

“Liturgy after the Liturgy”: an original missionary exhortation of the Archbishop of Albania Anastasios

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Introduction

In recent decades, missionary appeal has frequently been used in the relevant literature, oral theological discussions, and other opportunities: “The liturgy after the Liturgy”. This exhortation began to spread widely in the ecumenical movement and especially in World Mission circles during the mid-1970s. The current Archbishop Anastasios of Albania was the first to use it; since then, he has been followed by other Orthodox theologians who want to emphasize the liturgical life’s direct link with the mission of Christians and the gospel’s spread to the nations. The importance of this appeal was also linked to the Church’s ministry in society as a continuation of the faithful’s participation in the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist.

The “liturgy after the Liturgy” simply and concisely declares first and foremost that Christian life’s center is the Holy Eucharist. Christians draw strength and inspiration from their participation in the sacrament of the

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Holy Eucharist so that they can then bear unselfishly witness to Christ's presence in the world and at the same time confront all forms of evil¹.

The duty of Christians to leave the confines of the holy temple and share with the world the gifts they received from the Holy Eucharist with those that are both close and afar, was codified by Anastasius in the memorable missionary exhortation: "The liturgy after the Liturgy". This had taken place in the mid-1970s at a conference of the World Council of Churches; subsequently, the phrase has been used by other theologians in the context of the ecumenical movement². More recently, the exhortation

1. The biblical documentation regarding the exhortation for the "Liturgy after the Liturgy" can be traced to *John* 13, 1-17; *Luc.* 22, 24-30; *Matt.* 28, 19; *Acts* 2, 42-47; 4:32-37. The relevant sources in Patristic literature are –among others– the following ones: *Πρὸς Διόννητον Ἐπιστολή*, PG 5, 713b (88); Ignatius, *Πρὸς Ἐφεσίους*, PG 5, 656a; John Chrysostome, *Εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κς'*, PG 57, 331c; Maximus, *Μυσταγωγία*, PG 91, 668d-669b; Nikolaos Kavalas, *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὴν θείαν Λειτουργίαν, μς'*, PG 150, 456d.

2. See, for example, D. Gill (ed.), *Gathered for Life: Official Report of the WCC 6th Assembly*, WCC Publ., Geneva 1983, p. 35; Ed. Scott (ed.), *Nairobi to Vancouver*, WCC Publ., Geneva 1983, p. 93; M. Kinnamon (ed.), *Signs of the Spirit: Official Report of the WCC 7th Assembly*, WCC Publ., Geneva 1991, p. 119; A. Schmemmann, "The Missionary Imperative", *Church, World, Mission: Reflections on Orthodoxy and the West*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood NY 1979, p. 215; M. J. Oleksa, "Overwhelmed by Joy", *IRM* 72 (1983), pp. 415-20; M. Blyth, "Liturgy after the Liturgy: An ecumenical Perspective", *The Ecumenical Review*, vol. 44, no 1 (1992), pp. 73-79; J. Anchimiuk, "Ministry of the Eucharistic Liturgy and the Ministry of the Liturgy after the Liturgy", in: G. Tsetsis (ed.), *Orthodox Thought*, WCC Publ., Geneva 1983, p. 31; Ar. Keshishian, *Orthodox Perspectives on Mission*, Regnum Lynx, Oxford 1992, pp. 22-30; I. Bria – P. Vasileiadis, *Ὁρθόδοξη Χριστιανικὴ Μαρτυρία*, Tertios Publications, Katerini 1989, pp. 65-76; B. Bobrinskoy, «Prière du coeur et eucharistie», in: I. I. Ica (ed.), *Person and Communion: Homage to Fr Dumitru Staniloae*, Sibiu, 1993, pp. 631; E. Clapsis, "The Eucharist as Missionary Event in a Suffering World" in: *Orthodoxy in Conversation: Orthodox Ecumenical Engagements*, Holy Cross Orthodox Press, Brookline MA 2004, pp. 192-193; P. Vasileiadis, *Lex orandi*, Indiktos Publications, Thessaloniki 2005, pp. 22-28; St. Tsompanidis, *Μετα-λειτουργία. Ἡ Ὁρθόδοξη συμμετοχὴ στὴν κοινὴ χριστιανικὴ μαρτυρία γιὰ δικαιοσύνη, εἰρήνη καὶ ἀκεραιότητα τῆς δημιουργίας*, P. Pournaras Publications, Thessaloniki 2009, pp. 422. According to Professor Sonea: "The concept had an important impact on the development of some important missionary documents, such as: *Martyria-Mission. The Witness of the Orthodox Churches Today* (WCC, Geneva 1980), *Go Forth in Peace. Orthodox Perspectives in Mission* (WCC, Geneva 1982 and 1986), and a few chapters under the section about the Eucharist of the *BEM* ecumenical document. WCC 10th Assembly from Busan, 2013, adopted the missionary document *Together Towards Life*, in which

is recorded in the Message and Encyclical of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church in Crete³, texts with pan-Orthodox acceptance and global reach. It is worth noting that the author of the Message was Archbishop Anastasios and the positions on missionary work in the Encyclical are his brainchild. In contemporary literature with mainly missionary content, the authorship of this exhortation is attributed to the Romanian priest F. Ion Bria⁴, who served as Archbishop Anastasios (Yannoulatos) collaborator in the World Mission Commission of the WCC and was familiar with his theological texts and views. In his publications from the mid-1970s, he appropriated this eloquent exhortation and used it diligently as his own⁵.

In our present research, our aim is to identify the originator of the “Liturgy after the Liturgy” concept and the latter’s branching out to other authors. At the same time, by studying some of the Archbishop’s earlier works, we seek to present his theological thinking, based on the Gospel’s witness to the world. The theological documentation of the missionary work from the late 1950s provided the natural substratum for the germination of this rhythmic, eloquent, and theologically precise exhortation, which marked Archbishop Anastasios’s entire ministry in the Church.

‘liturgy after the Liturgy’ becomes the orthodox contribution to the way mission is understood at an ecumenical level”; C. Sonea, “The ‘Liturgy after the Liturgy’ and Deep Solidarity. The Orthodox Understanding of Christian Witness and its Implications for Human Society”, *Mission Studies* 37 (2020), pp. 452-477.

3. Holy and Great Council, official website: <https://holycouncil.org/> [13.06.2022].

4. See, for example: Tam. Grdzelidze, “Ecumenism, Orthodoxy and Education”, in: J. A. McGuckin (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodoxy Christianity*, A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. Publication 2011, p. 211.

5. For the first written reference, see in: I. Bria, “The liturgy after the Liturgy”, *International Review of Mission*, Vol. 67, no 265 (1978), pp. 86. Cf. I. Bria, *Go Forth in Peace: Orthodox Perspectives on Mission*, WCC, Geneva 1986, p. 3; I. Bria, *The Liturgy after the Liturgy. Mission and Witness from an Orthodox Perspective*, WCC Publ., Geneva 1996; I. Bria, “My pilgrimage to Mission”, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol. 26, iss. 2, pp. 74-77.

1. The first exposition of the exhortation: “The liturgy after the Liturgy”

In 1975, the then Bishop of Androusa Anastasios (Yannoulatos), as Secretary of the World Mission and Evangelism Committee for Orthodox Studies and Relations (CWE, “Desk for Orthodox Studies and Relations”) at a WCC Conference in Etchmiadzine, Armenia, having as its theme: “Confessing Christ through the Liturgical Life of the Church” used this exhortation for the first time. Quoting an excerpt from his sermon on the Second Sunday of Lent 1963, the feast of St. Gregory Palamas, in Athens, to the members of the Association of Christian Scientists, he reiterated the need for the Eucharistic and liturgical experience to continue in daily life:

This event [the Liturgy] should not be lost as a momentary emotion; it should be extended into everyday life. The whole life should be transformed into a liturgy. To make our office our altar, our factory or home our temple, our work our liturgy, where our soul and body are offered «θυσία ζῶσα, ἁγία, εὐάρεστος τῷ Θεῷ»⁶.

At the end of the Conference in Etchmiadzine, Archbishop Anastasios used this quote from an earlier sermon, emphasizing the importance of the Divine Liturgy and especially the dynamics of the liturgical experience in daily life, with the codified exhortation: “the liturgy after the Liturgy”. More particularly, he pointed out:

The Liturgy must continue in personal, everyday circumstances. Every believer is called to continue a personal “liturgy” on the mystical altar of his heart, to carry out a living proclamation of the Gospel «ὕπὲρ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου» (“for the whole world”). Since in the Eucharistic event, we are incorporated into Him who came to minister to the world and to be sacrificed for it, we ought to express, by the concrete ministry in the life of society, our new existence in Christ, the Deacon of us all. The Eucharistic sacrifice must be extended to personal sacrifices for the people, who are afflicted with so many needs, for the sake of the brothers for whom Christ died [...] to free people from all the demonic structures

6. Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Archbishop of Albania, *Ἱεραποστολὴ στὰ ἔχνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Θεολογικὲς μελέτες καὶ ὁμιλίαι*, Apostoliki Diakonia tis Ekklesias tis Hellados Publications, Athens 2007, pp. 128-129.

of injustice, exploitation, anguish, loneliness, and creating a true communion of persons in love⁷.

In this quote, Archbishop Anastasios essentially emphasized the power that the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist exerts in every aspect of human life, while at the same time linking the present with the expectation of the Kingdom of God. The constant struggle of Christians for the transformation of this world into a «καινό»⁸ has a Eucharistic origin. In his theological thought, the ultimate and the present meet in the Eucharistic attitude of Christian life and the Gospel’s witness in society.

Following this introduction, Archbishop Anastasios also provided the basic axes on which in the following years various theologians have based the dimensions of the “liturgy after the Liturgy”⁹. More particularly, he underlined: “This personal daily attitude becomes ‘liturgical’ in the sense that: a) It draws strength from participation in the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist through which we receive the grace of the liberating and unifying Spirit; b) it is indeed the best preparation for a new, more conscious and existential participation in the Divine Liturgy; and c) it is a living expression –in terms understood to each person– of the man’s true transformation in Christ”¹⁰.

This suggestion of Archbishop Anastasios in Etchmiadzine was published in excerpts by the Romanian theologian Archpriest F. Ion Bria¹¹, who succeeded him in his position in the WCC. In the following

7. See Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Archbishop of Albania, *Τεραποστολή...*, *ibid.*, p. 131.

8. *Rev.* 21, 5β: «ἰδοὺ καινὰ ποιῶ πάντα».

9. Regarding the development of the “liturgy after the Liturgy” in the thought of various theologians, but without reference to Archbishop Anastasios as the appeal’s initiator, see Gr. Edwards, “Orthodox Christian Witness to the Third Millennium: Improving the mission document”, Presented at the Eighth International Conference of Orthodox Theology. 21-25 May 2018, hosted by the Faculty of Theology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki, Greece, http://www.orthodoxconference.theosch.auth.gr/keimena_final/33_Edwards_Gregory.pdf [26.06.2022].

10. See Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Archbishop of Albania, *Τεραποστολή...*, *ibid.*, p. 131.

11. See also Thanasis Papathanasiou’s reference, saying that the exhortation’s initiator is Archbishop Anastasios, while Father Ion Bria spread it through the journal *International Review of Mission*: “The formula ‘liturgy after the Liturgy’ was first articulated by Anastasios Yannoulatos in 1975 in Etchmiadzine, Armenia, and since then, along with the valuable contribution of Ion Bria, has become an established phrase that is used often in the *IRM*”,

years, F. Bria often used the exhortation: “liturgy after the Liturgy” in various ecumenical conferences, presentations, and debates, in an article of the same title in the *International Review of Mission*, widely circulated among the ecumenical circles¹² and especially in a book of the same

in: “Tradition as impulse for renewal and witness: Introducing Orthodox missiology in the IRM”, P. Vassileiades (ed.), *Orthodox Perspectives on Mission*, Regnum Books International, Oxford 2013, p. 164. See D. Koukoura, “Evangelism in ‘Christian’ Societies, An Orthodox homiletic approach”, https://www.academia.edu/37815940/Evangelism_in_Christian_Societies [28.06.2022]. See also in: D. Koukoura, “Rievangelizzazione: una procedura miletica complessa”, https://www.academia.edu/37819346/RIEVANGELIZZAZIONE_pdf [28.06.2022]. Again, Metropolitan Geevarghese Mor Coorilos argues that the appeal “liturgy before the Liturgy” was spread by Father Ion Bria without any mentioning to Archbishop Anastasios. “Mission as liturgy before Liturgy and as contestation”: P. Vassileiades (ed.), *Orthodox Perspectives on Mission*, p. 175. See also Kosmas (John) Ngige Njoroge, “Incarnation as a moode of Othodox mission: International Orthodox mission – Imposing culture and inculturation”, in: P. Vassileiades (ed.), *Orthodox Perspectives on Mission*, p. 249: “This is why, according to Archbishop Anastasios, and later Fr Bria, the ‘*liturgy after the liturgy*’ starts with Eucharistic worship”. Professor Sonea also acknowledges that Archbishop Anastasios set the conditions for the creation of the term and that other theologians, such as I. Bria, made the term known. See C. Sonea, “The ‘Liturgy after the Liturgy’ and Deep Solidarity. The Orthodox Understanding of Christian Witness and its Implications for Human Society”, *Mission Studies* 37 (2020), pp. 458. Additionally, Father V. Mosoiu, also notes that: “The phrase ‘Liturgy after the Liturgy’ appears in the vocabulary of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in the early 1970s, being linked to the name of the current archbishop of Albania, Anastasios Yannoulatos. At the World Missionary Conference on *Salvation today* (Bankgog 1972), he insisted on the sense of tradition and the dual movement in which the Church trains its faithful by worship: the public assembly for the Eucharistic Liturgy and other rites, namely the sending to the Christian testimony. The concept was resumed and deepened on other occasions by Orthodox theologians, the most important moments being remembered by Father Bria” (p. 157). He then emphasizes that theologians who refer to the term: “liturgy after the liturgy” make no distinction between the theological positions of Archbishop Anastasios Ion Bria: “Interestingly, almost all of these authors refer to expression without distinguishing between the ideas of Archbishop Anastasios Yannoulatos and those of Professor and Father Ion Bria – yet another proof of the similarity of the vision and ideas of the two great Orthodox missionary theologians” (p. 160); V. Mosoiu, “‘Liturgy after the Liturgy’ as the missionary-ecumenical reference point of father Ion Bria’s thinking. A Critical Perspective”, *Revista Teologica*, iss. 1 (2019), pp. 149-166.

12. Ion Bria, “The liturgy after the Liturgy”, *International Review of Mission*, vol. 67, no 265 (1978), pp. 86-90. It was republished in: *Go Forth in Peace: A Pastoral and Missionary Guidebook*, WCC, Geneva 1982, pp. 28-41, also in: G. Limouris (ed.), *Orthodox Visions of Ecumenism*, WWW, Geneva 1994, pp. 216-220.

title published by WCC¹³. After the diligent silencing of the paternity of this iconic exhortation, the Romanian cleric out of necessity restored the truth, as follows: “One comment which summarizes the original debate was sent by bishop Anastasios Yannoulatos, professor of the University of Athens, which follows in the revised form”, where he quotes a text written by Archbishop Anastasios¹⁴.

More specifically, in his book: *The Liturgy after the Liturgy*¹⁵, f. Ion Bria writes¹⁶:

This was further developed at a consultation in Etchmiadzin, Armenia, in 1975, on ‘Confessing Christ through the Liturgical of the Church Today’. Its report noted that the eucharistic liturgy has implications not only for the being and identity of the church but also for its mission in the world¹⁷ [...]. Out of this idea of the extension of the liturgical celebration life of the faithful in the world came the concept of the ‘liturgy after the liturgy’. The dynamics of the liturgy go beyond the boundaries of the eucharistic assembly to serve the community at large. The eucharistic liturgy is not escape into an inner realm of prayer, a pious turning away from social realities, rather it calls and sends the faithful to celebrate “the sacrament of the brother” outside the temple in the public market place, where the cries of the poor and marginalized are heard. Anastasios Yannoulatos, then a professor at the University of the Athens, underscored the necessary link between taking part ‘in the *great* event of liberation from sin and of communion with Christ’ and making evident ‘this transfiguration of our little being into a member of Christ’ in daily life: “Each of the faithful is called upon to continue a personal ‘liturgy’ on the secret altar of his own heart, to realize a living proclamation of the good news ‘for the sake of the whole world’. Without this continuation the liturgy remains incomplete... The sacrifice of the Eucharist must be extended in personal sacrifices for the people in need, the brothers for whom Christ died... The continuation of liturgy in life means a continuous liberation from the powers of the evil that are working inside us, a continual reorientation and openness to insights and efforts aimed at liberating human persons from all demonic structures of injustice, exploitation, agony, loneliness, and at creating

13. Ion Bria, *The Liturgy after the Liturgy. Mission and Witness from an Orthodox Perspective*, WCC Publ., Geneva 1996, p. 90.

14. Ion Bria, “The liturgy after the Liturgy”, *International Review of Mission*, vol. 67, no 265 (1978), p. 86.

15. Ion Bria, *The Liturgy after the Liturgy. Mission and Witness from an Orthodox Perspective*, *ibid.*, p. 20.

16. We quote the entire passage so that the reference to Archbishop Anastasios (Yannoulatos) of Albania is visible.

17. Here is an excerpt from the text of the Orthodox Christians.

real communion of persons in love”. Anastasios describes this everyday personal attitude as ‘liturgical’ because (1) it is energized by participation in the eucharist, (2) it constitutes the best preparation for a more conscious participation in the eucharist, (3) it is clear and living expression of real transformation of men and women in Christ¹⁸.

Subsequently, in our research, we ask ourselves whether this now widespread exhortation of Archbishop Anastasios was a momentary inspiration of his at the Etchmiadzin conference or whether it encapsulates his earlier theological thinking.

2. The appeal: “The liturgy after Liturgy” in Archbishop Anastasios’s earlier works

The seeds of this particular exhortation could be traced back in 1961, in Anastasios’s sermon: «Τὸ ρῆγος τῆς Προηγιασμένης» (“The thrill of the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts”), during the evening Mass (14.3.1961) at the University Church of Athens (Kapnikarea). The sermon’s recipients, and subsequently the readers of the magazine where it was published¹⁹, knew little about the mission. Besides, the revival of the Orthodox duty of bearing witness to the nations had only just begun at that time. Archbishop Anastasios’s contribution, as modern church history and relevant missionary research show, has been decisive²⁰.

18. Ion Bria, *The Liturgy after the Liturgy. Mission and Witness from an Orthodox Perspective*, *ibid.*, p. 20.

19. Anast. Yannoulatos, «Τὸ ρῆγος τῆς Προηγιασμένης», *Πορευθέντες/Porefthentes*, iss. 13 (1962), pp. 4-5. It was republished in Anastasios’ book: *Ἔως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς*, Apostoliki Diakonia tis Ekklesias tis Hellados Publications, Athens 2009, pp. 343. This article underlines the connection between the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts and the blessings of the catechumens, which are heard aloud, and the missionary duty of the Church. For an extensive analysis of the specific theological work of Archbishop Anastasios, see N. Tsirevelos, *Θεολογικὴ θεμελίωση τῆς Ὁρθόδοξης μαρτυρίας. Σπουδὴ στὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλβανίας Ἀναστασίου*, Ostrakon Publishing, Thessaloniki 2015, pp. 101-108.

20. For more details, see Th. Papathanasiou, «Ἡ “γενιὰ τοῦ ’60” καὶ ἡ ἱεραποστολή», in: P. Kalaitzidis, Th. N. Papathanasiou, Th. Abatzidis (eds.), *Ἀναταράξεις στὴ Μεταπολεμικὴ θεολογία – “Ἡ θεολογία τοῦ ’60”, Πρακτικὰ θεολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀκαδημία Θεολογικῶν Σπουδῶν Ἱ. Μ. Δημητριάδος καὶ τοῦ περιοδικοῦ Σύναξις*, Indiktos

Especially in this work, the then-lay theologian Anastasios Yannoulatos notes that spiritual life is not complete without a genuine concern for the world and the salvation of the whole globe. This interest begins with the anticipation of the Kingdom of God in the Sacrament of the Eucharist; still, this participation can in no way be an individual affair but a constant struggle for the announcement of the Kingdom of God to all creation. More specifically: “Without the pain and the effort to extend the Kingdom of God, the Kingdom of love, to the whole world, that is, without missionary consciousness, it is a problem whether the Kingdom of God will be extended to all corners of our inner world. It is a problem whether a profound, interior renewal of our Church can be realized”²¹. Therefore, participation in the Eucharist means the transformation of our own self and a struggle to witness God’s new world locally and globally.

The exhortation and the connection between the worship experience and global mission is most clearly seen in the article entitled: “Orthodox Mission and the Eucharist”²², an excerpt from a presentation in English at the World Mission and Evangelism Assembly of the WCC in Mexico in 1963. More particularly, the then Deacon Anastasios Yannoulatos writes: “Christ is not just a prophet or a theory. He is life. The transmission of this life is not so much realized by words, ideas, or thoughts. It reaches its fullness in Holy Communion. Every member of our being, of our human existence, body, and soul, must be sanctified. For this reason, we receive His blood and His body, so that everything in us may be transformed and we may become ‘partakers of divine nature’”²³. The passage declares

Publications, Athens 2009, p. 372 et seq.; N. Tsirevelos, *Τὰ ἱεραποστολικά περιοδικὰ καὶ ἡ ἀποτύπωση τῆς Ὀρθόδοξης μαρτυρίας κατὰ τὴ μεταπολεμικὴ περίοδο. Ἐπικοινωνιακὴ προσέγγιση*, PhD Dissertation, Department of Theology, Faculty of Theology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, p. 43 et seq.

21. Anast. Yannoulatos, «Τὸ ρῖγος τῆς Προηγιασμένης», *ibid.*, p. 5.

22. *Πορευθέντες/Porefthentes*, iss. 24 (1964), pp. 58-59. The text was republished in the journal *Ἀνάπλασις/Anaplasis* (Dec. 1964), as well as in his two collections of articles with the title: *Ἔως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς*, *ibid.*, pp. 345-348, and, *Ἡ λησμονημένη ἐντολὴ Πορευθέντες... ἀπὸ τὸν λήθαργο στὴν ἀφύπνιση*, Apostoliki Diakonia tis Ekklesias tis Hellados Publications, Athens 2013, pp. 193-197.

23. 2 Peter 1, 4; (=Through these he has given us his very great and precious promises, so that through them you may participate in the divine nature, having escaped the corruption

the fullness of life received by the believer in the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist and its importance for the Orthodox Church.

Archbishop Anastasios then analyses the relationship between the Eucharist and the global mission, moving on two axes. The first one refers to the Christians' empowerment through their participation in the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the simultaneous awareness of their duty and mission in the world. "It is very doubtful whether we can truly participate in and experience the Divine Liturgy when we do not feel deeply that the sacrifice of our Lord and His redemptive work –which takes place again and in secret during the celebration of the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist– is not offered exclusively to a few million people, but to the whole world. It is still questionable whether we are entitled to participate in the Supper of Love when we are indifferent to the fact that so many of our unknown brothers and sisters are born, suffer, and live without having known the Truth"²⁴.

The second axis emphasizes that there can be no missionary ministry without an essential communion with Jesus himself. "When we reflect on the profound unity and loving relationship of the Son with the Father, we better understand what kind of 'communion' is required between the sender and the emissary"²⁵. This communion, as he continues a little further on, is achieved through participation in the Holy Eucharist, the core of the life of the Church and the basic resource for the witness and ministry of the Lord's disciples and of His disciples and followers throughout the ages"²⁶.

This text, published in 1964, concludes with the periphrastic formulation of the "liturgy after the Liturgy". "At every Liturgy [Mass] everyone is called to offer his whole self, his whole work –what he is, what he has, what he does– to Christ. He should seek to be 'in divine communion' with the Lord, so that his whole existence may be freed from the narrow bonds of selfishness. Only then, with a true

in the world caused by evil desires); «Ὁρθόδοξη Ἱεραποστολή καὶ Θεία Εὐχαριστία», *Πορευθέντες/Porefthentes*, iss. 24 (1964), pp. 58-59. The Greek translation of the speech was made by the writer himself and can be found in his collection, *Ἡ λησμονημένη ἐντολή Πορευθέντες...*, *ibid.*, pp. 195-196.

24. «Ὁρθόδοξη Ἱεραποστολή καὶ Θεία Εὐχαριστία», *ibid.*

25. «Ὁρθόδοξη Ἱεραποστολή καὶ Θεία Εὐχαριστία», *ibid.*, p. 59.

26. «Ὁρθόδοξη Ἱεραποστολή καὶ Θεία Εὐχαριστία», *ibid.*

and manifest love for all humanity, will he be able to participate in the life of divine love, the blessed life of the Holy Trinity”²⁷.

3. “The liturgy after the Liturgy” in Archbishop Anastasios’s later works

In his 1978 study “Discovering the Orthodox missionary ethos”²⁸, Archbishop Anastasios stresses the Divine Liturgy’s experiential character. The worship experience represents the beginning of meaningful relationships in freedom with God and one’s fellow man. This freedom means openness to all diversity/alterity and an effort for the harmonious coexistence of human beings, regardless of their ethnic, racial, gender, religious, or socio-cultural specificities. Thus, the Holy Eucharist becomes a way of life and is expressed in practical love for all creation. Archbishop Anastasios notes:

By experiencing communion with God in the Liturgy [...] the believer broadens the horizons of his thinking and interests, acquires inner strength for the continuation of an experiential liturgy in life: For the effective promotion of fraternity in the world, the bridging of divisions, the breaking down of all kinds of cultural, linguistic and political barriers. There is a different kind of liturgy (“work of the people”). For the sake of the people, every believer must continue personally after the celebration of the Liturgy in the church. “A liturgy after the Liturgy”. Thus, Liturgy becomes a life and the whole life is elevated to a Divine Liturgy²⁹.

In addition, the experiential Eucharistic attitude to life is expressed in the selfless offering of services by Christians and the whole Church community to every person. In this context, the liturgical experience extends to the ministry and action of Christ’s disciples in the social sphere. In this position, the anthropological orientation of Christian doctrine

27. «Ὁρθόδοξη Ἱεραποστολή καὶ Θεία Εὐχαριστία», *ibid.*

28. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Ἱεραποστολή στὰ ἔχνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *ibid.*, p. 156. Initially published in: «À la découverte de l’éthos missionnaire de l’Église orthodoxe», *Aspects de l’Orthodoxie*, Strasbourg 1978, pp. 78-96.

29. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Ἱεραποστολή στὰ ἔχνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *ibid.*, p. 170.

is clearly visible. This orientation was expressed in a study written by the Archbishop bearing the title “Eucharist, Ministry, Witness in Inter-embracing”³⁰ and includes the struggle of Christians for the defense of human rights and the salvation of every human being. “Participation, therefore, in any dynamic movement for the liberation of human life from all demonic oppression, all immoral and unjust structures, is a direct result of liturgical experience, a direct expression of the salvatic experience”³¹. This work highlights the close connection between ministry and witness, based on the Eucharistic experience and constituting the safety valve so that witness and ministry do not fall into expressions of proselytism or repurchasing. “Worship”, writes Archbishop Anastasios, “by subjecting to a constant ‘biological treatment’ of the various wastes of selfish thinking, will and energy, provides unceasingly the pure water needed for each personal and group action to become truly ‘ecclesiastic’ and to bear rich and ripe fruit”³². Therefore, there is no room for self-interest in the life of the Church; she is the Mystical Body of Christ, functioning as a loving communion and sacrificing herself for the good of the world³³.

The liturgical life of the Church orients the Christian to an ecumenical course. By following this course, it practically strives for the unity of all. More particularly, Archbishop Anastasios in the article: “The Global Vision of Proclaiming the Gospel” stresses: “The Liturgy, by freeing us from our absorption in the problems of our small ego, opens up our horizons, helping us to existentially experience the universality of salvation in Christ”³⁴. At the same time, however, it links the “liturgy after

30. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Ἱεραποστολὴ στὰ ἔχνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *ibid.*, p. 186. Initially published: “Worship – Service – Martyria”. A paper for the Sixth Assembly of the WCC, *International Review of Mission* 72 (1983), pp. 635-639.

31. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Ἱεραποστολὴ στὰ ἔχνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *ibid.*, p. 191.

32. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Ἱεραποστολὴ στὰ ἔχνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *ibid.*, p. 194.

33. Cf. the following studies: f. G. Florovsky, *Θέματα Ὁρθοδόξου Θεολογίας*, transl. Emm. Pratsinakis, Artos zois Publications, Athens 1989, p. 180; N. Nisiotis, *Υπαρξισμός καὶ Χριστιανικὴ Πίστις*, Minima Publications, Athens 1986, p. 207; N. Matsoukas, *Δογματικὴ καὶ Συμβολικὴ Θεολογία*, Γ', P. Pournaras Publications, Thessaloniki 1997, p. 287.

34. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Ἱεραποστολὴ στὰ ἔχνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *ibid.*, p. 287. Initially published: “The Global Visison of Proclaiming the Gospel”, *The Greek*

the Liturgy” with the liturgical renaissance that took place in many local Orthodox churches. Thus, Christians’ concern for the whole world is an extension of the liturgical experience and the interest in the experiential connection of believers with worship. In this matter, Archbishop Anastasios also reveals his anxiety so that the above theological positions become known to the members of the Church, inspire them, and then acquire practical application in their lives. Therefore, he underlines that: “but it will need to be even more vividly illuminated in our Eucharistic gatherings and more consistently experienced in our daily life after Mass, so that Orthodox witness and missionary work may develop into a liturgy after the Liturgy”³⁵. Such an effort leads, in essence, to ecclesiastical action and life inspired by the Paraclete and weaves a vision of universality which Christians are called to serve.

Indeed, Archbishop Anastasios points out that, in the face of the ever-changing world, the continuity of the Liturgy in society leads the process of bearing witness under new circumstances, in new ways, and in new environments³⁶. Obviously, the reference is to the possibilities offered by new technologies and the digital cultures that are constantly being formed and reshaped³⁷. Now “the liturgy after the Liturgy” can be carried out by all Christians by facilitating digital communication channels to encode in new ways the message of Christ³⁸. The Archbishop notes: “These communication codes should not be perceived as riddles or threats but as a new language for conveying the Gospel’s eternal messages”³⁹. Thus, “the liturgy after the Liturgy” expresses the Eucharistic ethos that communicates, through various channels and throughout time, Christ’s living presence.

Orthodox Theological Review, vol. 42, nos. 3-4 (1997), pp. 401-417.

35. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Τεραποστολή στὰ ἴχνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *ibid.*, p. 288.

36. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Τεραποστολή στὰ ἴχνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *ibid.*, p. 294.

37. For example see Ev. Avdikos (ed.), *Πολιτισμοὶ τοῦ διαδικτύου*, Pedio Publications, Athens 2016, p. 83.

38. D. Koukoura, *Τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἡ διαμόρφωσή του. Ὁμιλία-Λόγος*, Barbounakis Publications, Thessaloniki 2019, p. 17.

39. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Τεραποστολή στὰ ἴχνη τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, *ibid.*, p. 295.

Moreover, in the Divine Liturgy, the whole life of Christ is represented and revived. The culmination of this experience takes place in the Holy Communion, where Christians are empowered to bring the fruits of the Holy Spirit⁴⁰ into society. In this way, they continue Christ's work as true apostles, with the aim of "reconciling and uniting all humanity with God"⁴¹. In all this process, the lay faithful, men and women⁴², must offer with their lives the certainty of the Resurrection.

The dynamics of the "liturgy after the Liturgy" extend to culture. "By the power of the Gospel, culture becomes the process of transforming the universal world by activating all the potentialities of man."⁴³ In Archbishop Anastasios's later writings, the transformation of man through the liturgical experience was linked to the struggles for the prevalence of peace and the ministry of reconciliation⁴⁴ and to the natural environment's protection, which constitutes an extension of the liturgical experience⁴⁵.

40. Gal. 5, 22 [= *But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, forbearance, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control. Against such things there is no law.*]

41. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Παγκοσμιότητα και Όρθοδοξία*, Akritas Publications, Athens 2000, p. 47.

42. Archbishop Anastasios has already highlighted the importance of the laity in the life of the Church and society in his early writings. Purely indicative are the following: Anastasios Yannoulatos (archim.), «Ἡ ἱεραποστολικὴ δρᾶσις τῆς Ἀνατολῆς εἰς Κεντρικὴν καὶ Ἀνατολικὴν Ἀσίαν», *Πορευθέντες/Porefthentes*, iss. 10 (1961), p. 30. Anastasios Yannoulatos (archim.), «Ἀφιετηριακαὶ σχέψεις διὰ τὴν Ἐξωτερικὴν Ἱεραποστολήν», *Πορευθέντες/Porefthentes*, iss. 38-39 (1968), p. 20. The apogee of this policy is the institutionalized participation of the laity, men and women, in the administrative bodies of the Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Albania. For more details, see Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Archbishop of Albania, *Ἡ ἀνασύστασις τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Αὐτοκεφάλου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀλβανίας (1991-2016)*, Tirana 2017, p. 31.

43. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Παγκοσμιότητα και Όρθοδοξία*, *ibid.*, p. 130.

44. Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Archbishop of Albania, *Συνύπαρξις. Εἰρήνη, Φύση, Φτώχεια, Τρομοκρατία, Ἀξίες. Θρησκευτολογικὴ θεώρηση*, Harmos Publications, Athens 2015, pp. 73 and 152. Cf. Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Archbishop of Albania, *Ἐργήγορσις. Χρέος τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων*, En plo Publications, Athens 2017, pp. 86 and 181. This is what Archbishop Anastasios did as Patriarchal Exarch in Albania and then as Archbishop of Tirana and Albania. For this, see N. Tsirevelos, "Orthodox Witness or Colonialism? The Church of Albania in Modern times", *The Wheel*, iss. 25 (Spring 2021), pp. 34-41.

45. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Συνύπαρξις*, *ibid.*, pp. 97-101.

4. Coded phrases in Archbishop Anastasios’s works

Archbishop Anastasios, from his early works until his most recent ones, often uses short, eloquent phrases, succinct and easily memorized, which crystallize his biblical-theological thought and its application in his missionary work. Indicative is the motto for missionary awakening: “A non-missionary church is a church without a mission”⁴⁶, used by the journal and the homonymous Intra-orthodox Missionary Center «Πορευθέντες» [“Go therefore”]. Both were founded by the then-lay theologian Anastasios Yannoulatos, to highlight the importance of evangelism among the nations⁴⁷.

Similar memorable short sentences are found in the catechetical aids for adolescents by the then-deacon Anastasios Yannoulatos⁴⁸. In many of these texts, which are developed teaching plans for the final teaching stage, which is linked to the experiential application of the teachings to the adolescents, this motto is often found. In this way, the course’s central idea is sought to be imprinted in memory and life⁴⁹. A simple and essential thematic sentence, moreover, is often repeated by being

46. This proposal was the motto of a missionary exhibition, organized by the Intra-Orthodox Center «Πορευθέντες». See the article S. A. Roumeliotis, «Ἐκθεσις Ὁρθόδοξου Ἱεραποστολῆς», *Πορευθέντες/Porefthentes*, iss. 30-31 (1966), p. 32; cf. also C. Maczewski, *Ἡ κίνησις τῆς Ζωῆς στήν Ἑλλάδα. Συμβολή στο πρόβλημα τῆς παραδόσεως στήν Ἑλλάδα*, Greek translation by f. G. Metallinos, Harmos Publications Athens 2002, p. 139.

47. An. Yannoulatos, «Διορθόδοξον Ἱεραποστολικόν Κέντρον», *Πορευθέντες/Porefthentes*, iss. 11 (1961), p. 36.

48. These texts were written during the period 1960-63 when Archbishop Anastasios was a deacon. Later they were published in 1978 and republished in 1981 and 2014. Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Archbishop of Albania, *Θεία Μηνύματα. Πίστις καὶ Ζωή*, Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Albania Publications, Tirana 2014, p. 11 (which also contains the relevant references concerning the teaching curricula); cf. Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Archbishop of Albania, *Πνευματική Πορεία*, Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Albania Publications, Tirana 2014.

49. For more details, see N. Tsirevelos, “Christian Witness, Communication and Education: A case study to the work of Archbishop of Tirana, Durres and all Albania Anastasios (Yannoulatos)”, *Theology & Culture* 1, 1 (2020), pp. 9-32.

reinstated in the Christmas⁵⁰ and Easter⁵¹ encyclicals and in the sermons of Archbishop Anastasios⁵².

In addition, this regular choice of phrases and their repetition is constantly found in the Archbishop's oral and written work. Indicatively, the phrases repeated in his texts, interviews, and statements such as: "Every crime in the name of religion is a crime against religion itself. Any form of violence in the name of religion is, in all senses, violence against religion itself. No war is sacred. Only peace is sacred"⁵³. "No one has the right to use the oil of religion to fuel the fire of conflict. Religion is a divine gift, given to soothe hearts, heal wounds, and bring individuals and peoples together"⁵⁴. "The Christian Church is obliged to offer what it has and what it is [...] to orient [i.e. humanity] towards a higher level: the universal Communion of Love"⁵⁵. "To the anxiety created by the virus of insecurity, Christ offers the effective antidote"⁵⁶. "Love is the antidote to self-centeredness, national, racial or religious, which poisons human beings and peoples' peaceful coexistence"⁵⁷. At this point, it should be noted in passing that the success of these phrases is judged by their use by many clergymen and theologians, without often stating their paternity.

50. Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Archbishop of Albania, *Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί...*, Maistros Publications, Athens 2006.

51. Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Archbishop of Albania, *Νῦν πάντα πεπλήρωται φωτός*, Maistros Publications, Athens 2007.

52. Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Archbishop of Albania, *Ἀκτῖνες ἀπὸ τὸ φῶς τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου*, vol. A' & B', Ngjallja Publications, Tirana 2016.

53. Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Archbishop of Albania, *Συνύπαρξη*, *ibid.*, p. 154.

54. «Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τιράνων Ἀναστάσιος στὴν "Κ": Θρησκευτικὸς πλουραλισμὸς καὶ εἰρηνικὴ συνύπαρξη», <https://www.kathimerini.gr/society/993417/archiepiskopos-tiranon-anastasios-stin-k-thriskyetikos-ployralismos-kai-eiriniiki-synyparxi/> [19.06.2022].

55. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, *Παγκοσμιότητα καὶ Ὁρθοδοξία*, *ibid.*, p. 64.

56. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, «Μήνυμα Χριστουγέννων 2018», Official Webpage of the Autocephalous Church of Albania, <https://orthodoxalbania.org/2020/el/2018/12/22/2018-2/> [20.06.2022].

57. Anastasios, Archbishop of Albania, «Μήνυμα Πάσχα 2022», Official Webpage of the Autocephalous Church of Albania, <https://orthodoxalbania.org/2020/el/> [20.06.2022].

These exhortations, statements, and propositions express the texts’ dominant position and have pedagogical ramifications⁵⁸. In the Archbishop’s work, they take on a general significance, offering the possibility for further developing some of its aspects. In this way, the central theme is given, while repetition seeks to teach the recipient in a coherent, comprehensible, and pedagogical way. Obviously, the exhortation: “The liturgy after the Liturgy”, first heard in Armenia in 1975, was then widely used over the decades by many theologians who found Fr. Ion Bria’s book bearing this appropriated title useful.

Epilogue

The “liturgy after the Liturgy” refers to the Eucharistic experience of Christians who, after the end of the Divine Liturgy, when they leave the temple, move to share the gift they have received so that the world may be transformed into the Kingdom of God. This attitude of life presupposes sacrifice, inspired by the example of Jesus on Maundy Thursday before the administration of the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist⁵⁹. In this way, Christ’s self-sacrificial offering to the world by His disciples continues throughout the centuries.

The exhortation: “The liturgy after the Liturgy” was first formulated by the then Bishop of Androusa and now Archbishop of Tirana, Durres, and all Albania Anastasios (Yannoulatos) in Etchmiadzine, Armenia in 1975. Since then, it has been frequently used by many theologians to denote the Church’s multifaceted mission and ministerial witness in the world. Its initiator, Archbishop Anastasios, aptly and eloquently, called for a constant Eucharistic attitude and behavior in everyday life, expressing the anxiety and struggle for the transformation of the world into the Church of Christ.

In our study, we attempted to present the theological background that crystallized in this well-known appeal, as it appears in more detail in

58. See M. Koukounaras-Liagkis, *Τί θρησκευτικά χρειάζεται σήμερα ή εκπαίδευση*;, Gutenberg Publications, Athens 2020, p. 117.

59. *John* 13, 1-17.

Archbishop Anastasios's work in the 1960s and his later works up to the present day. "The liturgy after the Liturgy" is an original missionary appeal which, together with the resurrection command of Jesus Christ: "*Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit*"⁶⁰, defined his missionary witness and his ecclesiastical ministry. Moreover, the Archbishop often expresses general, succinct statements, which are easily received and not infrequently repeated without mentioning their paternity.

60. *Matt.* 28, 19.