Orthodox England

In this issue:

and much more . . .

Vol 15, Number 4

June 2012

ORTHODOX ENGLAND VOL. 15 NO. 4
www.orthodoxengland.org.uk

A Quarterly Journal of English Orthodox Reading

June 2012

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Published with the blessing of the Very Reverend Mark, Archbishop of the Diocese of Great Britain and Ireland of the Church Outside Russia.

Editor: Fr Andrew Phillips.

Art Work: Eadmund (Design).

Address: Seekings House, Garfield Road, Felixstowe, Suffolk IP11 7PU, England.

Publication dates: 1 September, 1 December, 1 March, 1 June.

Editorial:
AQUARIUS AND REVELATION

Introduction: The Age of Aquarius

WE are told that we live in, or else that we are about to live in, 'the Age of Aquarius'. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Age_of_Aquarius). Aquarius is the eleventh sign of the Zodiac, one of twelve constellations that the sun appears to move through each year as a result of the orbit of the earth around the sun. The age that we live in is determined by the constellation that the sun occupies on the spring equinox (March 20/21 in the northern hemisphere, where Jerusalem is situated). However, this is constantly changing due to a phenomenon known as the 'precession of the equinoxes'. This happens because the earth wobbles slightly on its axis, causing the constellations to appear to move gradually backwards through the Zodiac. The length of the 'age' for the constellations to move by one sign is approximately 2150 years. In other words, every 2150 years or so, we move into a new age of the Zodiac.

The Gospel of the Stars

These twelve signs of the Zodiac were well known to the ancient world and the Zodiac is mentioned as 'Mazzaroth', in the Book of Job, thought to be the oldest book in the Bible: *And hast thou comprehended the bond of Pleiades, and hast thou opened the barrier of Orion? Or wilt thou open Mazzaroth in his season? And Hesperus with his tail, wilt thou lead him?* (Job 38, 31–32). There is also a reference in 4 Kingdoms 23, 5: *And he burned the idolatrous priests, whom the kings of Judah had ordained; (and they burned incense in the high places, and in the cities of Judah, and in the places round about Jerusalem;) them also that burned incense unto Baal, and to the sun, and to the moon, and to the mazuroth, and to all the hosts of heaven*.

A study of the spiritual meaning of the Zodiac is enlightening, as it helps to tell the story of our salvation through Christ. This is possible because the names of the constellations and of their most prominent stars were ordained by God at their creation. Psalm 146, 4 states: *He telleth the multitude of the stars, and calleth them all by their name*. And a similar passage in Isaiah 40, 26 reads: *Lift up your eyes on high, and behold: who hath exhibited all these things? even He that bringeth out His host by number: He shall call them all by name by His great glory, and by the power of His might: nothing hath escaped Thee*. The meanings inherent in these names reveal the Biblical story in what may be called 'The Gospel of the Stars'.

Three Ages of the Zodiac

The Age of Aries, the Ram, stretched roughly from the time of Abraham (*c*. 2000BC) to the time of Christ, when rams and lambs were frequently offered as sacrifices, and Egypt was ruled by the ram-headed god, Amon. Symbolically, the Age of Aries began when Abraham offered a ram to God in place of his son, Isaac (Gen 22) and it ended with the crucifixion of Christ, the Lamb of God, in about AD33. Then began the Age of Pisces for the next 2000 years. Pisces is the sign of the Fish, and it corresponds to the Christian Age, as many of Christ's disciples were fishermen (they were to become 'fishers of men'), and the Church used the sign of the fish as a symbol for Christ. The first letters of the phrase 'Jesus Christ Son of God, Saviour' spell Ichthys, the Greek word for 'fish'. The sign directly opposite Pisces in the Zodiac – a very significant placing – is Virgo, the Virgin, connecting the Fish of Christ to His Holy Mother, the Virgin Mother of God.

Now we are entering into the Age of Aquarius. The word Aquarius itself is Latin, meaning 'the Bearer of Water'. The depiction of Aquarius is a man with a large water-pot on his shoulder, from which he pours 'an inexhaustible stream of water'. Its symbol is two wavy lines representing water. Strangely, these very symbols are also found in two references in the New Testament. In Mk 14, 13 and Lk 22, 10 Christ sends two of His disciples to prepare a room in which to eat the Passover, with the instruction, *When ye are entered into the city, there shall a man meet you, bearing a pitcher of water; follow him into the house where he entereth in*. In those days, carrying water was women's work, so to see a man bearing a pitcher of water would be most unusual and so a sign to be followed. The man bearing the pitcher is none other than Aquarius, the Water-Bearer.

The Water-Bearer

What is this Water and who is this Water-Bearer? The prophet Joel said, *And it shall come to pass after, that I (the Lord) will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions* (Joel 3, 1). The apostle Peter later preached that the demonstration of the power of the Holy Spirit in Acts 2 was a fulfilment of Joel's prophecy. However, as the apostle Paul explains further in II Corinthians 1, 22, this outpouring was only the earnest or down-payment, of the Spirit, not its full realization. The fullness of the Spirit will only be poured out at the yet-to-come fulfillment. Christ spoke of this in John 7, when on the last day, the great day of the Feast of Tabernacles at which He was present, He stood and cried, *If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink. He that believeth on me, as the scripture has said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water* (Jn 7, 37–38).

This statement reveals that Christ Himself is the Water-bearer, pouring out the fullness of the Holy Spirit upon His followers, who will, in turn, reveal it to others – until that great time to come spoken of by Habakkuk, the prophet, when *... the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea*. This enlightens us as to the meaning of Aquarius' river of life – to drink of it is to become immortal. Even as Jesus said to the Samaritan woman at the well, *Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life* (Jn 4, 14).

Water, Blood and Light

Aquarius is connected with the circulatory system, which is the liquid river of life that flows through our bodies. Blood, which is 90% water, also contains a liquid called plasma, containing suspended cells. Interestingly, the American scientist Dr Irving Langmuir (1881–1957) who in 1932 won the Nobel Prize for Chemistry, studied electronic devices based on ionized gases. The way in which the electrified fluid carried electrons, ions and impurities reminded him of the way blood plasma carried red and white corpuscles and germs. He thought that blood plasma is like congealed light.

Now when Adam was created in God's image, he was covered with a garment of light. However, after his transgression the light of life that covered Adam in his first glorious state turned inward and became a liquid tissue. This is what we call blood, running in the veins of his body. Just as invisible vapour congeals and becomes water, so life-giving blood can be compared to congealed or crystallized light. This transition from light to blood was the result of the curse on Adam and Eve. Thus, when Cain killed Abel, then the Lord said, *the voice of your brother's blood is crying to me from the ground. And now you are cursed from the ground, which has opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood from your hand* (Gen 4, 10–11).

Christ Reverses the Curse

The curse of blood on mankind due to sin was reversed by Christ. After His Resurrection He showed His disciples His glorified, immortal body, which was able to pass through locked doors. He calmed their fears that He was a ghost by stating in Lk 24, 39, *Behold, my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have*. Notice that He said 'flesh and bones', not 'flesh and blood', as is usual, because the blood in His veins had gone. He had regained the spiritual body which Adam and Eve had possessed before the Fall, when Adam said of his wife, *This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man* (Gen 2, 23). Again, he did not say 'flesh and blood', as at this point the blood had not yet materialized.

This had been foreshadowed with Moses. After the first tablets of the Law had been broken, Moses went back up on Mount Sinai and received the second tablets. When he came down with these tablets, his face shone – a reflection of the glory of the Lord – and the people were afraid to come near him. They could not bear to look on the glory and so Moses put on a veil to cover his face (Ex 34, 27–35). The Apostle Paul referred to this in II Cor 3, 13–18 and prophesied that one day the veil, which is the flesh, will be taken away so that the full radiance, wrought in us by the Holy Spirit, may be seen. And as we know, a multitude of Orthodox saints have experienced this same light. Like Moses, they pass 'from glory to glory', their faces shining, their beings transfigured in the same light of the Holy Spirit which transfigured Christ on Mt Tabor, the promise of our return to Adam's pre-Fall splendour.

Conclusion: The Book of Revelation

This is confirmed in the final chapter of Revelation 22: *And [the angel] shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bare twelve manners of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month ... And there shall be no more curse* ... From this we see that the river of life, which was once made blood, is now as clear as crystal, as the curse has been removed. And, surely, the Tree of Life, which bears a different fruit each month of the year, represents none other than the twelve signs of the Zodiac, with Aquarius' river of immortal life pouring forth, prompting the last words of Christ: *And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely* (verse 17). This is the water that will restore mankind and the whole cosmos to its primal glory, which is the true meaning of the Age of Aquarius.

From the Holy Fathers: ST BEDE THE VENERABLE ON PENTECOST (extract)

DEARLY beloved brethren, as we celebrate the coming of the Holy Spirit today, we should ourselves live according to the solemnity that we are honouring. Indeed, we only celebrate the joys of this feast worthily if, with God's help, we conform ourselves to those to whom the Holy Spirit deigned to come and in whom He deigned to dwell. We ourselves are only suited to the coming and enlightenment of the Holy Spirit inasmuch as our hearts are filled with Divine love and our bodies are dedicated to the Lord's commandments.

Therefore Truth says to His disciples at the start of this Gospel reading, 'If you love me, keep my commandments, and I will ask the Father, and He will give you another Paraclete'. The word Paraclete means 'Comforter'. The Holy Spirit is rightly called the Comforter because, by producing a desire for heavenly life, He raises up and restores the hearts of believers in case they falter amid the adversities of this age. Hence, as holy Church increased, it was said in the Acts of the Apostles, 'And it was being built up, walking in the fear of the Lord, and was filled with the consolation of the Holy Spirit'.

The words, 'If you love me, keep my commandments, and I will ask the Father and He will give you another Comforter' were fulfilled in the disciples themselves. They were truly proven to have loved Him, truly to have obeyed His commandments, on that day when the Holy Spirit suddenly appeared to them in tongues of fire, as they were praying in the upper room and taught them, putting into their mouths a diversity of languages and making them strong in heart through the consolation of his love.

Earlier, however, they possessed the Comforter Himself, namely our Lord, abiding with them in the flesh. Through the sweetness of His miracles and the wealth of His preaching, they were often raised up and strengthened, so that they could not be scandalised at the persecution of unbelievers. But since by ascending into heaven after His resurrection, He deserted them bodily, though the presence of His divine majesty was never absent from them, He rightly added concerning this Comforter, that is, the Holy Spirit: 'to abide with you for ever'. He abides eternally with the saints, always enlightening them inwardly and invisibly in this life, and introducing them to the everlasting contemplation of the sight of His majesty in the future.

If we too, dearly beloved brothers, love Christ perfectly in such a way that we prove the genuineness of this love in our observance of His commandments, He will intercede with the Father on our behalf and the Father will give us another Comforter. He will ask the Father through His humanity and He will give us another Comforter with the Father through His Divinity. We must not suppose that it was only before His Passion that He interceded on behalf of the Church, and that now, after His Ascension, He does not also intercede, since the Apostle says concerning him, 'Who is at the right hand of God, Who also intercedes for us'.

We also have as our Comforter our Lord Jesus Christ. Although we are unable to see Him in the body, we remember what He did and taught in the body, as is written down in the Gospels. If we commit ourselves with all care to hearing, reading, conferring with each other and keeping these deeds and teachings in heart and body, certainly we will overcome the hardships of this age with ease, as if the Lord had always stayed with us and

comforted us. If we love this Comforter and keep His commandments, He will ask the Father and He will give us another Comforter – that is, He will in His mercy pour forth the grace of His Spirit into our hearts and this will gladden us in the expectation of our heavenly homeland amid the adversities of our present exile. Then we will be able to say with the prophet, 'According to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart, Thy consolations, O Lord, have gladdened my soul'.

Therefore Jesus said, 'He will give you another Comforter, to abide with you forever', and He added, 'The Spirit of truth, Whom the world cannot receive', He calls 'the world' the inhabitants of this world who are given over to love of it. In contrast, the saints who are aflame with desire for heavenly things are fittingly called 'the heavens', as the Psalmist says, 'And the heavens will proclaim His righteousness to a people yet to be born', which is to say, 'And the most illustrious teachers will proclaim in mind, voice and deed His righteousness to a people who, coming recently to the faith, desire to be born in Him. Thus, anyone searching for outward comfort in the things of the world is not capable of being reformed inwardly by the favour of Divine consolation. Whoever yearns after lowly delight cannot receive the Spirit of truth.

The Spirit of truth flees from a heart which it discerns is subject to vanity. He restores by the light of His coming only those whom He beholds doing the commandments of Truth out of love. Thus when He said, 'Whom the world cannot receive', next He added, 'because the world neither sees Him, nor knows Him; but ye recognize Him, for He will dwell with you and be in you'.

Unbelievers also saw our Lord and Saviour in the flesh before His passion, but only believers could know that He was the Son of God, that He was the Comforter sent by God into the world. Unbelievers were incapable of seeing the Holy Spirit with their eyes or recognizing Him with their minds, since He did not appear to the disciples clothed in human nature, but preferred to come to them and remain among them, so as to consecrate for himself a most welcome abode in their very hearts. This is what the Lord says, 'But you recognize Him, for He will dwell with you and be in you'. He Who dwells with the elect invisibly in this life surely provides for them the grace to recognize Him invisibly ...

THE HOLY APOSTLE ARISTOBULUS IN BRITAIN

THE Lives of the Saints of St Dimitry of Rostov state quite clearly that the Apostle Peter spent 'a long time in Britain' and that the Apostle Paul, according to St Simeon Metaphrastes, went to 'all the lands of the West'. However, what do we know about the holy apostle of the Seventy, Aristobulus, 'Bishop of Britain'?

The Prologue of Ochrid says:

16 March: According to tradition, St Aristobulus was the brother of the Apostle Barnabas and was born in Cyprus. He was a follower of the Apostle Paul, who mentions him in his Epistle to the Romans (16, 10). When the Apostle Paul created many bishops for different parts of the world, he made this Aristobulus bishop of Britain.

In Britain there was a wild people, pagan and wicked, and Aristobulus endured among them unmentionable torments, misfortunes and malice. They struck him mercilessly, dragged him through the streets, mocked him and jeered at him. But in the end he was successful by the power of the grace of God. He enlightened the people, baptized them in the name of Christ the Lord, built

churches, ordained priests and deacons, finally dying there in peace, and went to the Kingdom of the Lord whom he had served so faithfully.

In the Greek calendar, St Aristobulus is commemorated on 15 March and there he is recorded as a martyr. Elsewhere, we have:

Haleca, Bishop of Augusta, wrote: The memory of many martyrs is celebrated by the Britons, especially that of St Aristobulus, one of the seventy disciples.

Dorotheus of Tyre wrote in AD303: Aristobulus, mentioned by the Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans, was made bishop in Britain.

Ado says: 'Aristobulus, Bishop of Britain, was the brother of St Barnabas the Apostle, by whom he was ordained bishop. He was sent to Britain, where, after preaching the truth of Christ and forming a Church, he received martyrdom.

From folklore it is said that in the British language Aristobulus may have deformed his name into Arwystli. According to one late tradition, Arwystli, an area on the River Severn in the north of Powys in Wales (first recorded in the 11th century) may perpetuate in its name the scene of his martyrdom.

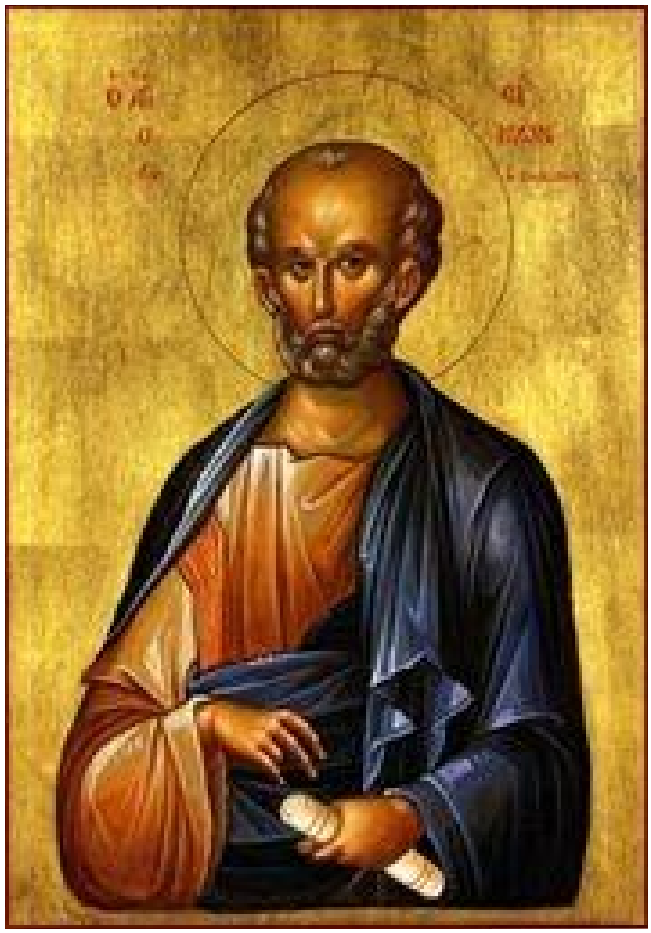
In the Lives of the Saints of St Dimitri of Rostov, as in the Prologue of Ochrid, St Aristobulus is said to have been sent to Britain, but especially to Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly. There is no mention of him being martyred.

ST SIMON THE ZEALOT WHO VISITED BRITAIN

ONE source for the life of St Simon the Zealot is Bishop Dorotheus of Tyre who lived in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantius (303). He says that: 'Simon the Zealot crossed all Mauritania and the regions of the Africans, preaching Christ. He was finally crucified and buried in Britain'. (Dorotheus, *Synod. de Apostol.; Synopsis ad Sim. Mot.*).

Basing himself on this, the much later St Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (758–829), wrote (Book II, *c*. 40): 'Born in Cana of Galilee, Simon was called the Zealot for his fervent affection for his Master and the great zeal he showed in every way for the Gospel. Having received the Holy Spirit from above, he travelled through Egypt and Africa, then through Mauritania and all Libya, preaching the Gospel. And the same doctrine he taught as far as the Western Sea and the Isles called Britannia'. This is interesting because although he clearly says that St Simon came to Britain, he does not say that he was crucified here.

According to later local sources, St Simon first arrived in Britain in the year AD44 during the Claudian war. Evidently his stay was short, as he returned to the Continent. However, he returned during the first year of the Boudiccan war, AD60, when the whole island was convulsed in revolt against Roman tyranny. Only even later traditions suggest that Simon the Zealot suffered in the east of Britain under the prefecture of Caius Decius, the officer whose atrocities had caused the uprising of Boudicca. St Simon's trial was a mockery and he



Icon of St Simon the Zealot

was condemned to death and crucified at Caistor in Lincolnshire and buried there on 10 May AD61. There is also a spot in Coverdale, by the River Cover, between the villages of West Scrafton and Caldbergh (Ordnance Survey, Grid Reference SE086849, Sheet No 99) where there is a St Simon's

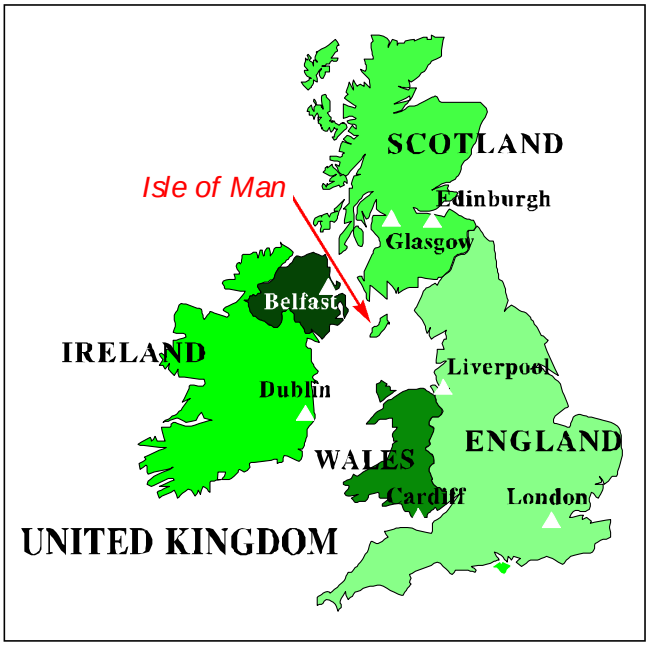
Well and ruins. Some say his martyrdom may have taken place here. But this is a very late tradition.

However, according to the martyrology of Eusebius, translated by St Jerome, and followed by St Bede and Usuard, his martyrdom took place in a town called Suanir in Colchis in Georgia, where idolatrous priests put him to death. This agrees with a passage in a life of the Apostle Andrew that in the 'Cimmerian Bosphorus' there is a tomb in a cave with an inscription that St Simon the Zealot, or Canaanite, was buried there. All this is confirmed by the Lives of the Saints of the Orthodox Church which say that St Simon was martyred in Abkhazia. His relics were buried near the coast about twelve miles from Sukhumi and a church was built there and renovated in 1875.

AN ORTHODOX PERSPECTIVE OF THE ISLE OF MAN

Introduction

FROM the summit of the Isle of Man's highest point, Snaefell (Norwegian for snowy mountain), one can uniquely see all four countries of the Isles, Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales. Indeed, looking at a map of the Isle of Man, we are struck by how it is in the very centre of the map, of a cross drawn over the British Isles and Ireland, subject to influences from the north and west as well as from the south and west. These influences can also be seen in its history from the first millennium, the Age of the Saints.



The Isle of Man is extremely rich in this period of history, showing a greater concentration of early Christian remains than any other area of comparable size in the British Isles. There is a wealth of early crosses and inscriptions. No fewer than twelve of its seventeen ancient parish churches (established only from the 12th century on) are dedicated to Celtic saints, to say nothing of the dedications of its holy wells and over 200 'keeills', of which 35 are still easily identifiable today.

The 'keeills', all earlier than the parish churches, are the tiny chapels ('oratories') of early saints, all dating from before 1100, some very early but most from between 900 and 1100. Most were built after Irish, Scottish and Manx monks had converted Norse colonists, although perhaps many were built on sites made holy by even earlier Celtic monks. Moreover, in post-schism history, beginning in the 12th century, the parish churches themselves seem to have been built on the site of earlier keeills. But who brought Orthodox Christianity to the Isle of Man first?

The Coming of Christ

According to tradition, the first missionary to the Isle of Man was St Patrick. He is said to have landed on St Patrick's Isle, a small islet that is now the site of Peel Castle on the north-western side of the island, during the 5th century AD. One of Patrick's first acts was to see off the ancient magician, Manannan, who had dominated the island until then and whose ability to turn himself into a three-legged creature ('Whichever way you throw me, I stand') is said to be the basis of the triskelion symbol that appears on the Manx flag.

The Manx Flag

Whatever the truth behind the legends, and whether or not it was Patrick himself, or rather one of his disciples, who first brought Orthodox Christianity to the Isle of Man, it was certainly monks from the monasteries that he founded who were foremost in spreading Orthodoxy across the Irish Sea.

These early missionaries, the first of whom arrived on the Isle of Man around AD500, brought with them knowledge of agriculture and other skills as well as their faith. This helped them to win the trust of the people who lived there. They built tiny, simple chapels, or 'keeills', from which they would preach and minister to the local community.

The earliest of these were made of turf and vegetation and have all been lost. The remains that have survived date from a later period. Most keeills are thought to have been in use from the 8th century onwards, falling out of use by the early 12th century, when the Normans took over and changed everything. The keeills were mainly built with unhewn or roughly worked stones, slabs and rubble, supplemented with earth and turf supporting structures. Some later keeills used shell mortar and cement in their construction, but most were fairly crudely put together.

The majority of these structures were surrounded by burial grounds, which contained the earliest Christian memorial stones (carved with crosses) found on the island. They were usually built on a natural or artificial mound, often the site of earlier burials or monuments, and in many cases there would be a spring or holy well (a chibbyr) nearby.

During the 10th century, Viking raiders settled the island, introducing pagan beliefs and laws. Within a hundred years, however, the settlers adopted Christianity. They combined their own mythology and iconography with those of the Christian population and the keeills reverted to their original use.

View of Lag-ny-keeilly

At least 174 keeills have been recorded, and it is thought that more than 200 were once scattered across the Isle of Man. Most of these have been lost, often as a result of subsequent rebuilding – many mediæval churches, such as Kirk Maughold and Kirk Christ Malew, were built on what were originally the sites of keeills.

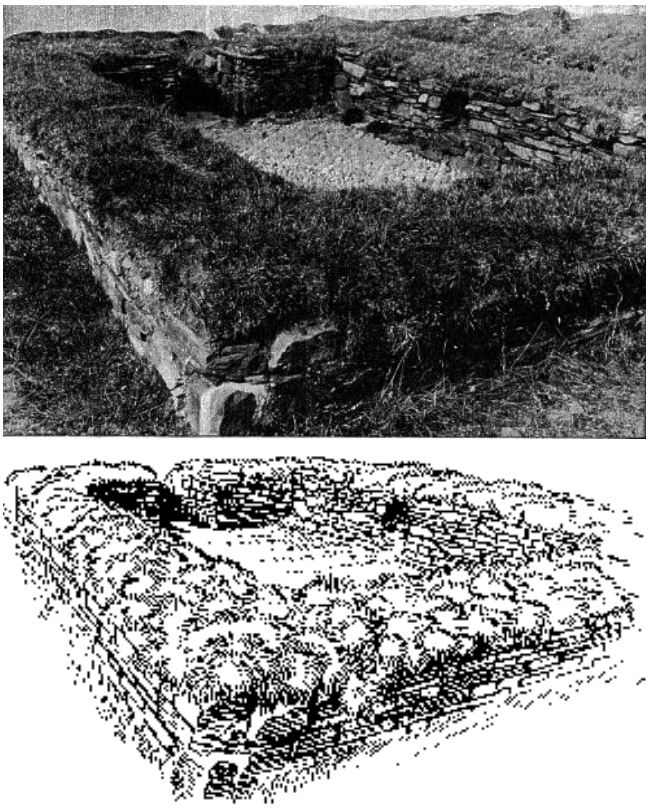
We know that while the layout of different keeills was broadly similar, their size varied considerably. For example, the Ballachrink keeill in Marown measures only 10 feet × 6 feet inside. Otherwise they may attain 23 feet × 13 feet (Keeill Vian, Lonan), even 57 feet × 18 feet (St Patrick's Chapel, Patrick's Isle), and 75 feet × 24 feet (St Trinian's = St Ninian's, Marown). The walls vary in thickness from 2 feet 4 inches to 4 feet 8 inches and are, on the outside, protected by an embankment of earth and stones, in height 2–5 feet, in depth 4–10 feet.

The shape is rectangular with no division between nave and chancel. The door, which is narrow and tapering towards the top, is usually situated in the western gable. The window – as a rule only one – is built at a height of 2–3 feet above the floor. The altar is invariably placed against the eastern wall, attaining a height of about 2 feet.

St Maughold and the South

One early saint, recalled in the dedications was the local saint St Maughold (also Machalus or Maccul), who lived as early as the fifth century. Reposing in 498, it is said that this was the bishop sent on a coracle by St Patrick – or perhaps rather by one of his disciples – to preach the Gospel to the Manx. On the south-eastern coast of the island, by an Iron Age fort, there is a parish church and a holy well dedicated to him. With three keeills and the site of a fourth one within the ramparted enclosure of this parish church, and 10th century cross slabs in the walls, here are the remains of a typically Celtic, pre-Norse monastery, dedicated to St Maughold. Similar remains are known from Clonmacnoise and elsewhere in Ireland and Wales.

This parish has given a richer amount of finds from the Early Christian and Norse period than any other parish on the Isle of Man. This suggests that the Orthodox tradition was very strong here in the first millennium. Altogether 25 pre-Norse Christian



Photograph and Drawing of the foundations of the North Keeill at St Maughold

slabs have been found, many of them the oldest early Christian inscribed stones found on the island. One cross slab has debased Roman letters with Mediterranean ornaments and later Ch-Rho monogram. Some Greek letters are used, suggesting that at the time, in the late seventh century, the carvers knew the Greek alphabet. This suggests influence from western Britain or Gaul.

Of a large number of Manx crosses, a majority are also found on the southern and eastern coast. The earliest inscription from the south-east coast, from the sixth century, suggests influence from Wales, Cornwall and Devon. The parish of Maughold also has the Gwriad Cross from the early ninth century, commemorating a chieftain from north Wales. This Gallo-Roman influence is represented, travelling northwards, on the eastern and southern side of the Isle of Man.

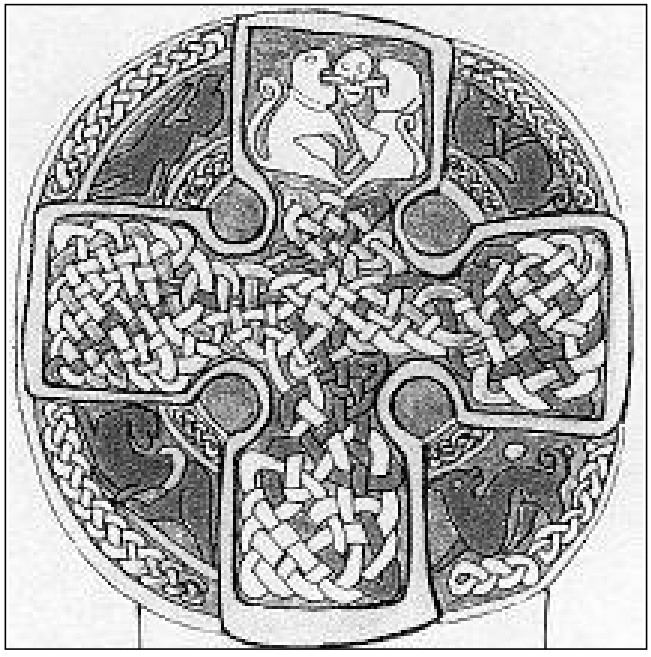
Other Saints and the North

On the northern and western side of the Isle we see Irish influence. Although the original inhabitants of the island were British and so spoke Brythonic (ancient Welsh), so great was Irish settlement that this Gaelic influence took over the local British population, instead of being absorbed by it. In this way the local people came to speak Irish Gaelic in a form known as Manx Gaelic. It has been suggested that the Irish either came directly from southern Ireland or else via the coasts of Wales, where the Irish had already settled.

It seems that other Irish, perhaps coming from north-east Ireland, brought with them the veneration for St Patrick. Keeills dedicated to him are more numerous in the north and west, though some of this development may relate to the 12th century. Certainly, St Patrick never visited the island, as far as we know. However, interestingly, the antiquary Camden, writing in 1585, claimed that for Manxmen St Patrick was the main apostle and St Maughold was second in honour.

Other local saints mentioned are the little-known St German (*c*. 410 – *c*. 475), who may have been a missionary bishop from Wales. Also there are the even less known Sts Carbery, Malew, Marown, Santan (Sanctan), Braddan (Brendan), Conchan (*c*. 540) and Lonan (said by some to be a nephew of St Patrick, by others of the seventh century). Unfortunately, all of these saints, bishops and hermits, are today very obscure, but all of them must have been the founders of the Manx Church, early monks and hermits from Wales and Ireland.

Some keeills in the north are dedicated to St Columba and St Adamnan, suggesting influence from Iona. On the other hand, a Northumbrian influence from the eighth century can also be seen in the dedication of two keeills to St Cuthbert, as well as a cross slab and the Calf of Man crucifix.



The Kirk Braddan (St Brendan's church) Cross

Of better known saints we may mention the Celtic trinity of Sts Patrick, Bridget and Columba.

Conclusion

Perhaps one day a small Orthodox chapel could be built atop the highest point of Man, Snaefell, looking at all four countries of the Isles, Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales. If so, it should surely be dedicated to All the Saints of the Isles. For now, however, as the first Orthodox parish is established amidst the 70,000 people who live on the Isle of Man, let us all say:

All the Saints of Man, pray to God for us!

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SAINTS OF ENGLAND

Through their struggles against Christ, His enemies always achieved the opposite of what they wanted. Instead of stopping the river of Christianity, they made it broader, deeper and louder. Instead of drying up Christianity, they caused, so to speak, a worldwide flood. Where one martyr fell, a company of Christians was created; where a shameful deed was committed, glory sprang up; where they said that Christianity was finished, there was the beginning of abundant crops.

St Nikola of Zhicha
The Prologue from Ochrid*, 17 June*

FOR a millennium before the arrival of the mass of pagan Angles and Saxons in the second half of the 5th century, Britain and Ireland had mostly been inhabited by Celtic tribes. These Celts, originally invaders from the European mainland, were united by race, language and culture.

It is said that in the first century AD, a few Romanised Celts encountered Christianity through the missionary labours of saints like the holy apostles Peter and Paul, perhaps also of St Simon the Zealot, more certainly St Aristobulus of the Seventy, and other righteous who followed them. By the beginning of the fourth century there had been the first martyrdoms, that of St Alban in what is now southern England and of Sts Julius and Aaron in what is now southern Wales. By the fourth century dioceses and churches had been established in the towns of Romanized Britain. However, most inhabitants of Britain remained pagans not only before but also after the end of the Roman occupation in 410.

At the beginning of the fifth century there appeared the first heretic, Pelagius, who denied the importance of the grace of God in our salvation. From about 430 on, there took place the anti-Pelagian missionary visits to Britain of St Germanus of Auxerre from Gaul (France), who inspired missionary work and trained many to preach the Gospel in Britain. At the same time the Romano-Briton St Ninian worked among the Celtic Picts in what is now southern Scotland and St Palladius and above all St Patrick (a Romano-Briton from northern Britain) worked in what is now Ireland. Later, in the sixth century, these influences and other monastic influences coming via Gaul from Egypt and Palestine, would inspire St David and other Celtic saints in what is now Wales.

In about 449, in an attempt to defeat invaders, a pagan Celtic leader Vortigern invited the closely-related Germanic Saxons, Angles and Jutes (originally from what are now the coasts of north-western Holland, Germany and Denmark) as mercenaries to southern and eastern Britain. In this he merely continued the old Roman policy, whereby many of their soldiers stationed in Britain had been Germanic, mainly Saxon, mercenaries, who had later settled especially in southern and eastern Britain. Vortigern's policy is related by the Venerable Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. When Vortigern was unable or unwilling to pay the mercenaries what they saw as their fair price, they decided to remain in the south and east of Britain, where there already lived descendants of kindred Angles and Saxons, who had served in the Roman Army.

Given the quarrels and wars between the mainly pagan Celtic tribes, the invaders soon established their own kingdoms in what they would begin to call England. The Angles founded the kingdoms of East Anglia in the east, the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia in the north-east and Mercia in the centre. The Angles soon became the dominant force in most of the country, giving it their name, forging a united 'English' culture together with their kinsfolk, led by Saxons, who lived in the south-east (Essex), the central south (Middlesex), the south (Sussex) and the south-west (Wessex), and with the Jutes, who lived mainly in Kent. Yet for all their pagan practices, and their

hostility to the conquered Celts, it would be these 'English' who would eventually embrace the Light of Christ, largely through the influence of Roman and then Irish missionaries, issued from the earlier missions from Gaul, Rome and the East.

According to the account of the Venerable Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, St Gregory the Pope of Rome was the first to be inspired to enlighten the 'Anglo-Saxons' when he encountered some as slaves in the marketplace at Rome. Saddened to discover they were of a pagan tribe called the Angles, Saint Gregory remarked, making a pun, '... the Angles have the faces of angels, and such men should be fellow-heirs of the angels in Heaven'. Denied his apostolic dream when appointed by Divine Providence as Pope, Saint Gregory appointed the Italian St Augustine (of Canterbury) and his companions to carry out this challenging mission in 597. It was through this mission that St Augustine met the English King (later St) Ethelbert of Kent, who provided the Roman missionaries with property and freedom to spread the light of Christ. With the conversion of Ethelbert to Christianity, the Roman mission gained a firm foothold in Kent.

The growth of a new Roman-influenced Church among the early English in the south and east would later lead to a conflict between older Celtic practices and those of the Roman missionaries. These included the old form of the monastic tonsure and an obsolete and incorrect Roman dating of Easter. The Welsh had long been known for their strictness, including rigid practices for receiving any already Christian visitor into communion (they required a letter from the bishop, plus a one-month wait). For some Welsh, this often became a question of holding onto every practice in the name of preserving their ethnic traditions; for the Anglo-Romans, it became a matter of submitting to widely accepted Orthodox practice and to the authority of local bishops, who had been introduced into the towns of the rapidly Christianizing English.

The matter came to a head with the Synod of Whitby (664), a local council convened, among others, by St Hilda († 680), Abbess of both male and female monastic communities in Whitby. The Synod soon decided that the Celts should submit to universal practices for the monastic tonsure and Easter dating, as were observed by both east and west. Most Celts obliged, but there was by no means immediate acceptance of the decision. Some rejected the decision outright, withdrawing to the west of what is now Wales and refusing to keep Easter with the Universal Church.

It was the Irish and Irish-trained English missionaries like St Aidan († 651) and St Cuthbert († 687), whose lives of holiness provided a bridge of reconciliation on a practical level between the English and the Celts. The English complied with the decisions of the Synod of Whitby, thanks to the loving pastoral guidance of St Cuthbert, the Wonderworker of Lindisfarne. Some Celts stubbornly held on to their local practices for over a century, isolating themselves from the Universal Church (a few went so far as to prohibit their people from drinking out of a cup that had been used by other Christians). In response to the English Church, one asserted, 'Rome is in error, Alexandria is in error, Jerusalem is in error – the world is in error!' Truly, the experience of the early English Church with the Celts is a lesson for our own time.

With the establishment of canonical norms at the Synod of Whitby, the practices of the early English Church came to dominate the country. St Cuthbert continued missionary work among the northern English and by AD731, Bede completed his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. It was by this time, thanks largely to the Greek Archbishop of Canterbury, St Theodore of Tarsus († 690), that the term 'English' had come to hold its contemporary use, having united under its name the forgotten pagan terms of Angles, Saxons and Jutes. Later, the ninth-century victories and reforms of King Alfred the Great of Wessex would firmly cement this English identity.

As among other Orthodox peoples, a strong monastic tradition served as a correction to sinful, lazy and tyrannical kings, including those who claimed the Orthodox Faith. From the time of the Welsh St Gildas the Wise († 570) to the age of St Aidan's words on St Oswin the King, to the much later prophecies before the Norman Conquest, the faithfulness of kings often hung by a thread. Pious rule varied widely from one royal house to the next and from one ruler to the next. Faithful kings – such as St Oswald and St Oswin – often had a short rule, targeted by the attacks of jealous, plotting rivals, as well as enemies of Christ. It is not surprising that when the Danish Vikings attacked northern England at the end of the eighth century (beginning with the desolation of the monastery at Lindisfarne in 793), the faithful saw the invasion as a punishment. This was seen as allowed by God for the impiety of some English

rulers and people after the Christian Golden Age, which had begun 200 years earlier in 597.

By 867, the pagan Danes had come to dominate the north and east of England through the Dane-law, the area under Danish law. Faithful Orthodox Christian leaders continued to defend English lands in the face of ongoing assaults by the Danes. St Edmund, king and martyr of East Anglia, was martyred at Hoxne in Suffolk in 869, but had defended with pious bravery the lands which had been hard-won for Christ over many years. It was not until a decade later, in 878, that King Alfred 'the Great' of Wessex began the re-conquest of England, baptizing the Danes, and establishing a legal system based on Biblical precedence. The great and pious King Alfred recognized the importance of connecting his own Law Code to the ancient Law given to Moses and its Christian application. Alfred's attention was directed both to temporal reforms and spiritual ones.

It is sad to note that through much of this ninth century of war between Danes and English, cases of apostasy emerged, where conversion to paganism was sometimes seen as a way to avoid death at the hands of the enemy. Some historians have noted superstition and luke-warmness among the faithful of the time, some of whom divided their loyalties between Christ and pagan gods such as Thor, who was believed to bring victory in battle. This political instability, coupled with the spiritual instability of the English, did not bode well, for later in the eleventh century a crisis would come. This would be despite the Silver Age of the great English monastic renaissance of the tenth century and its many saints, who included St Edward the Martyr († 978) and his spiritual mentor St Dunstan of Canterbury († 988).

Although the half-Norman King Edward (called 'the Confessor' by Roman Catholics, who canonized him almost 100 years after his death) established his rule in 1042, the stability of England as a Kingdom in communion with the still Orthodox East was already under threat. With the definitive division between the Orthodox world and the newly Papal West in 1054, the outlying outpost of England was threatened. With its more ancient, pre-Roman Catholic practices, it became attractive as spoil to the French Norman nobility, just as Orthodox Sicily was at the same time. Their greed was cunningly fuelled by a papally-sponsored drive to invade and dominate the Isles, transforming ancient Orthodox piety, 'modernizing' it to conform to novel 'Roman Catholic' practices.

Greedy for his own landholding and kingdom, in 1066 William of Normandy received a papal blessing to invade England and become its King. (His descendants received the same blessing to take over the rest of Britain and later, most tragically, of Ireland). 1066 was a truly fateful year in English history. King Harold – the last King of England to be in communion with the Orthodox world – initially defeated a Norwegian threat in the north of England. Worn out by their efforts there, his troops narrowly failed to defeat the Norman French army that arrived in England in the autumn of that year. Outnumbered, the English army was defeated, and King Harold – England's last English king – was killed. (These events are elaborately depicted on the famous English Tapestry, taken to Norman Bayeux in France).

The defeat of the last English king also saw the immediate reorganisation of the Church by its new Norman masters. Priests who would not swear allegiance to Rome were removed, along with English bishops and abbots in the monasteries. Villages were ransacked by the invaders, eliminating the remembrance of scores of English saints, whose commemorations remained only vaguely among the people. The Normans introduced the anti-Orthodox feudal system, the strict hierarchy of Church and State for which the Middle Ages is often remembered. They destroyed or discredited much of the English piety that had ruled the hearts of the people for almost five centuries.

The veneration of saints of early England, along with the Celtic saints, was not restored after the iconoclastic Protestant revolt against Roman Catholicism in the sixteenth century. Indeed, it was not until the nineteenth century that their veneration began once more. Finally, in the second half of the twentieth century, their veneration was restored among Orthodox. St John of Shanghai, Archbishop of Western Europe between 1950 and 1962, was the first to encourage the veneration of the local saints and martyrs of Orthodox Western Europe among Russians. When English Orthodox heard of this in the 1960s and 1970s, they were encouraged to continue their veneration of their native saints and develop Orthodox liturgical hymnography for them. Notably, there was the case of the English King, St Edward the Martyr, whose relics were donated to the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia in England nearly

thirty years ago. Today, all jurisdictions take part in this veneration.

St John had reminded the multinational Orthodox flock in Western Europe and therefore in the British Isles of a great truth. This is that it is only through the prayers of the local saints of the lands where they live that the local Church will be restored, a process which has slowly begun. In 2008, at last, the by then united Russian Orthodox Church set to approving an initial shortlist of saints of England for commemoration in services. For this the Church of the English, militant and triumphant, gives glory to God, praying for the resurrection of her land.

All the Saints of England, pray to God for us!

ORTHODOXY SHINES THROUGH WESTERN MYTHS (6)
Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages

Introduction

Older Western scholarship on Church history is not generally of much use to Orthodox. Most of it is simply anti-Orthodox and therefore anti-authentic Christianity, even openly boasting of its 'Judeo-Christian' and not Christian civilization. The anti-Orthodox prejudices of such scholarship, when it mentions Orthodoxy at all, come simply from the fact that history is 'written by the winners', and even despite the First World War, up until the Second World War most Western scholars thought that the West had won.

It is different today, when the near-millennial crimes of the West are visible to all and nobody any longer listens to the voices of ecclesiastical institutions which moulded the last thousand years of Western history – they are clearly compromised. Interestingly, contemporary secular scholarship, which in its ignorance of Orthodoxy cannot in any way be accused of being pro-Orthodox, is an excellent source for Orthodox to understand what went wrong with the West. We can understand how, by renouncing the Orthodox Christian Faith in its anti-Trinitarian and anti-Christic *filioque* heresy, its former Church became a series of -isms, Catholicism, Protestantism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Anglicanism etc, which have bred modern-day secularism and will eventually lead to the end of the world.

In the following article, the next in a series taken from various works of secular scholarship, we have selected extracts from a seminal work, which went through many reprintings after its first publication, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* by the Oxford scholar the late (Sir) Richard Southern (Penguin, 1970 onwards). These abundantly illustrate the post-Orthodox deformations of Western culture which began with the spread of the new *filioque* culture behind the Papacy.

Although ominously threatened for nearly three centuries before, under Charlemagne, these deformations were not definitively implemented until the eleventh century. The date of 1054 is thus seen to be symbolic of the very real spiritual fall which took place in Western Europe in the eleventh century. In the year 1000, the fall had by no means been certain. In 1054 it was. And it is that fall which has defined the subsequent history of not just Western Europe, but the whole world. But let the learned author speak.

P. 34–5. The mid-eleventh-century transformation. Western aggression and feelings of superiority.

THE social and religious order which has just been sketched showed little sign of breaking up in the year 1050. Whether we look at western Europe's general economic condition, its religious ideals, its forms of government, or its ritual processes, there is little to suggest that a great change was at hand. And yet within the next sixty or seventy years the outlook had changed in almost every respect. The secular ruler had been demoted from his position of quasi-sacerdotal splendour, the pope had assumed a new power of intervention and direction in both spiritual and secular affairs, the Benedictine Rule had lost its monopoly in the religious life, an entirely new impulse had been given to law and theology, and several important steps had been taken towards understanding and even controlling the physical world. The expansion of Europe had begun in earnest. That all this should have happened in so short a time is the most remarkable fact in medieval history ...

Colonization began on all the frontiers of western Europe, and with colonization there began

the familiar process of military aggression. For the first time in its history western Europe became an area of surplus population and surplus productivity, and it developed all the assertive and aggressive tendencies of a rapidly developing and self-confident community. An active and bloodthirsty sense of superiority took the place of the fear and resentment towards the outside world which had characterized the earlier period. The old romantic view of the Middle Ages with its head in the clouds and one foot in the grave is, for this period of the Middle Ages at least, as wrong as an idea can well be. For two centuries after 1100 the West was in the grip of an urge for power and mastery to which there appeared no obvious limit.

Pp. 36–7. Rationalism and the rise of clericalism. The move towards the secular state.

In the first place, the area of life directly controlled by an appeal to supernatural power was slowly and inexorably reduced. As a corollary of this, new methods and new efforts to enlarge the area of intelligibility in the world are the most prominent features of the new age. These two complementary movements have many aspects. The secular ruler lost his supernatural attributes. The clerical hierarchy asserted its claim to be the sole channel of supernatural authority. Both secular and spiritual hierarchies, becoming more clearly distinct in their offices, developed new techniques of government and a new range of expertise. Relics retained their importance in the personal life, but lost their central importance in government and judicial processes.

It might seem at first sight that this movement, which in a very broad sense can be called 'scientific' in that it enlarged the scope of human reason and contrivance, would have increased the importance of the laity at the expense of the clergy. But the main effect was exactly the opposite ...

It is amazingly simple to knock over cherished theories when they no longer satisfy the needs of the time. The thoughts on which royal government had acted for several centuries were blown away like airy nonsense. Almost no one bothered to defend them. The old sacred kingship had no place in the new world of business.

In the long run this discovery helped to enlarge the area of secular action and pointed forward to a purely secular state. But immediately its chief result was to emphasize the superiority of the sacerdotal element in society which could not be cut down to human proportions. The spiritual nakedness of the lay ruler only disclosed more fully the indefensible claims of the spiritual hierarchy. Moreover, with the secularization of the lay ruler, that whole broad stratum of society which he particularly represented – the laity – suffered a corresponding demotion. Henceforth it became increasingly natural to speak of the ecclesiastical hierarchy as 'the church'. Of course everyone knew that there was another, more ancient, sense of the word which embraced the whole body of the faithful, but even when the word 'ecclesia' was used in this wide sense the role of the laity began to be seen as a very humble one. The ideal church of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a society of disciplined and organized clergy directing the thoughts and activities of an obedient and receptive laity – kings, magnates, and peasants alike.

In theory, therefore, the whole body of the laity suffered a severe setback as a result of the transformations that took place in society in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Nor was this demotion of the laity simply a theoretical one. The new techniques of government depended increasingly on expert knowledge, and this enhanced the practical importance of those who were equipped by intellectual training to provide this commodity. As it happened, the long process whereby the laity had relinquished all claim to participate in scholastic training above an elementary level was virtually complete by the end of the eleventh century – the very moment when the practical importance of advanced scholastic training first became apparent in medieval Europe. This gave the clergy a monopoly of all those disciplines which not only determined the theoretical structure of society but provided the instruments of government.

P. 42. The lines of development after 1050.

It was above all an age of rational and coherent advance. In every sphere of life and thought, an amazing variety of complicated detail was fitted into a general system that was at once firm, authoritative, and grounded in rational inquiry and widespread consent. We can observe this in law, natural science, and in the practical art of government no less than in theology and philosophy; and the great artistic achievements of the age are a reflection of the same confident spirit.

The lines of development are firm and clear from 1050 to 1300; before this they are faint and

uncertain; afterwards they are often lost in a sea of conflicting tendencies. From the beginning to the end of this relatively short period, we progress step by step towards systematic completeness. The papacy moves from the first aggressive statements of papal supremacy by Cardinal Humbert and Gregory VII, through the lawyer-popes Alexander III, Innocent III, Innocent IV, Boniface VIII, to the final elaboration of the papal system of government. All these popes added something distinctive to the same general plan; and their successors were left with the task of trying to keep the system in repair.

The development of canon law took a similar course. As a science it had scarcely begun in 1050; by 1300, the system was complete and closed. So also in theology. The first attempts at succinct systematic statement belong to the late eleventh or early twelfth century: by the time of the death of St Thomas Aquinas in 1274 the great days of the system-makers were over. It is the same with the religious orders. In 1050 the Benedictine monopoly was unchallenged; by 1300, almost every possible variety of religious organization had been established.

Pp. 53–57. Unity before disunity.

North Africa, Syria, Palestine, and Spain had been, or were being, engulfed in the tide of Islamic expansion. In this process three of the five ancient patriarchal churches disappeared as forces in Christendom and lost touch with the rest of the church: henceforth Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem counted for nothing in the counsels of the church ...

This destruction of the churches left Constantinople and Rome to share between them what was left of the Christian world. In 700 they did not yet think of each other as enemies. In the seventh century the unity of these great patriarchal churches, on which the future of a united Christendom depended, had been natural and unquestioned. They were parts of a single political unity, sorely battered and shrinking, but still intact – the Christian Empire. The emperor at Constantinople was still the more or less effective ruler of large parts of Italy including Rome itself. The bishop of Rome was his secular deputy in the Roman duchy, and Byzantine (*sic*) officials were a common sight in the streets of Rome. The main route from Rome led to Ravenna, the capital of Byzantine (*sic*) government, and thence to Constantinople. The Mediterranean as far west as Marseilles was still a Byzantine (*sic*) highway. In a sense the unity of this whole area had become closer, and the links between Rome and Constantinople were stronger as a result of the disasters that had befallen the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Palestine, Syria, and Egypt had after all never been part of the Roman world in the same way as Rome and Constantinople. They had been centres of alien and disturbing influences. Now that they had gone the old Rome and the new Rome might be expected to draw together to protect their common civilization and religion in the face of a common enemy.

To some extent this did in fact happen. In the century between about 650 when the Islamic threat began and 750 when it had almost reached its limit in the West, Rome was more ecumenical than it had ever been. It was full of Greek and Syrian monks, refugees from the Islamic flood, who helped to keep Greek speech and customs alive in the Roman church. The nationality of the popes reflected this state of affairs. From 654 to 752 only five out of seventeen popes were of Roman origin; five were Syrian, three were Greek, three came from the strongly Greek island of Sicily, and one from some unknown part of Italy. In other words, eleven out of seventeen popes during this century had a mainly Greek, and only six a mainly Latin, background. This was in marked contrast to the century before 654 when thirteen out of fifteen popes had been Roman or Italian. From the point of view of Christian unity the growth of the Greek element in the Roman church was a hopeful sign: it meant that the two halves of the Christian world could still hold familiar discourse together.

This familiarity was more than a fact of language and culture: it was a fact of political life, and it had every appearance of permanence. In 663 the Greek emperor visited Rome and he was received as its lawful ruler. In 710 the pope visited Constantinople, and he was received with every mark of reverence by the emperor in a ceremonial scene identical with that used for his predecessor in 536. More important still, in 680 the pope sent legates to a council at Constantinople and they joined in condemning as heretical the teaching of four patriarchs of Constantinople and one pope. This was (or might have been) highly significant, for it foreshadowed the possibility of compromise in a long controversy about the primacy of Rome among the patriarchal churches. If the pope could err like any other patriarch, even in the proportion

of one to four, there was some chance that the two churches might agree that the Roman primacy, whatever else it might imply, did not present a contrast between absolute infallibility at Rome and recurrent error at Constantinople. If agreement could have been reached on this point, the two churches might yet have worked together. Unlike Jerusalem and Antioch, Constantinople had no serious claims to primacy among the Christian churches. The emperor recognized this when he prostrated himself before the pope and gave him honours in his own capital which he denied to the patriarch of Constantinople. The only important question at issue was the nature of the Roman primacy, and the most important aspect of this question was papal fallibility. The judgement of the Council of 680 might have been a milestone on the road to agreement on this point. But events decided otherwise.

Behind the hopeful facade of unity there were forces working for its destruction ... there was another far-reaching division. Rome in the late seventh century was cosmopolitan and the popes were more often Greek than Latin. But the West had no interest in a cosmopolitan and half-Greek Rome: it wanted Rome for itself. In the scales of material wealth and culture the Latin West was ludicrously inferior to the Greek East, but in Rome it had one symbol of a latent superiority, and it held on to it with passionate intensity. Kings and princes of the newly founded barbarian kingdoms flocked to Rome as to the gate of heaven. Monks and bishops went to Rome in search of authority, learning, and advice. It was disconcerting when they got there to find that they were outsiders in a Greco-Roman court.

P.65–6. Old Rome cuts itself off from New Rome in favour of the barbarian West.

There was no formal consultation, no explicit decision. Even the moment of change is uncertain. But by about 1030 a formula (the *filioque*) that had slowly spread through the western church without papal authorization was installed at the centre of Latin Christendom. For the first time it was possible to point to a distinct point of doctrinal difference between Rome and Constantinople. It had not burst on the world like a thunder-clap as did the short-lived iconoclasm of the East in the eighth century. It had grown silently and secretly from small beginnings – *crevit, occulto velut arbor ævo* – a tree with poisoned fruit.

Probably no one realized at the time that an important step had been taken. It had simply become inevitable that, once the papacy was cut off from the Greeks and aligned with the barbarian West, the popes should express a point of view that was increasingly western. The change of outlook had been accelerated by a change in the background of the popes themselves. We have already remarked on the strong Greek element in the line of popes between 654 and 752. The last of this line of Greek popes was Zacharias, who signalized his allegiance to an undivided Greco-Latin church by translating into Greek the Dialogues of his predecessor Gregory I. His successor, Stephen II, was the first of the line of purely Latin popes. There was not another pope of Greek origin until the fifteenth century. From 759 to 1054 the succession of popes tells its own story: forty-four Romans, eleven Italians, four Germans, one Frenchman and one Sicilian, The identification of the papacy with the West could hardly be more emphatically illustrated.

During these three hundred years the relations between the Greek and Latin churches did not fundamentally alter. No one was anxious to push the division further than was necessary. The strength of the East during these centuries kept alive the possibility of a final conquest of the lost territories in the West which would restore the bonds of unity. The weakness of the West discouraged gestures of independence on its side, and arrested the progress of disunity. Throughout these centuries the balance of power and prestige was tilted even more decisively towards the East than hitherto. In the range of their ideas and experience, the scholars and statesmen of the West with very few exceptions were small men, whose strength lay in not knowing how small they were. They knew just enough about the thoughts of the Greeks to think that they were contemptible, and they knew nothing at all about the thoughts of their contemporaries in Islam. In this ignorance the West was able to develop a measure of confidence, however misplaced it might be.

The threads which had been broken in the eighth century were never replaced. This is the ultimate secret of the division of Christendom. Nothing that happened ever seemed irremediable, but from the eighth century onwards every impulse to disunity had a disproportionate effect because the political and social situation allowed no contrary impulses to survive. By the middle of the

eleventh century Christendom was held together only by the force of inertia.

P. 96. Until the eleventh century the Pope of Rome is the Vicar of St Peter, not the Vicar of Christ.

The examples could be multiplied indefinitely, but what they all make clear is the fact that from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, more emphatically than at any other time before or since, the active force in Rome was seen as St Peter himself. It was into his presence that men came, and from him they received commands. They did not ignore the pope but they quite simply looked through him to the first occupant of his throne. It was possible to say in a quite practical way, without any thought of metaphor, that men met in Rome 'in the presence of St Peter'. This presence was the source of western unity during these centuries.

It was a unity compatible with the very slightest exercise of administrative authority. The affairs of the church received little direction from Rome. Monasteries and bishoprics were founded, and bishops and abbots were appointed by lay rulers without hindrance or objection; councils were summoned by kings; kings and bishops legislated for their local churches about tithes, ordeals, Sunday observance, penance; saints were raised to the altars – all without reference to Rome. Each bishop acted as an independent repository of faith and discipline. They sought whatever advice was available from scholars and neighbouring bishops, but in the last resort they had to act on their own initiative. The legal compilations which were made for their guidance were the work of local compilers.

P. 104–5. The novel twelfth-century adoption of the title – 'Vicar of Christ'.

Now Gregory VII turned from the successor of the Carolingians and stood alone against the world. As he looked back over the long list – it can never have been far from his mind – of nearly a hundred popes venerated as saints, he seems to have concluded that their personal sanctity and salvation were guaranteed by St Peter himself. With this conclusion we reach the summit of the vicariate of St Peter. It was impossible to go further, and Gregory's successors did not go so far. They took a different path.

After Gregory VII the papal emphasis on St Peter diminished. The overwhelming dependence on the Apostle belonged to the days when Rome had been a city of shrines and pilgrims with little power of practical direction. As this situation changed the title 'Vicar of St Peter' gradually fell out of use, and was replaced by another which suggested a higher authority and more extensive field of activity. From about the middle of the twelfth century, the popes began for the first time to take the title 'Vicar of Christ' and to claim it for themselves alone. In the past, kings and priests had called themselves 'Vicars of Christ'; but not the pope. For him the title was too vague. He was pre-eminently the 'Vicar of St Peter': in a world dominated by saints and relics, this title alone could express the uniqueness of the pope's position. But now the struggle was for jurisdiction and sovereignty, and the popes needed a title that could support a universal authority without ambiguity.

The title 'Vicar of Christ' supplied what was needed. It met the need widely shared by all twelfth-century governments, to trace claims back to their source. It met the need, shared by all theologians and philosophers of the time, to give theories their most general form. Interpreted in the spirit of the new scholasticism it made a precise claim to universal sovereignty. The new formula showed that the popes no longer looked backwards, and were no longer primarily concerned to preserve an ancient tradition as the trustees of St Peter on earth. They were the deputies of Christ in all the fullness of His power. By the end of the twelfth century Innocent III could deliberately sweep aside the limitations implied in the old title: 'We are the successor of the Prince of the Apostles, but we are not his vicar, nor the vicar of any man or Apostle, but the vicar of Jesus Christ himself'.

Armed with this new title, precisely interpreted, the way was clear for the full exercise of power in the name of the 'King of Kings and Lord of Lords to whom every knee shall bow, of things in heaven and things in earth'. Phrases such as this are liberally scattered through the letters of Innocent III. It only remains to ask what, in practice, they meant.

JOHN RUSKIN

John Ruskin (1819–1900), the Victorian art critic and social thinker, is also remembered as a poet and artist. His essays on art and architecture were extremely influential in his age. He first came to widespread attention for his support for the work of Turner and his defence of naturalism in art. He subsequently put his weight behind the Pre-Raphaelite movement. His later writings turned increasingly to cultural, social and moral issues and were influential on the development of Christian socialism. As Orthodox, we could easily criticize him for his impracticality and obvious eccentricity and his peculiar effeminacy is most disturbing. However, we should remember that he lived without the Church and sacramental life. The below is a talk on him given at the Ruskin Centenary Exhibition in autumn 1919 by the future Poet Laureate John Masefield. We hope that some at least will find in this talk perhaps one of those (sadly broken) fragmentary threads in English culture which bind Ruskin, however loosely, to aspects of Orthodox thought.

JOHN RUSKIN was born on this day one hundred years ago. That is more than three generations ago. The war makes it seem like seven generations ago.

It was a great and terrible time a hundred years ago. A great war was just over. The world was full of eminent soldiers and sailors, who would never again be wanted, and of eminent statesmen in full talk. Shelley, Keats, William Blake and Turner, four of our greatest Englishmen, were alive, in their fullest power. Fox-hunting had reached its highest perfection. There were public executions every Monday. Industries and their black cities were springing up in the North and in the Midlands beyond the most greedy dream of the economists. The population was increasing. and by going at the age of six into factories was early trained in habits of industry. The mind of man was about to accept the steam-engine and had not begun to question its God. Many thought that the time was such as the world had never seen. All times are that.

Ruskin was born into that time, and grew up in the sheltered parts of it, that offered beauty and quiet and leisure for growth. He went to the most beautiful college in the most beautiful University

Perhaps the best known portrait of John Ruskin by John Everett Millais

in the world. He is said to have been a winning young man with bright blue eyes and an eloquent eager charm. Before he was twenty, he looked out upon the world with his bright blue eyes and made up his mind about it.

In many times of history, great men, looking at their native lands, have felt them to be spiritual powers, to whose service they could consecrate their lives. Others, even greater men looking at their native lands, have felt them to be so certainly right in the main issues as not to need thought. They have accepted them as natural laws or parts of the universe. Ruskin looking out upon his native land some eighty years ago, decided that he could not believe in it, that there was nothing spiritual there which he could trust, nor any human work being done which he could share, and that if it were a spiritual power at all it was the devil from hell.

This shocked him, for he was a right-minded and pure-hearted lad, who had been brought up to know England as a lovely land, whose simple people had produced much loveliness in thought and deed. Like many of us, he had loved the thought that the patron saint of England was that St George who had once, at the risk of his life, saved a woman from a dragon. He thought, as perhaps many of us have thought, that that was a fine kind of saint for a land and that none but a fine kind of people would have chosen such a saint. Looking out upon the England of his time, he felt that the nation had forgotten the saint and was being false to her own soul.

Now in much of this judgement he was perhaps wrong. It is no easy task to govern many millions of turbulent people after a great revolution and a great war, when the work of the nation is swiftly changing from agricultural to industrial. The land was in a molten state, there was no effective spiritual mould to give beautiful form to the metal, so it puddled as it could, often hideously; but in spite of the ugliness and squalid injustice and cruelty, a great deal of work was being solidly done, and as a result of that work more people were living in this country than had ever lived before. Ruskin saw that much of the life was hideous and most of the work wasteful. But life is a good thing – where there is a lot of life there is a chance of an improvement in this old world, and I think that even the wretchedest of those millions of very wretched 1840 people would rather have lived than not lived. Ruskin was young, and the young are perhaps always a little over-ready to allot praise or blame.

Then he was shocked by many things. He was shocked that England had ceased to believe in

A view of the Alps: Watercolour by John Ruskin

Valley of Lauterbrunnen, Switzerland: Watercolour by John Ruskin

St George and had substituted for him that image of grossness and obstruction, John Bull, who came to us with the German Kings. I have seen many images of John Bull, but none showing him as a person who would think, or pray, or be courteous, or chivalrous, or merciful, or practice any art, or sing, or be delightful, or make love, or do a decent day's work, or have an enlightened idea, or be tolerable company under any circumstances whatsoever. He is always a gross animal man, standing in the way. That pretty much is what Ruskin thought him; Ruskin turned away from him with a passionate repugnance.

And seeing this creature in the place of the spirit of St George, the blackness of his waste defiling the land and debasing the life of England, with a greed and a fury to which we are accustomed, but was then new, Ruskin decided that the nation had forgotten its soul, and must be brought back to it by the things which belonged unto its peace.

Other people, at that time, thought that the nation had forgotten its soul. Many thought that the only remedy was for a rising of the wretched and a slaughter of the oppressors, at some feast of the pikes, bloodier than the French Terror. Some thought that the remedy would be for some Prussian to arise among us, to take us by the scruff of the necks and make us soldiers for our own good, so that we might conquer other people for their good, and then have industrious wives for our own good, and read German to them for their own good; and then to die, I suppose, for the world's good, and have this epitaph: 'He cared for thrift and industry and self-control,' or 'Here there is dawning another blue day, think wilt thou let it pass useless away' – something that would do

posterity good. That seemed a possible medicine to many once.

Ruskin did not see peace in either direction. In the one case he only saw one savagery of evil stamping out another savagery of evil, and in the other he only saw an ordered tyranny taking the place of a disordered freedom. He saw no peace there, nor any prospect of peace coming from anything approaching either method.

He did not see any happiness of man coming from the politician or the Prussian. But looking at life, he saw that there were certain things which belong unto our peace, and that Divine minds have at all times loved and sought after these things, and that these things are at all times open to all. These things are 'the glorification of God and the enjoying Him forever.' That is what all divine minds and beautiful natures do, and by their measure of performance in it can their beauty and divinity be measured. They realize intensely, within themselves, the bounty of God and the beauty of the world, and they live in the exultation of those things, crying aloud their delight.

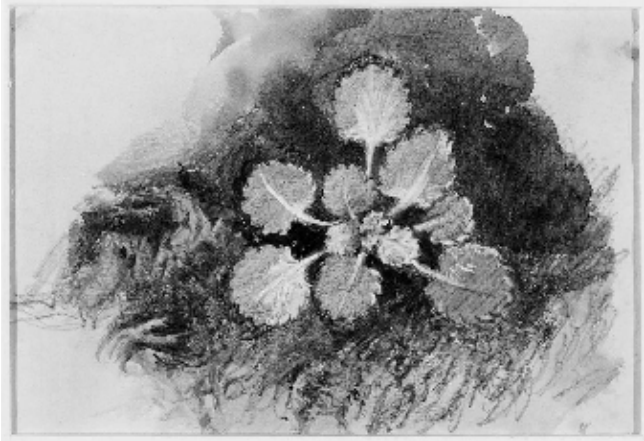
Ruskin felt, I think, from the first, that the bounty of God was one with the beauty of the world, and that any real feeling about that beauty was a feeling for the Divine, a touching of God, a bringing of God into men's minds. He believed this, and believing it, he realized that by that belief a man, any man, rich or poor, could live in happiness according to the will of God. In doing His will is our Peace. So turning to the life of his time, he saw that several men were living in the glorification and enjoyment of the beauty of the world, and that one man pre-eminently lived so, the painter Turner, then in the fullness of his power.

The Italian Renaissance came to us very late, long after the old learning had been forgotten and cast aside and the new learning had ceased to be an inspiration. When the Renaissance came to us, our great artists had ceased to brood upon the mysteries of Christianity ... They brooded on the mysteries of the faces of lords and ladies and on the glories of the English country side, that landscape of great valley and little hill, which is lovelier than any landscape in this world. There is no more exquisite feeling about the beauty of the world than in the best English landscape. Think of our landscape painters. Wilson, Crome, Varley, Girton, Gainsborough, Constable, Blake, Linnell, with Turner at the head, and of the landscape in our poetry in Gray, in Wordsworth, in Keats, in Tennyson.

Cyclamen: by John Ruskin

Ruskin saw that in Turner a spirit was brooding intensely upon the beauty and the bounty of the world, revealing depths not suspected and truths and marvels not hitherto revealed. He saw that every act of that great artist was an exultation in natural beauty, and that by the contemplation of that beauty men might come to a knowledge of themselves and of their place in the scheme of the world.

And just when he perceived this most passionately (in his young manhood) that natural beauty was being threatened from without by the machine and the foundry and the railway. We, now, are used to our cities being filthy and to tracks of our country being black, and to the railway as a means of transport. But in Ruskin's time those things were only beginning, and their beginning seemed to him a vile poisoning and degradation for base and beastly purpose of



Leaf study: Drawing by John Ruskin

Tree Study: by John Ruskin

whatever was lovely and sacred, on which the mind of man could brood and in which the eye of man could see the Divine. He saw what he calls 'the blunt hand' marring the Divine vision – John Bull waddling into the place of St. George, the Divine revealer flouted by this not very golden, but rather stony Jerusalem, which had stoned so many of the prophets, Blake and Keats and Wordsworth.

He was moved to protest with a beauty of passionate eloquence, and a wisdom and a knowledge quite astounding in one so young. His book, which had in the first aim been a defence of Turner, became a statement of the belief upon which he based his life and practice. Men do not change much from youth to age; they develop and they learn, but their natures remain much as they were in youth. So it was with Ruskin; his life-work was passionate eloquence upon the things that belong unto our peace.

He believed that happiness could be attained by a right direction of the mind towards action in

Budding Sycamore: by John Ruskin

unity with the Divine Will, everywhere present in the world. 'Whoso offereth the sacrifice of thanksgiving glorifieth Me, and to him that ordereth his conversation aright will I show the salvation of God.' He believed that all simple people held the key to happiness; by a simple person he meant one who saw clearly and felt intensely from a pure heart. He believed that simple persons alone had entered the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth, and that that Kingdom was nothing but a calm and delighted brooding followed by right and beautiful action, and that if men would but brood calmly and delightedly on the things that belong unto their peace, their acts would be right and their doings just and their lives happy and their works beautiful, and that then this England would be green and clean again, and the people no longer ground in the mills, those black Satanic mills as English Blake called them, but 'like green olive-trees in the house of God, giving thanks for ever.'

I suppose that no man has been more abused. He was a man of many powers, an artist in two kinds, subject to attack in both, and a philosopher with theories designed to rouse the world. I have heard a banker condemn his political economy, and a prose writer condemn his prose, and a draughtsman condemn his drawings, with the utmost savagery, but yet the banker praised his prose and the prose writer praised his drawings and the draughtsman praised his political economy. They saw that a great man had passed them. His arts are those which touch the heart, not the trained and restless intellect.

He spent his life telling men that they would be happy if they thought rightly and did justly and with mercy and with beauty and generosity. People said that he talked great nonsense and that he had better leave it to experts. It was left to the experts. Competitive commercialism triumphed and ended in the Great War. Some of the results are before us. It would be better not to blame his theories till they've been tried.

I expect he had many faults as a man and writer. I never knew any man or writer worth anything without plenty of both. I suppose that the charge most commonly brought against him is that he considered the lilies of the field too much and not enough the tragical restless drive of the mind and passion of man. I suppose he thought men were tragical and restless because they didn't consider the Idles enough. One ought to consider the lilies of the field. Remember Landor, who pitched a

waiter out of a three-story window into the garden, and then cried, 'Good God, I forgot the violets underneath.'

His drawings are here for us to look at, gathered together with care and tact. They persuade of themselves.

So now I come to an end. His theories, his writing and his drawing. But I haven't mentioned the great thing in him. Once in a play, years ago, I heard him called 'the philosopher of the young ladies' seminary.' There are worse things than that. For people do not change much. Young ladies grow up; and what was beautiful in youth, really livingly beautiful, is beautiful through life. The great thing in Ruskin is that he is an inspiration to the young and to the generous of all ages; there is no heart in this room which has not beat the quicker for the generosity of his lovely mind.

I suppose we are all hardened in our beliefs and styles and political opinions and personal hatreds. Yet I know one thing:

If the figure of Ruskin were to appear here suddenly, with his eager look, and blue eyes and harelip, and were to speak again with that old silver tongue, and to say: 'Come on, have done with all this folly; we will remake the world, we win make this England like a beauty among still waters, like a green olive-tree in the house of God forever and ever,' we would rise up wild with joy and do as he bade us.

NORFOLK IN 1912

by Rose Springfield

100 YEARS ago most Norfolk people were chapel folk – the 'Church' was for the toffs. The tiny chapels were nearly always full. I remember one summer evening coming from Weybourne on the north Norfolk coast and passing a small building and hearing singing, I went in. It was crowded, chiefly with fisher-folk, one of whom got up to preach. His subject was the Prodigal Son taken, at any rate to me, from a new angle. He said: 'The person I think of most is the prodigal's mother. Now her tears must have fallen into his little suitcase and dropped on his clothes as she packed them, knowing that her boy was going far away – and perhaps into temptation. And then just think of her feelings as she unpacked after he got home, with what fury she must have seen the clothes torn and soiled and said to herself: 'What idle hussies he must have been with when they did not even mend his trousers'. The women of the congregation groaned and said 'Amen' fervently at this. I realized that the Bible had come to life for them.

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

What would you say to those who prefer to use you rather than thou?

J. V., London

I would say that they lack an æsthetic sense, the sense of beauty, the sense of the sacred, the sense of the intimate presence of God inside us. The whole meaning of 'Thou' is intimate and who can be more intimate to us the creation than God the Creator?

In the Middle Ages, the most popular place of pilgrimage in England must have been Canterbury, with the death of Thomas a Becket. But where did the pre-Conquest English go on pilgrimage in England?

And what about the Welsh, the Scots and the Irish?

W. T., Canterbury

The three main centres in England were Glastonbury (St Aidan, St Patrick and others), Canterbury (St Augustine and his successors) and Lindisfarne (St Cuthbert and the other local saints). These three centres represent respectively the three currents which formed the Christian Church in Britain and Ireland: the Romano-British (renewed from Gaul by St Germanus, St Martin and St John Cassian), the Irish (from Iona but descending down to the English Midlands, East Anglia and Essex) and the Roman (from Kent). Therefore, we should not overlook pilgrimage centres like the even earlier St Albans for St Alban, a pre-English saint, and later local centres like Gloucester for St Oswald, Winchcombe for St Kenelm, Bury St Edmunds for St Edmund etc. In Scotland people went to Iona for St Columba, and in Wales to St David's, Bangor, Caldey and Bardsey. In Ireland Skellig Michael (St Michael's Rock) was a principal centre, together with Ardmore, Glendalough and other monastic centres.

Why, traditionally, do novices spend three years (and not, say, two or four years) as novices?

B. A., Colchester

As far as I know, it reflects the three-year period when the disciples were with Christ, before they became apostles on receiving the Holy Spirit.

I have three questions. When did Orthodox start giving communion with a spoon? Why do Orthodox not take communion regularly? And when did Non-Orthodox stop taking communion under both kinds?

W. S., Colchester

Until at least the eighth century, Orthodox took the Body of Christ in their hands and the Blood was taken by sipping from the chalice. In other words, all took communion as the clergy do today (as can be seen on Easter Night, when all the doors of the icon-screen are open). However, because of abuses, a spoon began to be used from that period and it is only clergy who take communion in this way now.

As regards lack of frequent communion, by which I think you mean rarity of daily or weekly communion, this is simply because we no longer live as the first Christians, but in a very worldly, westernised way. And if we are not careful, communion can burn us. I have indeed met some rather intellectual Orthodox who began to take communion very frequently. Sadly, they ended up badly because pride ('I am better than other Orthodox because I take communion frequently') went to their heads and they lapsed from the Church.

As for communion through the Body only, individual cases are recorded as early as the sixth century when, for practical reasons – presumably, lack of wine during barbarian rule – Orthodox in the West took only the Body of Christ. However, this seems to have been exceptional and it only became the norm under Roman Catholicism, by decree of the Council of Constance in 1415.

What are some of the outward aspects of Catholicism which are different from Orthodoxy?

P. L., Felixstowe:

Things that come to mind are, firstly, intellectualism – the Jesuits, the Dominicans, the spirit of studies, sociology and analysis. Secondly, there is sentimentalism, the use of the imagination, contemplation, grottos, soft organ music, for example, recorded birdsong played in Catholic bookshops. And finally, there is 'psychologism', – the omnipresent spirit of guilt and its manipulation, the frequent use of words like atonement, expiation, morbidity, blood, stigmata, suffering, crucifixion, self-mortification and self-flagellation (as in *Opus Dei* or in Mother Teresa's order) or even self-crucifixion (a deviation practised in the Philippines).

What essential prayers should we all know by heart?

N. E., Colchester

The Lord's Prayer, the Song of the Mother of God (Rejoice, O Virgin Mother of God, Mary full of grace ...) and the Creed. Many also know Psalm 50 by heart (Have mercy on me, O God ...).

BOOK REVIEW

Sword at Sunset by Rosemary Sutcliff

IN *Sword at Sunset*, Rosemary Sutcliff re-tells the story of the Arthurian legend, but strips it of its mediæval accretions and attempts to return it to its original home: the so-called 'Dark Ages', after the Roman legions left these shores. Arthur becomes Artorius, known as Artos the Bear, a bastard son of Uther: Bedivere is metamorphosed into Bedwyr, a combination of Bedivere and Lancelot: Sir Kay becomes Cei and Guenivere becomes Guenhumara. Artos, styling himself Count of Britain, is a roving war-leader sent out by his uncle Ambrosius, the high king, with a band of heavy cavalry, to meet the threats to Britain wherever they develop, and to try to unify the various tribes in resistance to the pagan Germanic hordes that are pouring into the south and east of Britain, in order to try to keep civilization alive, so that a few more years may be won 'before the darkness closes over us'.

Rosemary Sutcliff was born in East Clandon in Surrey in 1920. She died in Walberton in Sussex in 1992. Severely disabled by Stills disease (a form of juvenile arthritis) she was educated at home by her mother who introduced her to Celtic and Saxon legends, as well as Icelandic sagas, fairy-tales and the work of Rudyard Kipling. She only learned to read when she was aged nine, when she and her mother returned to England from Malta, whither her father, an officer in the Royal Navy had been transferred.

She therefore came to know at her mother's knee, in the cloistered atmosphere of a lonely childhood away from the playground, the stories that she was later to write down. When one considers that all her knowledge of outdoor pursuits – riding a horse for instance – comes not from experience but from empathetic imagination, one has to admit that she has done a pretty good job. In 1934 she enrolled at Bideford Art School in Devon. She was there for three years and then started out as a painter of miniatures.

These two facts go some way to explain the extraordinary intensity of her 'Dark Age World'. The author 'Sutcliffizes' each legend that passes through her pen. The tapestry, in which she drapes her narratives, is very closely woven; so that unless one is able to keep one's head one can easily be persuaded that her stories are in fact mirrors of real life. True, on close inspection, there are a few patches that are a little threadbare.

In *Sword at Sunset*, for example there is a paragraph in which she describes the horned helmets of the 'Saxons': a Victorian invention that reached its apotheosis at Bayreuth. Hengist is portrayed as the supreme leader of the 'Saxon' invaders, not just the King of Kent, and is killed near Deva (Chester): admittedly not impossible but definitely unlikely. The nunnery, in which Guenhumara is left, although of course wreathed in Sutcliff's tapestry, is a perfect miniature of a much more recent Roman Catholic order of sisters. Also her vocabulary is sometimes suspect: the horses are 'corralled' as in the Wild West and the wagons left in 'laagers' that immediately conjure up an anachronistic picture of the African veldt and the Boer War.

However, it is perhaps unfair to pick on such details. In general, the world of half-ruined Roman forts, villas, the pasture and heath-land is conjured up with a great deal of seamless skill that deceives one into believing that it is easy. It permeates all of Sutcliff's novels in whatever century she happens to be – the British fighting the Romans, or the Romano-British fighting the English, or the English fighting the Normans. I have tried to imitate it in the past, and believe me it is not easy at all.

However, these small failures in the pattern of the legend tend to grow until they can no longer be disguised by draping, no matter how skilfully, in Dark Age tapestry. Although half-British from his mother, Artos is allegedly fighting to preserve Roman civilization. What precisely is he trying to preserve? It is obviously something worth dying for, but nowhere in the story is the precise aim expressly stated.

In actual historical fact, it is highly unlikely that any native Briton would have regretted the departure of the Romans. They initially fought them bitterly although vainly in order to try to

prevent them from coming here, and while they were here did not mix with them, although they were glad to take advantage of the material benefits of a 'superior' civilization. Rome was a colonial power, and her soldiers were here solely to strip the country of its resources. Any fraternization with the natives was by accident rather than design and resulted in a small Romano-British population that aped the manners of its Roman overlords, attended the games, and identified itself with them. I suppose that the nearest approximation in modern terms of the Romans was the British in India, and the Romano-British were the Anglo-Indians. The Christianity that came here under Constantine left a British Church that survived the Roman withdrawal, but it was something of a hothouse plant, centred initially on the villas, and did not flourish particularly well in British soil.

The Artos who appears in the novel, on the other hand, is a sensitive man, but a man who has no particular religious affiliations. He cannot align himself wholly with the church's interests (because the Church is, anachronistically, a powerful Roman Catholic one), which in turn distrusts him because he takes provisions from her in exchange for his protection. However he is scrupulously fair and just and neither he nor his men will kill other than cleanly, although his enemies resort to outrages against the civilian population – a genuine Roman would have been more pragmatic. He balances the left-hand and the right-hand sides of his nature as best he can, but somehow I don't find the left-hand part of him compatible with preserving the Roman view of civilization, in which the games played a central part: nor do I think that he would ever have been able to motivate such folk as 'The Little Dark People' – the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain – to die for the Roman Empire.

The simple answer is that this is why the legend is a legend: it could not have happened in reality. The interests of the individual tribes and city-states into which Britain had split on the departure of the Roman soldiery were so diverse and the utter inability of the British warlords to unite under one banner for any length of time guaranteed that Britain was ready to fall to a well-armed and determined conqueror. The reason that the Englisc incursion worked so well is that it was not a single foe and did not involve many great battles. The Englisc took over Britain piecemeal, settlement by settlement and county by county, replacing the decadent Romano-British aristocracy with good administrators and expert farmers, who were able to mould their people into the most civilized nation then existing outside Constantinople. They renamed the towns, founded the villages, and then adopted Orthodox Christianity to create the England of our dreams.

The transposition of a mediæval romantic legend to an earlier time is at best unlikely: at worst a logical impossibility. The conception of Medraut as an arrow of hatred to bring down Artos at the summit of his career simply does not ring true. An Artos with the character as represented in the book would not have been in the habit of sleeping with women on a moment's acquaintance. But of course his half-sister Ygerna was supposed to have been a witch who lured him into committing his sin unknowingly – but witchcraft sits somewhat unhappily with the realism of Sutcliff's Dark Age world. In that world would not Ygerna have stabbed Artos in his sleep instead: a certain and immediate way of dispensing with one's enemies rather than trusting to an 'arrow' that could so easily miscarry. The lessons of hatred that work so effectively in mediæval legend are not necessarily quite so effective in the real world.

I think that if Sutcliff had re-worked the myth more thoroughly, writing a realistic story rather than relying on the mechanics of a legend born in another place and another time, then *Sword at Sunset* might well work much better than it does. It might also give the book more impact than it has, as the expected infidelity of Guenhumara, and the treachery of Medraut run with boring inevitability to their expected climax. However, although *Sword at Sunset* fails in its primary aim, as I have tried to show, it is a good read if only for the beauty of the descriptions as the scene changes from the Roman lowlands to the Celtic highlands, all bathed in Sutcliff's inimitable and compelling Dark Age atmosphere that she weaves so cunningly and with such seeming ease.

Eadmund

Though kingdoms may fall
The little lost churches of England
Will last till the last day of all.

Views of St John the Evangelist church, Escomb, County Durham