Chapter 4

Theology of Migration in the Orthodox Tradition

Kondothra M. George

Properly speaking, the Orthodox theological tradition has no specific "Theology of Migration," though migration has always been a reality in the life of the faithful in all Orthodox churches, both Eastern and Oriental,[1] particularly since the latter part of the nineteenth century until present times. A word needs to be said about this apparent incongruity.

An overview of classical and contemporary Orthodox theological writings would reveal that the Orthodox tradition seldom produces any "genitive" or "adjectival" theologies, for instance, "a theology of hope," "a theology of the Cross," or "a subaltern theology." In fact, Orthodox theology is rather reluctant to subdivide itself into different specialized domains. The so-called subdivisions like christology, pneumatology, and ecclesiology are rather modern and scholastic and are modeled on Western academic distinctions. According to St. Gregory of Nazianzus, a well-known fourth century theologian, and architect of the Trinitarian doctrine, theology (*theologia*) in its primary sense refers to the inexpressible mystery of the Holy Trinity.[2] In this sense, the mystery of God can only be worshipped and loved, not examined with our rational tools of analysis, cognition, and comprehension. At this level, theology is simply doxology, worshipping the triune God. Since there is no attempt here to know God with the human intellect, theology in its simple and pure form in the Orthodox tradition is not what we call "theology" today in academic circles.

In Orthodox views, only in a secondary and derivative sense can one speak of theology as a human rational reflection on God and the created reality. For example, a systematic exercise of the human intellect on any topic in relation to the scriptural and traditional

understanding of God, world, and humanity, will be based on the revelation in Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God. Maintaining the integral connection between human reason and faith is essential for a sound Christian life and reflection. The proper balance between the apophatic and the cataphatic theologies—or the negative and positive approaches to human knowledge of both the transcendent reality and our earthly existence—is deemed pivotal.[3]

The customary reluctance of Orthodox theology to adopt exclusive specialization and fragmentation does not, however, prevent theologians from recognizing the need for theological reflection on current and contextual issues that affect the lives of people in church and society. Yet again, reflection and contextualization are done mostly out of a deep pastoral concern rather than merely academic interests.

Furthermore, the Orthodox churches in general are not in the habit of making public statements in immediate response to ethical or socio-political issues that emerge from time to time. Individual leaders, teachers, and theologians of the church may speak or write and make their opinions public. These theological opinions carry some weight, depending on the personalities that make them, but they tend not to be binding on the church. They can serve as guidelines for the faithful to exercise their freedom and discretion in ethical, social, and political domains.

The Local and the Universal

The traditional distinction between the East and the West in Christianity is no longer justifiable in a geographical sense due to the Western colonial and missionary movements, migration, and the interpenetration of populations. In the old geopolitical and cultural contexts, the Roman Catholic and Protestant streams of Christianity are typically from the West, and Orthodox Christianity is from the East. In pre-colonial times, this territorial division had some legitimacy. With the European colonial movement and the stupendous Western missionary enterprise that accompanied the political-cultural expansion of Europe into Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the scenario has changed. On the one hand, the Roman Catholic Church, which was once the local church of the West centered in Rome, and the provincial European Protestant churches became global entities through missionary expansion. The Roman Church also claimed to be universal, interpreting Catholicity in a geographical dimension of global expansion. On the other hand, political, economic, and

religious reasons pushed many Orthodox Christians from Eastern Europe, Greece, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia to emigrate to richer countries in Western Europe and North America where they found a relatively higher degree of individual freedom. So these traditional local churches have also become practically global churches by virtue of their extensive diaspora.

Although traditionally there was very little popular knowledge of Orthodoxy in the West, the living presence of the diaspora Christians from Orthodox countries, particularly in the twentieth century, brought some substantial knowledge of Orthodox Christianity to the West. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 and the subsequent emergence of Communist regimes, and the suppression of religion in Eastern Europe were major reasons for Orthodox Christians to flee to the West.[4] The newly created axes of ecclesiastical life and pastoral and teaching centers were located in cities like Paris, London, Oxford, New York and other places. These diaspora communities largely maintained their ethnic and linguistic identity as well as faithfulness to their mother churches in their countries of origin. As a result, in Western Europe, North America, and Australia, Orthodox church communities emerged mostly in urban centers with parallel hierarchies and jurisdictions. Canonically, this created a problem for Orthodox theology since the principle of "one bishop in one locality" was not maintained. The younger generation of the émigré Christians was more and more distanced from the mother church, its language, and other cultural assumptions. Particular ethnic allegiance of the immigrants from different countries raised canonical and theological questions for the Orthodox Church. The formation of the Orthodox Church of America, for example, was an attempt to go beyond the rivalry of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identities to become "one church in Christ."

The Middle East and its political instability in the second half of the twentieth century— and the continuing conflicts in countries like Syria and Egypt—have provoked massive emigration from Middle Eastern countries to the West. Beyond Eastern Europe and the Middle East, Oriental Orthodox churches in Ethiopia, Eretria, and India have also experienced the phenomenon of their faithful emigrating to more affluent countries. Even a small, though ancient, Oriental Orthodox church like the Malankara Orthodox Church in India has a substantial diaspora in the Persian Gulf countries and in North America. Migration in this case happened purely because of economic and educational reasons.

The Biblical Saga of Migration

The Orthodox Christian spiritual and theological heritage, as shaped particularly by the monastic tradition, understands the whole earthly existence as a life in exile. The book of Genesis tells the story, couched in mythological garb, of the expulsion of the first parents, Adam and Eve, from the Garden of Eden. Coming to the earth and living in the pain of labor and child-rearing, humanity was confronted with the existential realities of conflict, death, and dissolution. But humanity always retained nostalgia for its original home: the Paradise in the East. The Orthodox liturgical practice of turning to the East during public prayer expresses this homesickness and deep craving for the lost home. The story of the fall of Adam and Eve viewed from a historical perspective, and within a linear temporal scheme, made humanity aware of the beginning and the end of their journey as exiles. The story of the peregrinations of the people of Israel as recounted in the Pentateuch, as well as in the historical and prophetic literature of the Hebrew Scripture, further buttressed the Christian sense of being aliens and sojourners on earth.

The legendary journey of Abraham from the civilized land of the Chaldeans toward the totally unknown territory of the promised land as recounted in the Bible, set the prime model for the Christian sojourners as well. The stories of the slavery of Israel in Pharaonic Egypt, the Exodus out of Egypt led by Moses, the long years of wandering in the desert, and the final entry to the promised land have been employed to symbolize a form of pilgrimage and have been used to refer to the movement of the People of Israel toward the New Israel, the Christian Church. There are differing interpretations of the Hebrews' conquest of Canaan, whether it happened gradually by intermarriages between the Israelites and the local people, or by wars and mass killings, presumably under Yahweh's order. It is clear however that . according to the biblical texts, possessing the land was God's command. Early Christians followed this scriptural view in a spiritual and metaphorical sense, without raising questions about the political nature of the entry of the people of Israel into the promised land. The Christian understandings of salvation history having been fulfilled in the past, of the journey that they had to complete in their present time, and of their future and final destination, were mutually shaped by the metaphorical interpretation of the migration story of the people of Israel as narrated in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Christ himself was a wandering teacher, moving from village to village and town to town, with no permanent residence. He described his own situation when he said, "Foxes have holes and the birds of

the air have nests; but the Son of man has nowhere to lay his head" (Matt 8:20).[5] Most likely, the disciples and the early community of believers interpreted this self-understanding of Jesus in a messianic manner, and thus as followers of Jesus understood themselves to be "aliens and exiles" on earth, having "no lasting city" here and travelling home to the "Jerusalem above... our mother" (1 Pet. 2:11; Heb. 13:14; Gal. 4:26).

Christian existence thus was considered a pilgrimage. This image has gone deep into the psyche of the early Church. The traveller does not carry any heavy baggage of material possessions, and passes through strange and hostile lands. In focusing her or his attention on the final destination, there is no tarrying on the way with any excessive concern for food, clothing and shelter.

Evidence of how ingrained this notion of pilgrimage became in early Christian imaginary can be found in the writings of Clement, bishop of the church of Rome early in the second century. When writing to the church in Corinth, as was typical of many of his letters, Clement describes the Christian Church as: "The pilgrim Church of God in Rome writing to the Church of God in Corinth which is in pilgrimage."[5] Obviously these were genuine churches, locally organized and administered with their own respective bishops and clergy or leadership, independent of each other in administrative and organizational structure, but deeply interdependent in one faith in Jesus Christ and the one communion in the Eucharist with all the love and sharing it implied. These local churches were en route to the final destination, their common goal being the kingdom of God where God will be all in all.

In another celebrated document, the anonymous second century Letter to Diognetus, the earthly existence of the Church is beautifully expressed:

> For the Christians are distinguished from other men neither by country, nor language nor the customs which they observe. For they neither inhabit cities of their own, nor employ a peculiar form of speech, nor lead a life which is marked out by any singularity.... But, inhabiting Greek as well as barbarian cities, according as the lot of each of them has determined, and following the customs of the natives in respect to clothing, food, and the rest of their ordinary conduct they display to us their wonderful and confessedly striking method of life. They dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. As citizens, they share in all things with others, and yet endure all things as if foreigners. Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and every land of their birth as a land of strangers. They marry, as do all others; they

beget children; but they do not destroy their offspring. They have a common table, but not a common bed. They are in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh. They pass their days on earth, but as the citizens of heaven.[6]

Migration and Eschatology

Eschatology plays a key role in Orthodox theology and spirituality. The eschaton is not simply the endpoint of a linear, progressive scheme of time, as it is generally assumed in many theological textbooks and popular teachings. The eschaton is the final goal that reinterprets the past in a refreshingly new way and shapes the present order and agenda of Christian life. In the ascetic-monastic spiritual understanding of the Orthodox tradition, the whole Christian life is a dedicated journey undertaken with the purpose of realizing the kingdom of God. This is essentially a pilgrim's final goal. The ethical and social involvement of the church and its historical configuration are shaped by this ultimate goal. Therefore, there is a hierarchy of values in the life of the church community that subordinates material possessions and worldly power and authority to the overwhelming ideal of the kingdom of God. The reign or kingdom of God in the Orthodox understanding is a radically new and transfigured order of reality that is totally transcendent and "in our midst" at the same time. It is the final fulfilment of the Christian aspiration for love, justice, and salvation, but it can be experienced here and now as well. History and life on earth viewed from the lens of an Orthodox faith can and must manifest signs of the kingdom of God, as did the life and actions of Jesus Christ. All Christian ethics arise from this vision of the kingdom of God (God being all in all).

In many instances of the life of the institutional Church, there is conflict between history and eschatology. Underlying such conflicts is the erroneous assumption that the notion of the eschaton as end or the last things is otherworldly and takes us away from our social and ethical responsibility for the world..

This dichotomy—between this earthly existence and the eternal, between the secular and sacred, between history and salvation—continues to theologically and spiritually deadlock the Church. Orthodox theology, however, considers the eschaton to be the driving force for our commitment in history. The ethics we practice with the understanding of the integral and positive connection between all dimensions of reality is a form of consequential ethics in the sense that our human conduct at sociopolitical and economic levels is judged on the

basis of their long-term implications and meaning for human well-being and salvation. It is not a short-sighted attitude out of arising out of vested interest or the desire for immediate gains.,. v

The future dimension provided by the eschaton is normative for our understanding of the temporal aspect of present existence without fragmenting time into past, present, and future. This concept of time helps us to overcome that superficial psychological division and see the temporal order as drawing light and inspiration from the eternal.

In the Eucharistic liturgical tradition, anamnesis (recollection or remembrance) represents the whole human history in its totality and catholicity. Here is memory or remembrance in its total sense, not simply confined to the historical past. So we remember the future, which is psychologically inadmissible since memory is associated with the past. Doxologically, the Church celebrates the whole of history as redeemed by the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Hence, anamnesis, furthermore, enkindles our expectation for our future which includes all created reality. with the whole of created reality.

One of the ancient prayers in Syriac of St. James' liturgy for anamnesis is, "Lord we remember your death, we confess and proclaim your resurrection and we look forward to your second coming." The centrality of eschatology in the liturgy entails its centrality for Orthodox theology. As John Meyendorff, the well-known Orthodox theologian and historian, puts it, "Without Eschatology, traditionalism is turned only to the past: it is nothing but archaeological antiquarianism, conservatism, reaction, refusal of history, escapism. Authentic Christian traditionalism remembers and maintains the past not because it is past, but because it is the only way to meet the future, to become ready for it."[7] In this, eschatology is no supplement to the study of Christian thought, rather the method needed in guiding each and every Christian teaching towards its aim: the kingdom of God. Likewise, the Metropolitan of Pergamon, John Zizioulas would hold that eschatology is not just an aspect of theology but "an approach, a methodological issue for theology."[8]

Orthodox theology, from its beginning, has taken on an eschatological orientation, and continues to view and judge history from the aim of Christian faith. Putting "remembering the future" at the center of doxology, as Pantelis Kalaitzidis suggests, means that only in the eschatological light can one:

> ...understand why the Divine Eucharist, in its authentic form, represents a foretaste of the eschaton and a proleptic manifestation of the

> coming kingdom of God, the Kingdom of love, justice and freedom, since it entails 'the unity of all' and reconciliation, victory over the demonic and divisive spirit of authoritarianism, the overcoming of the law and power, and the decisive destruction of the power and tyranny of death.[9]

Historically, the contrary to this principle of doxological anamnesis became evident in how the church, particularly in the imperial setting of the Byzantine Empire, became an institutional entity that enjoyed all the political and economic privileges, and remained close to the imperial structure and authority in the spirit of what was called the "Byzantine symphonia," or the concept of the church and state as complementary to each other and working in close collaboration. A major risk of this sort of alliance was the attempt by the hierarchy of the church to imitate the order of the worldly government and its temptation to enjoy worldly power and privileges, forgetting the church's eschatological destiny.

Nevertheless, the authentic theological tradition of the church would direct its attention to transform politics and economics as well as the secular culture in light of its eschatological orientation and ultimate calling. Nicholas Berdyaev, prominent Russian émigré thinker and theologian, believes that the secular culture ultimately comes to a blind alley, and it is the responsibility of the church to bring hope to human civilization. True creativity arises from the Church's understanding of its spiritual vision and sense of transcendental destiny. Berdyaev writes:

> In a godless civilization the image of the human being and the freedom of the spirit will perish and creativity will dry up; already a barbarization is beginning. The church must once again save the spiritual culture and spiritual freedom of humanity." It is about the transfiguration of the world, receiving inspiration from the conviction that, "the kingdom of God is realized in eternity and in each moment of life, and its realization does not depend on the extent to which the power of evil outwardly prevails.[10]

Migration and Diaspora

In the twentieth century, Orthodox churches from different nations of Eastern Europe, Middle East, Africa, and Asia became the hosts of a large diaspora spreading into Western Europe, North America, Latin America, Persian Gulf Countries, North East Asia, Australia, and New Zealand. Outside of its home countries, Orthodoxy began

to be known mainly through this diaspora. Orthodox Christians emigrated either by compulsion or voluntarily for various political, economic, educational, or commercial reasons. The emigration of the Orthodox from Russia and other East European countries in the former Soviet block to Western Europe was of great theological and historical significance.[11] While there were always Orthodox emigrants from the Ottoman Empire after the fall of Constantinople, the migration that occurred with the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 made an important mark on the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches and the general population in the countries that received the immigrants.

Some highly educated theologians, thinkers, and teachers from Russia came to cities like Paris, Berlin, London, Belgrade, and Prague. The new immigrants brought with them the rich theological and liturgical tradition of Orthodoxy to the host countries. Institutes like St. Serge, St. Denys in Paris, as well as theological-spiritual initiatives like St. Alban and St. Sergius in England, created a new wave of theological reflection and sensitivity in Western Christianity and its Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran mainstreams. It also contributed enormously to the new ecumenical movement, particularly in the framework of the World Council Churches in Geneva. Orthodox theology played a decisive role in the Faith and Order movement and other areas of ecumenical theological reflection.

Great names like Bulgakov, Florovsky, Lossky, Berdyaev, Ouspensky, Afanassieff, Schmemann, and Meyendorff brilliantly interpreted Orthodox theological tradition to the Western world. These eminent teachers and a host of their disciples and converts to Orthodoxy witnessed what they generally called "the undivided Christian tradition" represented by the Orthodox Church. The emphasis was on the return to patristic sources, to the liturgy and its transcendental experience, to the eschatological orientation, and to the vision of beauty through the arts, especially its iconography. Orthodox believers made significant inroads into the monocultural West, in which religion and spiritual practice were swinging mainly between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Despite the fragile exilic condition of these immigrant communities, they brought a refreshingly holistic theology and a liturgical spirituality centered on the indomitable hope in the Risen Christ.

Although the Orthodox churches, particularly in the diaspora situation, had no missionary movement similar to the Western missionary initiatives, the witness of Orthodoxy was gently brought home to theological circles in the Western world, which had already entered

a ruthless course of secularization. The distinguished converts to Orthodoxy, like lay theologian Olivier Clement and Timothy Ware (later Bishop Kallistos Ware), and Lev Gillet, inspired by the eminent émigré teachers, demonstrated the power of the spiritual, theological, and liturgical tradition of Eastern Christianity in their highly acclaimed writings and lectures.

The early immigrants brought with them a deep sense of loss and nostalgia for their home countries, cultures, and traditions. In these diaspora communities, the liturgical gathering for the celebration of the Eucharist and the major feasts of the church to a great extent compensated for their losses by fulfilling their deep desire to be rooted in the spiritual and cultural heritage of their home churches. As Ivana and Tim Noble describe it, and as Mother Skobtsova has argued, God's act of "kenosis" or self-emptying of God in Christ, brings about the "theosis" (divinization) of the human person. This theological understanding helps the immigrants look at their own condition in a new way. Their deprivation and alienation can be viewed from the perspective of God's self-emptying and compassionate love in Jesus Christ, and of Jesus' restoration of humanity and ultimate state of glory.[12] Consequently, today, many believers living in the diaspora think that their experience of migration is like a scattering of seeds. Quite likely, they hoped for some of these seeds to sprout, flourish, and bring forth fruit in unimaginable ways, for the glory of God and in witness to Jesus Christ, crucified and risen.

I remember the well-known Dominican theologian, M. D Chenu, leading a seminar at the Institut Catholique in Paris in the early 1970s and joyfully telling us students that the Russian Orthodox émigré theologians brought to Catholic France the joy of the resurrection of Christ as the pinnacle of Christian theology and experience rather than the sadness of suffering, pain, and crucifixion. This awareness has certainly contributed also to the Second Vatican Council and its theological reflection. In this regard, the Orthodox diaspora was reminiscent of the exile and captivity of Israel in alien empires, and how the exilic condition of the people fostered a great and creative prophetic dimension to the Jewish religion.

Migration and Hospitality

The apostolic tradition maintained that hospitality was one of the vital Christian virtues (Heb. 13:2; 1 Pet. 4:9; 1 Tim. 3:2). There is, however, nothing exclusively Christian about the place of hospitality in human society. An example of the appreciation of this virtue in the

traditions of the "Abrahamic faith" is found in the book of Genesis 18. Abraham received into his tent three strangers who were passing by. He washed their feet, as was usual in ancient Middle Eastern practice of hosting visitors, and prepared them a sumptuous feast. He did it purely out of compassion to those travelers who were making the journey in the heat of the desert. It so happened that the three strangers whom Abraham received were angels of God. They were so pleased with the lavished welcome, and promised that the elderly couple, Abraham and Sarah, who had no children, would soon be raising their own child. The whole story of the Jewish nation is thus traced to the hospitality of this barren couple who became parents of a great nation.

In Orthodox theology, this biblical reference became particularly significant through the celebrated icon by Andrei Rublev, a Russian Orthodox iconographer of 15th century, who was canonized in the twentieth century as a saint. Reimagined beyond the biblical text, the philoxenia (hospitality) of Abraham, according to the patristic interpretation, prefigured the Holy Trinity. According to Rublev's icon, this passage symbolizes both "Three" and "One" in the figure of the three visitors. Since Orthodox iconography cannot represent any human form of God outside of the frame of incarnation, the three angels in the story are icons of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, or of the three persons (*hypostases*) in one substance (*ousia*).

Rublev's Trinitarian icon is reminiscent of the migrant communities for whom hospitality is a central concern: how they were received and treated by the inhabitants of the host countries, and how they themselves responded as guests in unfamiliar circumstances. Obviously, the immigrants arriving in a country are not always unequivocally welcomed. They have to pass through barriers in language, culture, climate, health and education of children, finding a means for livelihood, and the general integration in the new environment. So hospitality assumes a broad meaning for the immigrants. Also the deplorable conditions of refugees and immigrants who are being driven out from their home countries are a sign of the increased scarcity of resources plaguing our world. Continuing wars, conflicts, and political and economic instability in different parts of the world turn hospitality, in addition to being a moral virtue, into a great international necessity. The mass exodus of refugees fleeing violence, oppression, and discrimination assumes gigantic proportions in today's world.

International political and economic relations as well as internal relations within various communities and national interest groups can

fruitfully be reviewed in the light of a hospitality paradigm in which the guest and host respect and care for each other. Such has been the sentiment of perceptive individuals in several Orthodox migrant communities who seem to appreciate cultural hospitality as a new value. For them, the give and take of spiritual and material resources is key to the emergence of a new civilization based on justice, peace and love.

Diaspora, Mission and Witness

As noted by Bishop Kallistos Ware, there are today far more Orthodox Christians in major Western cities than in the historic centers of Eastern Christianity like Constantinople or Jerusalem.[13] He deems the twentieth-century Orthodox diaspora, not as an accident, rather as the moving force of God's providence and love. In fact, this gives to the Eastern Orthodox a great opportunity to live side by side with Westerners and other Christians for the first time, who can witness the catholicity of Orthodoxy. It also gives Orthodox believers an occasion to share the vision of truth with people of other faiths, thus opening a missionary dimension of the Orthodox faith.[13]

As we have seen, several Orthodox diaspora communities have deliberately taken upon themselves the task of witnessing to their faith in Christ in the new contexts in which they are placed. The United States seems to be the major host country for Orthodox immigrants of all ethnicities. Actually, the mission in America started in the eighteenth century, not through immigrants, but through the active evangelization of the Russian Orthodox Church in laska. Although many Orthodox communities retain their ethnic, liturgical, and cultural patrimony in present day America, there also emerged the autocephalous and local Orthodox Church of America (OCA) from different ethnic and cultural traditions of Eastern Orthodox immigrants to America as well. The self-awareness of this Church is that of a genuinely local Church, taking into serious account the language and context of contemporary America rather than those of an immigrant minority community.

Conclusion

The reality of migration in the present life of Orthodox churches is a powerful reminder to them, and to Christians at large, that their life can be compared to a pilgrimage and that they live like exiles and aliens. Therefore, many wise teachers in these Churches advocate the

need to constantly review and reorder the Christian priorities in society. According to them, the church can exercise a prophetic vocation in discerning and redirecting the agenda of the secular world, in view of the values of the Kingdom of God. In its pilgrimage, the church needs to be particularly sensitive to the poor, the marginalized, and the vulnerable in every country. The Church can interpret the ancient virtues of hospitality, mutual respect, and care in relation to people of other faiths and of no faith. For the Christian church—as people of God, journeying with Christ in faith, hope, and love—the ultimate meaning of its migrant status on earth is to be revealed.

Taking into account the demographic situation of our contemporary world and the great injustice that globally reigns in matters of basic needs like food, clothing, shelter, education, human rights, and dignity, we may positively say, with due sensitivity to the great pain and suffering of all uprooted people, that migration, forced or willed, can lead to God renewing the face of the earth in our time.

Notes

1. It is conventional in ecumenical circles to distinguish the two families of Orthodox churches as Eastern and Oriental, the former referring to the churches in the Byzantine liturgical tradition, such as Greek, Russian, Rumanian and others, and the latter to the different Oriental churches like the Armenian, Coptic, Syrian, Ethiopian, Eritrean and Indian (Malankara). In spite of the Christological disputes around the Council of Chalcedon in AD 451, both families have now come to formal agreements regarding their common apostolic tradition and unity in Orthodox faith, though Eucharistic communion is yet to be restored. See K. M. George, "Oriental Orthodox—Orthodox Dialogue," in *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, eds. N. Lossky, et al., 757–759 (Geneva: WCC, 1991).
2. Gregory of Nazianzus, *On God and Christ: The Five Theological Orations and Two Letters to Cledonius* (New York: St.. Vladimir Seminary Press, 2002). See particularly Orations 27 and 28, in which Gregory outlines the method of theology typical of the Cappadocian Fathers. See also Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Way*, rev. ed. (New York: SVS Press, revised edition 1995), esp. 11–25.
3. Ware, *The Orthodox Way*, 121–122. See also K. M. George, *The Silent Roots: Orthodox Perspectives on Spirituality* (Geneva: WCC Publications 1994), 8–13.
4. See Ivana Noble and Timothy Noble, "Orthodox Theology in Western Europe in the Twentieth Century," in *European History Online* (2013), accessed March 10, 2014, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/crossroads/religious-and-confessional-spaces/ivana-noble-tim-noble-orthodox-theology-in-Western-europe-in-the-twentieth-century.

5. The Revised Standard Version of the Bible is used throughout in this essay.
6. Clement of Rome, *Letter to the Corinthians,* in *The Faith of the Early Fathers Vol. 1*, sel. and trans. W. A. Jurgens (Bangalore: Theological Publications in India, 1992), 6–13.
7. *Letter to Diognetus,* in *The Faith of the Early Fathers Vol. 1, op.cit.* 40–42.
8. John Meyendorff, "Does Christian Tradition have a Future?" *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 26 (1982); quoted in P. Kalaitzidis, *Orthodoxy and Political Theology* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2012), 89.
9. Quoted in *Orthodoxy and Political Theology, op.cit.* 105.
10. Kalaitzidis, *Orthodoxy and Political Theology*, 104.
11. Nicolas Berdyaev, "Salvation and Creativity: Two Understandings of Christianity," in *Western Spirituality: Historical Roots and Ecumenical Routes*, ed. M. Fox (Santa Fe Bear & Company, 1981), 133.
12. See Noble and Noble, *art. cit.* See also, Kallistos of Diokleia, "The Witness of the Orthodox Church in the Twentieth Century," *Sourozh—A Journal of Orthodox Life and Thought*, no. 80 (May 2000): 1–14.
13. See Noble and Noble, *art. cit.*
14. Kallistos of Diokleia, "The Witness of the Orthodox Church," 1–14.

14 Ambedkar quoted by Larbeer, *Ambedkar on Religion*, p. 64

15 Vasant Moon, ed., *Babasaheb Ambedkar's Writings and Speeches*. ... (Bombay: Department of Education, Government of Maharashtra, 1989), p. 387.

16 Dag Hamerskold quoted by Juan Stam, "The Hermeneutics ... Liberation Theology," in *Bangalore Theological Forum*, vol. XI, ... (July-December, 1979), p. 139.

17 Hugo Assmann quoted by Stam, *ibid.*

18 George Zachariah, "Public Sphere: Ethical Discernment and Praxis," an unpublished paper presented in a Conference on Asian Public Theology from 7th to 9th September 2011, p. 5.

19 Min, Solidarity of Others, p. 142.

20 Raimundo Panikkar cited by Min, p. 149.

21 Min, Solidarity of Others, 161.)