweden have to find ways to adapt the Orthodox tradition to contemporary and daily life in Sweden. For that, they must not only keep the tradition but must also look for some signs of the times. In order to succeed, all Orthodox in Sweden must be united.
In conclusion, one can say that a certain inter-Orthodox collaboration exists, but often it is organized by Swedish hosts. There is no official Orthodox 'Committee', 'Commission' or 'Fellowship'.
In June 2000, the first pan-Orthodox Liturgy, presided over by the Serbian bishop, took place to celebrate the one thousandth anniversary of the baptism of the first Christian king of Sweden, Olov, in the springs of Husaby where it is said that he was baptised, and where his daughter Ingegerd, the future Saint Anna, may also have been baptised.

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Websites : (all in Swedish)

www.svensk-ortodoxi.org (on Swedish Orthodoxy, specially on the Parish of Saint Anna)
www.ryskaortodoxakyrkan.se (Parish of the Holy Transfiguration)
www.sirillus.se (link of Father Bengt Pohjanen in Överkalix)

Addresses

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Patriarchate of Moscow, Bellmansgatan 13, Stockholm
Serbian Church, Stamvägen 80, 12539 Älvsjö
The Orthodox Church of Saint Nikolaos, Bellmansgatan 13, Stockholm (shared by the Finnish and Estonian Orthodox)
Church of Macedonia, Hagalundsgatan 5, 214 39 Malmö

The Orthodox Bookstore (Ortodox Bokhandel) Wolmar Holström, Johannesplan 1, 4 tr., 11138 Stockholm (metro Radmansgatan)

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History of the Finnish Orthodox Church in the 20th Century

by Docent Teuvo Laitila

The Finnish Orthodox Church (FOC) currently consists of three dioceses made up of twenty-five parishes, with one monastery and one convent with a dozen monks and nuns, within the borders of the state of Finland. One archbishop, two metropolitans, one auxiliary bishop and just over 40 full-time priests serve the roughly 60,000 members of the Church. The majority of Finnish Orthodox are ethnic Finns. Some 4,000 are of other than Finnish origins and mainly Russian-speaking. According to the 1969 law and the 1970 statute on the Orthodox Church (greatly revised in 2002), the FOC has a legal position as the second national Church, after the established Lutheran Church.

Introduction

The first signs of Christianity in Finland arrived via the Principality of Novgorod as well as from Western Europe through Germans and Swedes, from both directions around the ninth century. Eastern and Western Christian influences met on the Karelian Isthmus and around Lake Ladoga, the area to which I refer below as Karelia. Today the region is located on the Russian side of the Fenno-Russian border. When Christianity actually started to strike root in the twelfth century, the area was contested by Sweden and Novgorod. In the early fourteenth century, the southern part of present-day Finland was incorporated into Sweden and Karelia divided between Sweden and Novgorod.

During the fourteenth and particularly fifteenth centuries, the Eastern form of Christianity was established around Lake Ladoga and a couple of monasteries were founded. The most famous of these were Valamo (in Russian, Valaam) and Konevitsa (in Russian, Konevets) on the islands of Lake Ladoga. However, this did not mean that the population, consisting mainly of Finnic Karelians and Veps, embraced all aspects of Orthodoxy. Rather, they incorporated some Orthodox practices into their pre-Christian religion. The result was a variety of what may be termed folk or popular religion.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Karelia was invaded by Swedes. There were attempts to force the Orthodox to convert to Lutheranism, which

Swedes had adopted in the early sixteenth century. However, the Orthodox in Karelia were unwilling to change their faith. Instead, many resorted to emigration to Muscovite Russia, to the region of Tver, where there still live some 100,000 of their descendants. They were replaced by Lutheran Finns, with the result that, by the end of the seventeenth century, the Orthodox population in the Western part of Karelia had dwindled to a minority. In the East the Orthodox retained their majority position.

The next century started with the Great Northern War. In the Peace Treaty of Nystatt (today Uusikaupunki, a coastal town in South-Western Finland), in 1721, Russia acquired Karelia and the south-Eastern part of Finland. However, grass-root relations between Orthodox and Lutherans remained comparatively pacific. The Russian Orthodox Church or, more exactly, the diocese of Novgorod, and, since 1764, the diocese of Saint Petersburg, to which the Karelian Orthodox were subject, did not care much about its backwater minority, which shared many folk beliefs and practices with their Lutheran fellow citizens. Moreover, particularly in the most Western part of the Russian-held Finnish area, a tiny Orthodox minority developed a great interest in Lutheranism, because it was propagated in Finnish, in vernacular which they could understand, rather than in Slavonic, which was incomprehensible to them because they were not taught it.

After the so-called Finnish War of 1808-9, all of Finland was annexed in 1809 to Russia as a semi-sovereign Grand Duchy. Both religiously and politically, the years from the late 1860s until 1917 were a period of repeated juridical conflicts between Finnish politicians, who grew more and more nationalistic, and the Russian administration. The conflict originated from their different interpretations of what Tsar Alexander I had proclaimed in 1809, namely whether he declared Finland a province or a semi-independent country; and consequently, what he meant by stating that laws originating in the Swedish period would be effective also in the new Grand Duchy. Since the late 1890s, the Finnish Lutheran politicians interpreted Tsar Alexander as having given Finland a separate legislation and, moreover, a separate right to promulgate new laws, whereas the Russian government held that Finland's separate laws could not contradict the all-Russian legislation and that the Finnish politicians had no right to issue new statutes. Religion became a particular problem, because, in Swedish times, Lutheranism had been the state religion. Therefore, the

Finnish Senate argued that, within the Finnish territory, Orthodox parishes also had to be managed according to the same principles and laws as the Lutheran ones; the more so because most of the parish members (altogether some 50,000 at the end of the nineteenth century) were Finnish, or Karelian, speaking. The Orthodox who were Russian-speakers or ethnic Russians numbered some ten thousand.

Leading Orthodox priests who spoke Finnish or Karelian, some of whom had absorbed the nationalistic ideas of their time, conformed to the Senate's demands, because they wanted to improve the position of Orthodox people in Finland and, above all, to promote the use of Finnish (and not Church Slavonic) as the official language of the liturgy and parish activities. The clergy feared, not without reason, that otherwise a majority of Finnish Orthodox would turn to the Lutheran Church, which used the vernacular.

The Russian administration too was interested in strengthening its hold on Karelia. In 1892, the Tsar and the highest organ of the Russian Church, the Holy Synod, founded a separate diocese of Finland in order to secure a separate 'Orthodox', not Finnish, identity for the Grand Duchy's Orthodox population. However, due to disputes over how the economic costs of the diocese should be divided between Russian and Finnish administration, the diocese began in fact to function only three years later, in 1895. The Fenno-Russian dispute over the legal rights of the Orthodox as well as of the Lutherans' entitlement to intervene in the matters of the Orthodox Church in Finland lasted until the February 1917 Revolution.

Nationalistic take-over: from a Russian diocese to an autonomous Church under the Patriarchate of Constantinople (c.1917–1939)

In Finnish national history, the last two decades before independence (1917) are usually called 'years of russification'. One may dispute the nature and degree of Russian influence upon Finland at that time. However, what is certain is that during this period anti-Russian feelings became an integral factor in the making of Finnish nationalism, and that the Orthodox Church and its Russian-speaking clergy, above all the Archbishops of Finland, Nicholas (1899-1905), Sergius (1905-1917) and Seraphim (1918-1923), were suspected of supporting russification, because they wanted to strengthen the position of Orthodoxy in Karelia. This view is a Finnish nationalistic reinterpretation, which ignores the fact that the first archbishop of Finland, Anthony (1892-1898), later metropolitan of Saint Petersburg, initiated the process. However, nationalistic ideas and sentiments were needed to construct the new Finnish state, proclaimed on 6 December 1917. Therefore, after 1917, there was

a wave of anti-Russian and anti-Orthodox propaganda and activities in Finland. The Karelian Isthmus, in particular, became a real battlefield of nationalism, most probably because it was the area where tens of thousands of Russians used to spend their summer and had bought summer cottages and other immovable property. Moreover, a few Orthodox churches were seized in the Finnish capital, Helsinki, and in some other towns where Russian troops had been stationed, and were turned into Lutheran ones, or put to some mundane purposes, and a dozen Orthodox clergy were expelled, most of them from Karelia, on the initiative of local Finnish Lutheran nationalists.

The new Finnish government's tendency was to 'fennocise' Orthodoxy. For that purpose the government, as soon as April 1917, founded a commission, manned only by Finnish-speaking clergy, to rethink the position of the Finnish Orthodox diocese and to revise its legislation. The commission suggested the upgrading of the diocese into an autonomous Church under the Patriarchate of Moscow. The Finnish government supported that by declaring, on 26 November 1918, the Orthodox diocese a sovereign church and, in fact, making it the second national church, after the Lutheran Church. The Russian Church acknowledged this early in 1921 by granting it an autonomous position.

However, the final goal of the commission was to have a fully independent or autocephalous national Church. Because the Orthodox diocese was too small for that, the commission proposed its unification with the Karelian-speaking dioceses of Olonets and Archangel Karelia, and also with the three Estonian dioceses which were all under Russian jurisdiction. This plan was at first eagerly supported by some leading Finnish politicians, because they thought that, first, Finland might gain new territories in Russian Karelia (where Finnish 'volunteers' supported Karelians in fighting the Red Army) and, second, that only a fully independent Orthodox Church might be loyal to the new Finnish state.

Prospects for new territories in the East withered away during the early 1920s, and so did the politicians' support for an autocephalous Finnish Church. An alternative, first proposed in 1919, was autonomy under the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The archbishop of the Finnish Orthodox Church (FOC), Seraphim, did not favor that solution, but after he refused to consecrate Father Herman Aav, an Estonian whom the 1922 Church council elected as the auxiliary bishop, because he regarded Aav's election as canonically invalid, Archbishop Seraphim was outplayed by the leaders of the Finnish-speaking clergy, supported by some Finnish politicians. After some exchange of letters, a delegation was sent to Istanbul in June 1923 to ask Patriarch Meletios IV to recognise the FOC's claim of autocephaly. After the Finnish delegates

told the Synod of the Patriachate of Constantinople about their number of faithful, which was not very large, the Synod confirmed the autonomy, in the form which the Russian Church had granted. However, at the same time and by the same document (*Tomos*), the Patriarch declared that the FOC's transfer to the Patriarchate of Constantinople was of a permanent, not a temporary, nature. The Patriarch also consecrated Father Herman as bishop.

After the delegation's return, in July 1923, the Finnish government, supported by some of the most outstanding figures of the Finnish-speaking clergy, toppled Archbishop Seraphim. His tottering policy in the calendar question had already caused much dissatisfaction in the government and among the clergy. After having supported the use of the Gregorian or New Calendar, which was accepted as the official one in October 1921, Seraphim changed his mind and authorised the use of the Julian or Old Calendar in some Russian-language Finnish parishes. The Finnish-speaking clergy had demanded the use of the Gregorian Calendar since the early 1900s, because the Julian one caused several practical problems, particularly in places where the Orthodox population was a minority and offices, schools and other public matters were therefore managed according to the Gregorian Calendar, used by the Lutheran Church. Because of Seraphim's support of the so-called 'Old Calendar', his relation to the Finnish government and clergy deteriorated. However, the pretext on which Seraphim was finally edged out was not calendar but language. At the start of 1924, Finnish became the official language of the Church administration. Seraphim did not know Finnish, nor did he apply for an exemption. Therefore he was deposed and sent to the Monastery of Konevitsa. The leadership was transferred to Bishop Herman.

However, although Seraphim's displacement put the administrative power exclusively in the hands of the Finnish-speaking majority, it did not solve the calendar problem. Both Russian-speaking parish members and monasteries, particularly Valamo, stuck to the Old Calendar. To counter this, the administrative Church Council of the FOC, manned by nationalistic-minded Finnish clergy, did two things. On the one hand, it sought support from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which gave the FOC an exemption to celebrate feasts according to the Gregorian or 'New' Calendar, although the Ecumenical Patriarchate presupposed that Easter would be commemorated according to the Old Calendar. This put the parishes using the Old Calendar in a difficult position, because their refusal to follow the official line could be interpreted as defiance. On the other hand, the Council organized, in late 1925, a sort of purge in the monasteries. The results were that, first, a number of monks sticking to the Old Calendar were either kept in custody in the Monastery of Valamo or expelled and, second, Russian-speaking parish members who did not accept the use of the 'New Style' founded, in 1926 and 1927, two parishes (officially they were registered associations), which, since 1945, are under the Patriarchate of Moscow.

It seems that both the Orthodox Church and the Finnish government were more interested in turning the monasteries, particularly Valamo, from 'Russian' strongholds into 'purely Finnish' sacred places. After several years' discussion and planning, a boarding school for Karelian orphans and poor was opened in Valamo in September 1931. The FOC leadership obviously expected the school's pupils later to join the monastery's brotherhood and thus to transform its ethnic composition from Russian into Finnish, and, finally, to provide the Church with new, Finnish, hierarchs. The Finnish government feared that a 'Russian' Valamo could be a sort of fifth column and therefore supported the school. The Lutheran archbishop, however, could not see any reason why Valamo should continue to exist at all; and he suggested that it would be wiser to let it die peacefully with its ageing Russian monks.

The Lutheran archbishop was not the only one who looked at Finland's ethnically Russian citizens with suspicion. With the growth of rightist policy and nationalistic, if not chauvinist, feelings, not only in Finland but also in various parts of Europe, in nationalistic circles the Russians were increasingly considered not only foreign or alien to Finland and Finns, but their arch-enemies. One result of this 'demonisation' of the Russians (which, of course, did not happen for the first time in Finnish history) was that, particularly in local conflict situations and in the general rhetoric of rightist politicians, Finnish Orthodox were also branded by the pejorative popular term of 'Russkies'. That perhaps was one of the reasons why the Finnish-speaking Orthodox adopted two policies in relation to the Lutheran majority. On the one hand, they turned inward and concentrated on their own internal affairs, a choice much facilitated by the fact that most of them lived in a compact area in Karelia. On the other hand, they emphasised their good 'ecumenical' relations with Lutherans (meaning those living in Karelia) and, in some cases, showed their eagerness to adjust themselves to Finnish society, for example, by supporting the Finnish Army and other external symbols of the Finnish State. The FOC also supported the 'fennicisation' of surnames and particularly first names, especially in the early 1930s. Symbolically, at least, of great importance was the new course which the Valamo Monastery took under its new leader, Hegumen Hariton, around 1933. He emphasised the rôle of Orthodoxy in the making of a separate Karelian, not Russian, history, the loyalty of Orthodox Karelians to Finland and the rôle of Valamo as a 'bastion of Christianity' against atheist bolsheviks.

However, the late 1920s and 1930s were important for the FOC not only in political or national terms, but also in the making of an autonomous national Church. After the drying up of money from Russia in late 1917, the Finnish Orthodox clergy and Church Council became economically fully dependent on the Finnish state. Other factors which 'fennocised' the Orthodox were the Finnish-language education in schools and the change (c.1924) of official and liturgical language solely into Finnish. Yet another such factor was the theological seminary, which was founded in 1918 in the second most important Karelian town, Sortavala. It taught the priests not only to serve in Finnish, but to be loyal Finnish citizens. The principal of the seminary, Father Sergius Okulov, was one of the leading Finnish-speaking priests and a major protagonist of the view that the Finnish-speaking Orthodox were at least as patriotic Finns as Lutherans. While this may not be exceptional, since the Orthodox are usually loyal to their country, in the particularly nationalistic context of the 1920s and 1930s the teaching of the seminary could be interpreted as an expression of ultra-nationalism.
At about the same time, the re-established association for the Orthodox education of Karelians, the Brotherhood of Saints Sergius and Herman (first founded in 1885, but discontinued around 1910), launched various projects for home mission. From the Church's viewpoint they were badly needed, because the traditional worldview had started to crumble in the wake of the rapid introduction of the lumber industry by Finnish companies in parts of previously Orthodox-dominated Karelia, accompanied by an increase in the Lutheran population and the activities of some sectarian missionaries, such as the Pentecostals. Home mission was warmly supported by Archbishop Herman, who, since the mid-1920s, had initiated similar activities, for example, general get-togethers of Church musicians for the parish choirs. Thus, by the late 1930s, it appeared that the Orthodox Finnish-speaking members of the former Russian diocese were integrating themselves into Finnish society, whereas the Russian-speaking members, numbering a few thousand, had been turned into a silent and introvert minority, which was either regarded as something exotic (particularly by some Finnish writers and artists) or passed by without a second thought.

The wartime Orthodox-Lutheran conflict and the Orthodox reintegration into Finnish society (from 1939 to 1960)

The outbreak of the Second World War marked a change in Orthodox-Lutheran relations. When the USSR attacked Finland at the end of November 1939, Karelia was evacuated. The majority of refugees, some 420,000 in all, were Lutherans and only ten to fifteen per cent were Orthodox. They were resettled in various parts of Finland and it seems that regardless of their confession all were considered victims of the war. After only three and a half months, the Soviet Union realised that it could not conquer Finland. A peace treaty was concluded, by which Karelia was incorporated into the USSR.

For the FOC, the few months of war and the next fifteen or so months after the peace treaty were a very hard time. The parishes and monasteries had lost their immovable property and a great deal of their movable property as well. The parish members were dispersed in various parts of Finland. Due to that, there was a discontinuation of services and education of school-children as well as pastoral duties. However, before the Church had time to rebuild its organizations, the re-conquest of Karelia by Finnish troops in the summer of 1941 again changed the situation; most of the evacuated, the Orthodox as well as Lutherans, returned to Karelia.

In addition to the re-conquest of Karelia, the Finnish forces occupied much of Olonets Karelia and the Western part of Archangel Karelia (in Finnish, Viena). Although the homeland of the *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic, the latter had never been a part of Finland. The Finnish government did not know exactly what to do in ecclesiastical matters with the roughly 86,000 inhabitants, both Karelians and Russians, whom the USSR had not had time to evacuate. Lutheran clergy considered the Karelians to be virtually heathen, after having endured two decades of Soviet rule. But the Finnish Orthodox priests, finding that elderly ladies had stubbornly and faithfully continued to perform the lay offices and prayers, despite the official suppression of religion by the bolsheviks, believed that they had retained much of the genuine Orthodox spirit. Priests of both confessions tried to win the Karelians to their side by various means, above all, by baptising (or, in practice, perhaps also re-baptising) them. This ‘race for souls’ caused much confusion among the Karelians and no less dispute between the Lutheran and Orthodox clergy. In the end, the supreme commander of the army, Marshall Mannerheim, decided the matter in April 1942 by issuing a statute, which officially set down the limits for operations of both Churches. From January 1943 onwards, until the summer of 1944, Karelians, who had joined the FOC were taught and served accordingly. Nevertheless, some Lutheran priests strongly opposed this by arguing, that the Orthodox in general, including those who were Finnish citizens, were unreliable, because their ‘religion’ was Russian, not Finnish. The conflict remained undecided until June 1944, when the Soviet counter-attack forced the Finns to retreat.

The preliminary Moscow Peace Treaty in September of the same year (confirmed in Paris in 1947) sealed the incorporation of Karelia into the USSR. The Orthodox and, of course, the Lutherans, were again evacuated and settled in different parts of Finland. However, most of the people from Olonets and Archangel Karelia remained.

After the war the FOC faced the same problems as in the early 1940s; where to hold services, how to carry out pastoral duties or teach Orthodoxy to children. With the help of the government and the Lutheran Church, material problems were for the most part solved by 1960, but spiritual problems persisted.

Before discussing them I digress to a conflict, which dominated the Fenno-Russian ecclesiastical relations for a dozen years.

In May 1945, the Russian Church suggested a reversion to all churches, dioceses and parishes which had seceded from it after 1917. The suggestion divided the FOC. According to one unofficial estimation, maybe a fifth of the FOC members, mainly the Russian-speaking minority, would have been willing to accept the Russian proposal. The Monastery of Valamo went a step further and actually returned to the fold of the Moscow Patriarchate.

In the political turmoil of the late 1940s, the FOC leadership was unwilling to reject the proposal right out of hand, not least because Finland was at that time politically under Soviet control. Instead, in the wake of a lively discussion on the matter in the press, they postponed the answer to the next church assembly, convoked in 1950.

The assembly considered that the matter required further reflection and thrust the decision upon the next assembly in 1955. In the spring of 1953, the Russian Church tried to push the FOC, although not very hard, towards a ‘right’ decision. However, after some agitation from Constantinople, the 1955 Church assembly decided that there was no reason to change the position of the FOC. The Russian Church finally accepted this in 1957, when Metropolitan Nicolas announced to Archbishop Herman that the crisis in Fenno-Russian ecclesiastical relations was over. The Monastery of Valamo returned to the FOC. In Finnish church history these years from 1945 to 1957 are known as a ‘canonical crisis’. However, due to the end result the period could as well be designated as a part of the reintegration of the FOC into Finnish society.

Another part of reintegration was the material and spiritual rebuilding of the Church. The 1944 Moscow Treaty had sealed the loss of some 90 per cent of the Church’s movable and immovable property and the evacuation of some 70 per cent of its members, three monasteries (Valamo, Konevitsa and one from the northern area Petsamo, called in Russian Pechenga) and one convent (Lintula). To indemnify for the losses, the Finnish state promulgated, at the end of 1949, a Law on the

Rebuilding of the Finnish Orthodox Church, on the basis of which the 18 Karelian churches lost to the Soviet Union were replaced by 14 new ones, located in various parts of Finland. Previously there had existed 11 Orthodox parishes in the country. On the basis of the above-mentioned law the state supported the erection of churches and other necessary buildings in the new parishes.

The material rebuilding and the resettling of the Karelians made Orthodoxy much more visible in all parts of Finland. However, the majority of the Orthodox no longer lived in a compact area, but were a tiny, dispersed minority amidst the Lutheran majority. In some places that resulted in social pressure against the 'Russkies'. In other places, the Orthodox were accepted, if they kept silent about their religious convictions or adopted Lutheranism. The latter happened generally in mixed wedlock, which made up the majority of Orthodox marriages. It is no wonder then, that, after 1945, 500 to 600 Orthodox people left their church each year. That state of affairs continued until the late 1960s.

The social conditions in which the Orthodox lived after 1944 were unfavourable for spiritual rebuilding. Already in the 1930s the FOC clergy had been worried about the religious education of their youth. After the Second World War, the situation worsened. The number of monks and nuns declined and by around 1960 some exiled monks of the Monasteries of Petsamo and Konevitsa were incorporated into the brotherhood of Valamo in Finland. In the post-war years, Orthodoxy was taught in schools only irregularly and fragmentarily, if at all, because, according to Finnish statutes on education, schools were obligated to give separate classes in Orthodoxy only if there were at least eight Orthodox pupils requiring instruction. If they were less, due to compulsory teaching of religion, the children were instructed in Lutheranism. The situation changed in the late 1950s, when the minimum number of pupils was reduced to three. Pastoral care was hampered, among other things, by lack of priests and transport. Home mission was revitalised by the Brotherhood of Saints Sergius and Herman and some other Orthodox bodies, but due to financial and personnel shortages it reached only a moderate number of people. For several years there was also a lack of Orthodox reading material, although the situation started to improve after the late 1960s. Nowadays all teaching of Orthodoxy (with the exception of 'summer-schools' run by individual parishes) is given to pupils in state-run schools.

A Finnish or an Orthodox Church? (from c.1960 onwards)

Archbishop Herman retired in 1960 and died in January of the following year. He was succeeded by priest monk Paul (Paavali in Finnish), born in 1914, who had been a well-known figure in Finnish Orthodoxy since the wartime, when he had vigorously defended the right of the FOC to operate in occupied Archangel Karelia. Finally, he had been expelled from there in 1943. In 1955 he was elected as an auxiliary bishop to assist the ageing Herman, and after his death Bishop Paul was the only candidate for archbishop.

The 1960s were years of great political, cultural and economic changes in Finland. Leftist orientation in politics and culture accompanied mass removal of people from the countryside into cities and towns. The new generation impugned the nationalist and rightist values of their parents and discovered, among other things, Orthodoxy. So did, to a greater extent, the children of those parents who had either converted to Lutheranism or been silent about their Orthodox convictions. At first the number of these new Orthodox was small and many of them were artists and intellectuals or had similar predilections. However, their work gave rise to a new interest in Orthodox worship and icon painting, and, since the late 1960s, the number of those leaving the FOC started to decline and that of converts to increase.

Inside the FOC, the transfer in 1961 of the theological seminary from Helsinki (whence it had been evacuated in 1940) to Kuopio (where the archbishop's residence had been since 1940), meant the end of a long migration. It also meant that Orthodox theological education became more firmly established and gained a more permanent character. In 1965, the General Assembly of the FOC appointed a committee to discuss the establishment of higher Orthodox theological education. The Finnish Ministry of Education appointed another committee two years later. For several reasons the foundation of such an institute was postponed until 1988, when the theological seminary was closed and a Department for Orthodox Theology was opened at the University of Joensuu (South-Eastern Finland). Ten years later a Department of so-called 'Western' Theology (in practice, Protestant theology) was added, and in 2002 they both were turned into a Theological Faculty consisting of two independent departments, Orthodox and 'Western'.

During the 1960s the situation and the future of monastic life in Valamo Monastery and Lintula Convent was discussed and even debated. Monks and nuns, of whom most were Russian-speaking, were ageing and no replacements seemed to appear. Many feared, or in some cases waited for, the end of monasteries; but some, both Orthodox and Lutherans, refused to let this happen. Two associations were founded, one to support Lintula and another Valamo, in 1967 and 1973, respectively, and mainly thanks to their efforts the material decay of the monasteries was warded off. Moreover, their efforts stirred up interest in monastic life in a few younger and, in some cases, elder Finns. By around 1977, when the new church of Valamo

Monastery was consecrated, the future of the monasteries seemed to be secured, as well as their final transformation into Finnish institutions.

The 1960s also witnessed the invigoration of Orthodox home and foreign mission. The former can be divided into several aspects. One was local gatherings called *Tiistaiseurat* ('Tuesday Associations', thus designated according to the day on which the first such associations had started to gather some sixty years earlier). These were informal get-togethers usually of elderly people to discuss Orthodox topics or to plan and carry out some practical work, such as cleaning and decoration of their parish church. Other aspects were various Orthodox club activities for children and icon painters, church music festivals and publishing of Orthodox books, which started to increase in the 1970s and particularly since the 1980s. Besides several non-Orthodox publishers, today the most important Orthodox ones include the Valamo Monastery and the *Orthodox Publication Council* (*Ortodoksisen kirjallisuuden julkaisuneuvosto*), founded in 1891, the latter being directed by the Church Council of the FOC. Since the late 1980s, the number of converts, and, after 1991, the number of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, have grown rapidly and formed a new challenge, which in both cases is the same: how to get the new parish members to 'internalise' Orthodoxy? Of course, the Orthodox Church has the same problem with the 'old' parishioners, who also have to study this question and have to socialise with the new comers. The immigrants' ecclesiastical integration was, and still is, hampered by the fact that the Finnish Orthodox Church has few Russian-speaking priests and scant printed material or services suitable for their needs. One of the tasks of the new auxiliary bishop, Archimandrite Arsenius, elected in October 2004, is to conduct the Church's mission among the immigrants with Orthodox background.

Regarding foreign mission, the idea was first proposed by the secretary of the *Orthodox Youth Association* (*Ortodoksisten Nuorten Liitto*) to the Council of Bishops in 1960, but the hierarchs stated that, although the project was laudable, the Church must first finish its own rebuilding projects. Ten years later the Brotherhood of Saints Sergius and Herman took the initiative and started to prepare the ground for missionary work in Uganda. This country was chosen, because an Orthodox Ugandan priest, Father Elias Buzinde, was a friend of the Brotherhood leadership. Of course, the matter was also agreed with the head of Orthodoxy in Africa, the Patriarch of Alexandria, Nicolas VI. In 1977, two Finnish women left for Uganda. However, due to the ex-President Idi Amin's tyranny and on the initiative of Bishop

Theodoros of Uganda they moved to Kenya, where they started their work, building schools and health centres and giving relevant instruction in the Orthodox spirit. The mission still continues and is carried further by local Orthodox.

The 1960s, and more so the 1970s and 1980s, not only saw the growing integration of the FOC into the rest of Finnish society, but the growth of contact with, on the one hand, the Finnish Lutheran Church and, on the other, with Orthodox sister Churches. At the official level, after contacts with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, which was visited and paid visits on a regular basis, most important were relations with the Russian Church. Patriarch Pimen visited Finland in 1974 and 1981, Metropolitan John of Helsinki returned the visits in 1984 and 1986, and Metropolitan Leo of Oulu in 1987. Archbishop Paul paid a visit to the Orthodox Church in America (OCA) in 1970, when a former monk of Valamo and a Christian enlightener of Alaska, Herman, was canonised: Archbishop Paul brought one of Saint Herman's relics back with him to Valamo; he visited once again in 1980.

Relations with the OCA temporarily damaged the FOC's ties with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which had not recognised the upgrading to autocephaly of this former Russian diocese. In 1978 Finnish Orthodox celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of the 1918 Statute on the Orthodox Church, as explained before, and of the Finnish Orthodox theological seminary. To solemnise the latter occasion, Archbishop Paul invited the head of the OCA, Metropolitan Theodosius, as the key speaker. The Ecumenical Patriarchate did not accept this and the invitation was cancelled. Finally this dispute, too, was settled. Before that, however, some Finnish Orthodox suggested the secession of the FOC from Constantinople. The matter was discussed at some length in the Orthodox press in 1979 and 1980. Moreover, as a consequence of the dispute, the administration of the FOC was re-organized by re-dividing the Church into three dioceses (originally there was one, and, after 1924, two dioceses): Karelia (the archbishop's diocese, the 'capital' of which is Kuopio), Helsinki (the metropolitan being located in the Finnish capital) and Oulu (in the North-Western coastal town where the metropolitan has his residence).

The FOC had had relatively few contacts with other Orthodox or Western churches before the late 1980s. A major exception was the Finnish Orthodox parish in Sweden. Nominally it belonged to the Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate of Scandinavia (a diocese of Constantinople), but its members were mostly Finns, and partly Karelians (from Archangel Karelia) who had emigrated to Sweden after the Second World War. Until 1981, an exiled Estonian, Father Martin Juhkam, functioned as the priest of the parish. After his retirement, the priest usually came from the FOC, working with the blessing of both the Greek Metropolitan of Scandinavia and the Archbishop of Finland.

In the autumn of 1986, Archbishop Paul retired. He was followed by Metropolitan John of Helsinki who, in turn, retired in 2001 (after which Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomeos I appointed him as a member of the Patriarchate's permanent synod with the title 'Metropolitan of Nicaea'). The present archbishop, Leo, was formerly metropolitan of Helsinki. The other seats are now occupied by Metropolitans Ambrosius (Helsinki) and Panteleimon (Oulu), who both had high positions in Valamo before their elections in 1996 and 1997, respectively. The fourth bishop, the above-mentioned Arsenius, does not have a seat of his own, although his title is 'Bishop of Joensuu' (a town in South-Eastern Finland).

Under Archbishop John, who had studied in Greece and defended there a dissertation on the canons, the FOC's contacts with the Greek-speaking Orthodox world and its ecumenical activities (for example, participation in theological dialogues with Western and Oriental Churches) further strengthened.

After the fall of communism in the early 1990s, contacts with the re-established Estonian Church (it was first established in early 1921 as an autonomous Church by the Moscow Patriarchate but moved, in 1923, under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople) and with Balkan Orthodoxy, particularly the Romanian Church, have also become stronger.

The appointment of Archbishop John as the temporary head of the Estonian Church from 1996 to early 1999 infuriated the Russian Church, which regarded the re-establishment of the Estonian Church by the Patriarchate of Constantinople as a violation of its canonical rights. For a moment, a sort of small-scale canonical crisis broke out between the FOC and the Russian Church. Official relations were almost broken off and the manifold contacts which the Finnish Orthodox had established with their co-religionists in Russian Karelia and the re-opened Valamo and Konevitsa Monasteries on Lake Ladoga dwindled. Since Archbishop Leo's election in 2001, the situation is less inflamed, but there are still disputes over Russian-speaking immigrants in Finland. It seems that a faction within the Russian Church resists the immigrants' incorporation into the FOC and would prefer their joining the two Russian parishes in Finland. All the other Orthodox living in Finland go to Finnish Orthodox parishes and are under the Finnish Orthodox hierarchy. There is also an 'international' Orthodox parish in Helsinki, of Saint Isaac of Nineveh.

In Finland, the Orthodox Church cannot ignore relations with the country's major religion, Lutheranism. Already Archbishop Paul had established working relations with the Finnish Lutheran Church. They became even more cordial during the period of Archbishop John, not least because he was a personal friend of the then Lutheran

archbishop, John Vikström. Nevertheless, the FOC had all the time emphasised its own heritage and tradition, most vocally perhaps in the question of ordaining women, which the Finnish Lutheran Church accepted in 1988. Both the then Archbishop Paul and Metropolitan John considered this a serious challenge to Orthodox-Lutheran relations. However, since 1979, the two Churches have had a joint church music festival every three years and since 1989 they have been engaged in a theological dialogue every second year. For reasons not officially explained, during the last few years the dialogue has been discontinued.

Besides leading churchmen, rank-and-file Orthodox also started to establish contacts with sister Orthodox Churches, particularly since the early 1980s. Preliminary contacts were usually carved out during unofficial or semi-official meetings, such as visits of parish members, groups of church singers or icon painters. For a while, in the 1980s, grass-root contacts with the Polish Orthodox Church were rather intensive. Since the early 1990s, much interaction at grass-root level has occurred with the Estonian-speaking and Karelian Orthodox, in Estonia and Russia.

Conclusion

Orthodoxy in Finland is historically speaking multi-layered. It was adopted through Novgorod. Later it was modified by Muscovite and imperial Russia as well as local Karelian pre-Christianity. Particularly during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, it was affected by Lutheranism, to the extent that Archbishop Anthony even argued, with some reason, that Karelian Orthodox were semi-Lutheran. The situation is better today, but the long period of Lutheran administrative and cultural influence upon the Orthodox minority has not passed without effects. For example, the parish and diocesan administration in the FOC is today organized in much the same way as in the Lutheran Church. The new Law on Religion, which is currently under preparation, will change the diocesan administration in a more bishop-centred direction.

One may also perceive Lutheran influence in the church-state relationship. As stated, the Orthodox Church is the second national church of Finland and its relation to the government is even closer than that of the Lutheran Church, which during the last few years has distanced itself from the state. For example, the state pays the salaries of the Orthodox bishops, but no longer those of their Lutheran colleagues. The truth, however, is that without the financial support of the state, the Orthodox Church might not be viable.

Some Lutherans have argued that Orthodoxy in Finland is rather conservative. Unlike the Lutheran Church, the FOC has not been in the forefront of social reform or new ways of thinking in, say, social justice or ecology, although the Finnish Orthodox have to some extent followed the lead of the ‘green’ ecologically minded Patriarch

Bartholomeos of Constantinople. In most cases the Church's aim has been to preserve rather than change. However, the Finnish Orthodox Church has not rejected modern technology out of hand, but has adjusted to it and, for example, regards the use of the internet in schools for religious education as useful to Orthodoxy.

To conclude, we may say that at the turn of the twentieth and twenty first centuries, the FOC is readjusting itself to the post-communist, globalising world by intensifying its contacts with the rest of the Orthodox world and by emphasising its separate, Orthodox character, amidst an increasingly secular Lutheran Finnish society and European community. However, it is both a Finnish and an Orthodox Church.

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independence in his 'Sergii (Stragorodskii) in the Russian Orthodox Diocese of Finland: apostasy and mixed marriages', 1905-1917, in *Slavonic and East European Review* 82 (1), (2004), pp. 50-73. A general outline is sketched in *Orthodoxy in Finland: past and present*, ed. Veikko Purmonen, Kuopio: Orthodox Clergy Association 1984. In Finnish there are of course numerous studies. A good selection is provided by Loima's bibliography. On the internet, some useful material in English, and more in Finnish, may be found in the website www.ort fi

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Appendix

Historical reminders and explanations of some terms

As editor of this compilation of articles, I hope that the general reader may find things explained as clearly as possible ; this is why some historical, jurisdictional and other facts are explained below in order to assist the reading of the articles in this book.

In our context, that of the Orthodox Church, the word 'diaspora' designates the dispersion of Orthodox who now live outside their countries of origin being traditionally Orthodox as well as people who converted to Orthodoxy; instead of the word 'diaspora', some prefer to speak of Orthodox 'dispersion'. 'Phyletism' (from the

Greek word *phylè*, the tribe) is a tendency to identify the Church with a particular nation or ethnicity : this attitude was condemned as heresy by a local council in Constantinople in 1872.

In all the articles the word 'jurisdiction' is found which means, in our context, the 'representation' of a Patriarchate or of a Church outside its geographical and patriarchal borders. In the same country different Orthodox ecclesial jurisdictions may appear, each headed by a 'national' bishop representing its Patriarchate or Church outside its country of origin. The 8th Canon of the first Council of Nicea (325) stipulates that there should not be more than one bishop in each place. Nowadays this canon is not respected in the 'diaspora'.
In order to try to overcome this multiplicity of representation of Orthodox bishops in one country, in France an Inter-episcopal Committee was created in 1967 which was followed in 1997 by the Assembly of the Orthodox Bishops of France (in French, '*Assemblée des Evêques orthodoxes de France'*, *AEOF*) ; in Germany a Commission of the Orthodox Church has been created in 1994. This allows not only for a more fruitful dialogue between the Orthodox authorities living in the same country, but it also allows the local authorities, political, religious and ecumenical, to have a precise Orthodox interlocutor. It also makes it possible to identify the Orthodox communities belonging to a specific Patriarchate and those which are not canonical.

The president both of the Assembly and the Commission is the bishop exarch (or personal representative) in each country of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who is known as the Ecumenical, or 'universal', Patriarch. Why this precedence ? Canon 3 of the Council of Constantinople (381) gives a primacy of honour to the Patriarch of Constantinople. But this does not alter the fact that all the Orthodox Patriarchates and Churches, together with their communities in the diaspora, constitute the universal Orthodox Church.

In the articles, different Christian groups are named.
One article mentions the Old Believers, an important movement on the fringe of the Russian Church since the 17th century.
The Oriental Orthodox Churches, also known as pre-Chalcedonian (Coptic, Ethiopian, Eritrean, Armenian, Syrian Orthodox and Malankara in India) are also mentioned. The Council of Chalcedon in 451 marked the separation of this family of Oriental Churches from the Churches known today as Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic. The Oriental Orthodox communities are also more and more numerous in Western Europe. Since 1964, and officially since 1985, they pursue theological and practical dialogues with different Eastern Orthodox Patriarchates and Churches, globally and locally. In English, the names 'Oriental Orthodox' and 'Eastern Orthodox' were given in order to differentiate the two families of Churches. For brevity, in this book the 'Eastern Orthodox' are just called 'Orthodox'. To assist the practical dialogue of these two families of Churches, since 1993, I have written several books on the life and spirituality of these ancient Oriental Orthodox Christians.
As for the Roman Catholic Church (just called 'Catholic' in the articles), one should never forget that they were united with the Orthodox for more than ten centuries ; they all formed one Church before the schism in 1054 due, among other reasons, to the assertion by the Catholics that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father 'and the Son', and their addition of the *filioque* clause to the Symbol of faith (*Credo*) which was definitively promulgated by the Council of Constantinople in 381.

Certain Catholics of Oriental rite are called ‘Uniates’ to specify that they are united to the Church of Rome. Among them are the Melkites who follow the Byzantine rite in the Arabic language.
Another important separation between Christians took place in Western Europe in the 16th century, following the Reformation, with the development of the Protestant Churches, Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican, etc.
In the Old-Catholic Church some of its European members separated from the Roman Catholic Church in the 18th century and others have done so after the First Vatican Council of 1870. In Switzerland this Church is called ‘Christian-Catholic’.

Slavonic is the liturgical language of the Russian Orthodox also used in other Orthodox Churches (Bulgarian, Serbian, Polish).
At the time of the Byzantine Empire, and earlier, the liturgy was celebrated in Greek, and this language is still used in the Greek Orthodox churches.

The *Antiminsion* (which means ‘instead of an altar’) is a piece of linen or silken cloth, having upon it a representation of the Deposition of Christ and the preparation of His body for burial. It is signed by the authorising Bishop and must be always placed on the Altar at the time of the Eucharistic Liturgy (called in this book as the ‘Liturgy’). In this ‘Corporal’ is sewn a particle of some holy relics of saints. We recall that the first Christians celebrated the Liturgy on or by the tombs of the martyrs.

In the Russian tradition, the ‘Vigil’ is the combined celebration of Vespers and Matins celebrated the evening before a Sunday or a feast day. The Vigil usually concludes with the reading of the First Hour.

The Old Calendar is the ‘Julian’ Calendar which is the Roman Calendar reformed in 46 B.C. by Julius Caesar, from which derives the present international calendar, the ‘New Calendar’, or ‘Gregorian Calendar’, established in 1582 by the Pope of Rome Gregory XIII. A bisextil year was then added every four year because, along the centuries, a progressive gap had taken place between the 21st of March and the real date of the spring equinox ; this gap reached ten days in the 16th century and thirteen days now. Some Orthodox Churches have adopted the New Calendar. The Orthodox following the Old Calendar, such as the Russians, the Serbs, the Polish and the Georgians, celebrate the feasts thirteen days after the New Calendar (for example Christmas on January 7 instead of December 25). But all the Orthodox (except the Finnish) celebrate Easter on the same date, calculated according to the Old Julian Calendar. In some countries (Greece, Cyprus and Romania) there are some Old Calendarists.

The Great Lent is the time preceeding Easter (seven weeks).

A parish or a monastery called ‘stavropegic’ is directly under obedience to its Patriarchate, without the intermediary of the diocesan bishop.

‘Skite’ designates a hermitage where one or several monks are living.

‘Archimandrite’ is the honorific title given to certain priest monks.

One can easily find the geographical names quoted in the articles in any good dictionary or atlas. As for Finland, a map with a few names was needed in order to understand its complex Orthodox history.

Proper names are written most of the time in their English form, but sometimes also in the language of the country.

In order to check in the future the addresses given at the end of each chapter, but which may change, consult *Orthodoxia* published every year by Ostkirchliches Institut, Ostengasse 31, 93047 Regensburg, Germany.

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