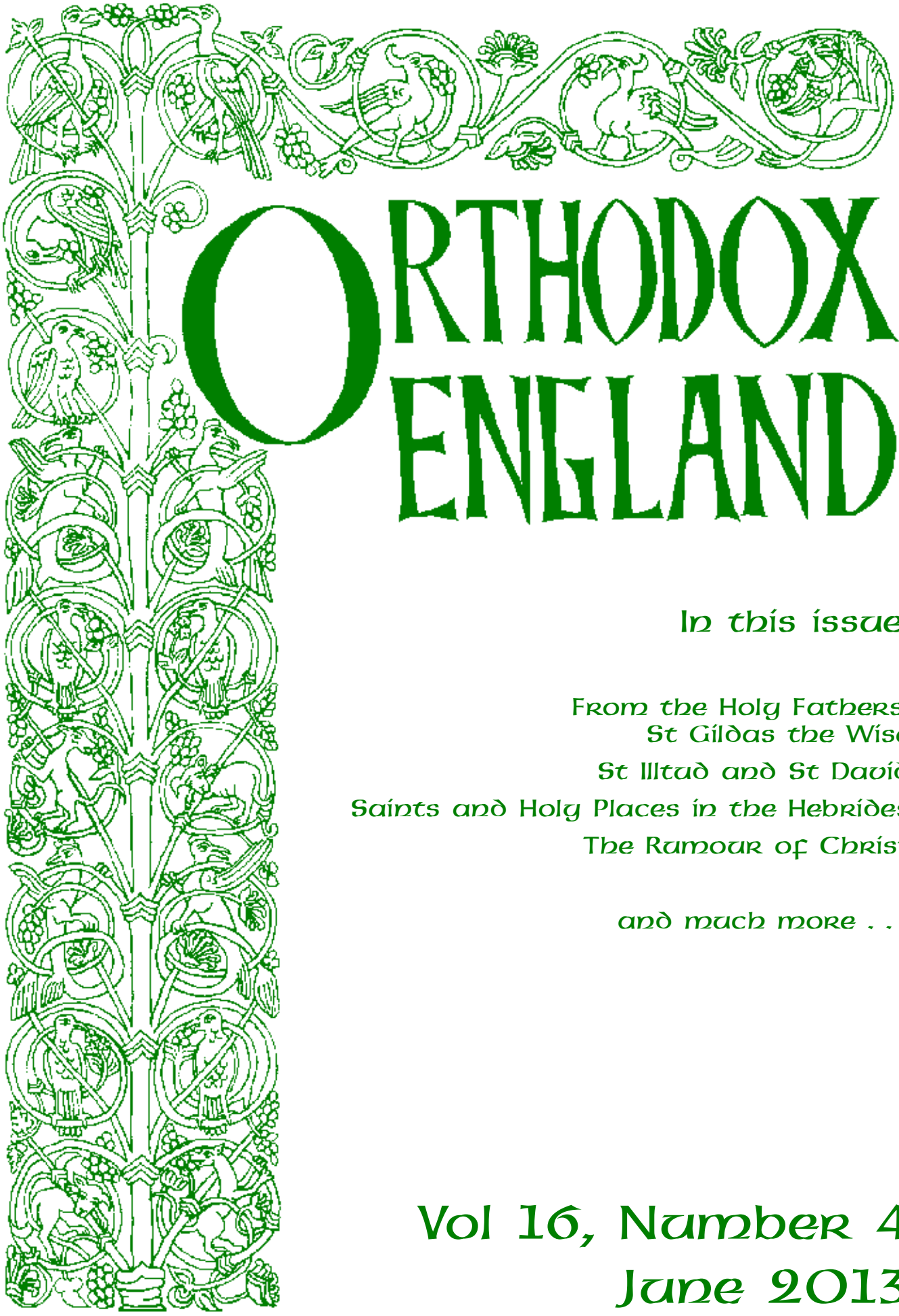

ORTHODOX ENGLAND

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Editorial: WHERE DID THE ASCETICS OF THESE ISLANDS CHOOSE TO LIVE?

IF asceticism in the East was marked by a movement to the desert, in the north by a movement to the forests, in the West it was marked by a movement to islands, coasts and estuaries and the creation of countless island and coastal sanctuaries. With thousands of offshore and inland islands making up the archipelago where we live, this is hardly surprising.

Islands

A great many of the islands around our coasts have churches or chapels dedicated to a local ascetic. The most important is Iona, founded by St Columba, Scotland's first patron saint. The most impressive is surely still the bare and precipitous Skellig Michael (Sceilig Mhichil – St Michael's Rock), the Irish Athos, seven miles off the western coast of Ireland in the Atlantic Ocean.

Among scores of others we could name Inishmurray (Inish, Inch, Ynys = island), Scattery Island, the Aran Islands, Sula Sgeir, North Rona, Bardsey, Caldey, Lindisfarne (Holy Island), St Herbert's Isle (on Derwentwater), the Isles of Scilly, the Channel Islands or Ynys Seiriol off Anglesey. How did they arise? In the first cases, many saints made a landing on an offshore island before heading inland to found a monastery. Conversely, large monasteries near the coast would often found a hermitage on a near island out to sea.

Coasts

Often a monk would draw up his frail craft on a beach and pray either there or on cliff-tops nearby. Later, a tiny chapel might be raised up on this spot. Others might enter a steep river valley and establish their monasteries or chapels beyond a bend in the valley, where there was space and where they could remain unseen from the sea.

Here we can think of the first convent in England, founded by St Eanswythe on the cliffs at Folkestone (now lost to the sea) or of the monasteries founded by St Hilda at Whitby, St Bega at St Bees in Cumbria or St Ebbe at St Abb's Head. Alternatively we can think of those many saints who founded their monasteries in disused Roman fortresses – St Fursey at Burgh Castle in Norfolk, St Felix at Dunwich and perhaps Felixstowe in Suffolk and St Cedd at Bradwell in Essex.

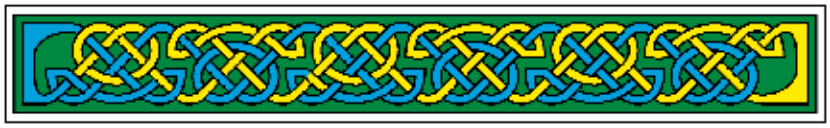
In Wales one such coastal chapel is St Patrick's chapel at Whitesands Bay near St David's in Pembrokeshire. Here in 1924 were found the remains of a rectangular chapel and human remains. This was used by Irish pilgrims. Another Welsh example is at Llandanwg in Merioneth. Built on a shingle and sand spit, it was dedicated to St Tanwg, of whom we now know nothing. However, early inscribed stones in the present church take us back at least to the fifth century.

Above Llandudno, on the cliffs of the Great Orme, is found the little church of St Tudno. The saint's holy well is a hundred yards away. Although the church now contains more recent mediæval work, on the shore below there is a cave where St Tudno is said to have lived. Caves were loved by ascetics and here we seem to have the original settlement picture: the cave at the water's edge, the church and the holy well in a sheltered hollow among the steep cliffs above. Similar to this, on the Merioneth coast there is St Celynnin's church, near Tywyn. This is also now mediæval, but still very simple.

Estuaries

Estuaries provide one of the most obvious entries into the interior in days when there were no or few roads. There are two cases where they were particularly used, one is in East Anglia, a much eroded and flooded peninsula jutting out into the North Sea (which was once all land) and another peninsula – Cornwall.

In the latter case there is the estuary of the River Fal (Falmouth). It has an array of tidal inlets and a large number of ancient churches near the water's edge: St Gluvias, St Mylor, St Koa, St Just, St Mawes and others. They all date back to the Age of the Saints.



From the Holy Fathers: ST GILDAS THE WISE

On Those Who Put Fasting Above Love.

ABSTINENCE from bodily foods without love is useless. Those who are really 'better' and 'stricter' are those who fast without ostentation ... not those who think themselves superior because they, refuse to eat meat or to ride on a horse or in a carriage; for death enters into them by the windows of pride ...The 'strict ones' criticize brethren who do not follow their arrogant conceits ... They eat bread by measure and boast of it beyond measure; they drink water and with it the cup of hatred. Their meals are dry dishes and backbiting ... When they meditate their 'great principles', it is from contempt, not from love. They put the serf before his master, the mob before its king, lead before gold, iron before silver ... They set fasting above love, vigils above righteousness, their own conceits above concord, their cell above the church, strictness above humility – in a word, they prefer man to God. It is not the Gospels they obey, but their own will, not the apostle but their own pride. They forget that the position of the stars in heaven is not equal, and that the offices of the angels are unequal.

St Gildas, in 'Six Old English Chronicles', from John Morris, The Age of Arthur.

ST ILLTUD AND ST DAVID

AFTER many years running his monastery, Abbot Iltud was weary. He decided to move to some remote spot, and devote the remainder of his life to solitary prayer, preparing himself for death. But he knew that if he announced this intention publicly, people would follow him to discover his new home; he would then be constantly interrupted by visitors seeking his advice.

So just as he had once slipped out of the royal fort under cover of darkness, he now left his monastery in the middle of a moonless night. He walked westwards along the coast until he reached a beautiful golden beach at the end of a long peninsula. Beside the beach was a cave, which Fr Iltud made his home. A flat rock served as his bed, and the seagulls were his companions. He allowed his hair and beard to grow long in the hope that passing travellers would not recognize him and he would at last gain peace.

For many weeks pupils and teachers from his monastery scoured the countryside of south Wales in search of him; but eventually they gave up in despair. Then a year later one of his pupils, called David, happened to be walking along the coast, and noticed Illtud trying to catch fish with a net. He walked over to him, and prostrated himself at his feet. Iltud lifted him to his feet, and embraced him. David then continued his journey, without speaking a word – he understood his former master's desire for solitude.

St David remained at St Iltud's monastery for several years, becoming one of the senior monks. Then one day he decided to visit St Iltud in his cave. When he arrived, Iltud was lying on his stone bed, breathing heavily.

The saint beckoned David to come close and whispered to him: 'Soon I shall be dead. When I have died, do not conduct any kind of funeral; simply put stones at the mouth of the cave, so my home becomes my tomb. As for you, do not return to my monastery, which is for young monks. You are called be a preacher and you must start a monastery for other preachers. Continue westwards, until you can go no further: Find a sheltered place suitable for a monastery and then go out preaching the Gospel. When young men convert, invite them back to your monastery and teach them how to preach. Then send them out to recruit more preachers. In this way you will bring the Faith to the whole country'.

When St Iltud died, David closed the cave with stones, and walked to the southwest tip of Wales. He settled there in a valley near a beach, similar to the valley where St Illtud's monastery was situated. He built himself a hut, and then went out preaching. He found that he could explain the Gospel with great eloquence, in a manner which the common people could understand. In each place he visited, his good nature and the spiritual example he set won him many converts.

He did not try to refute or destroy the traditional religion in these places, but taught that Christianity was the fulfillment of that religion, making plain its inner truths. He urged his converts to continue worshipping at their traditional shrines, but to use Christian prayers and hymns.

He stayed in each place several weeks, guiding the people in their new faith. During this time he discerned which young men had a gift for speaking. He then took these young men back to his. Monastery and trained them – as Iltud had instructed. In this way he established a large group of preachers, who gradually spread across the whole of Wales.

David's monastery for preachers was visible from the sea. One day, when David away, a band of pirates saw and attacked it; they seized all the young men and took them to Ireland to sell them as slaves.

When he returned and learned what had happened, David looked for a place that could not be seen from the sea. Eventually he found a hollow which was covered in yellow flowers. He took the flowers as a sign from God that this was the right location. He soon recruited new members, and the monastery flourished again. The yellow flowers became known as daffodils after the Welsh form of David's name. And a church was built with a high tower; but the hollow was so deep, that the tower was invisible to outsiders.

As David's reputation grew, young men began to arrive at the monastery without invitation, asking to join the community. To test their calling, David left these men at the gate for ten days; and the existing members pretended to be hostile, making rude and abusive remarks. If the men remained at the gate, it demonstrated that they were convinced of their calling – and that they could endure the insults which preachers by their nature must endure.

ORTHODOX BRITTANY

We valiant Bretons love our Homeland,
This Armorica which everywhere comes first,
For its sake our forebears shed their blood
In order to repel barbarity.

First Verse of the Breton National Anthem

Introduction

OVER the decades I have spent over a year of my life in Brittany and much appreciate it. Physically it resembles Wales and Cornwall and I am assured by a Welsh speaker that although it was not easy for him to understand a Breton speaker, nevertheless he could just cope, somewhat as a Frenchman can half-understand an Italian. Brittany is the first Celtic colony and became so in the Age of the Saints. Later, the confusion between the coloniser and the colonised became such that it came to be known as Lesser (= Smaller) Britain and the old world as Great (= Larger) Britain.

Why did this colonisation take place in the peninsula that formerly had been known as Armorica? Some have speculated that on the one hand there was the arrival of the English in the East of Britain, on the other hand, even before this, there was the arrival of the Irish in the West. Squeezed between the two, they would say that the Britons of what is now called Wales, headed

The Four Départements of Modern Brittany

south. However, there is a more fundamental reason which lies behind all this.

Emigration to Brittany

This fundamental reason lies in the collapse of Roman administration in Britain after 410, leaving the native Britons unprotected. Indeed, the Welsh called and still call themselves 'Cymry' – fellow-countrymen. Only the English called them 'Welsh', that is 'foreigners'. Thus, the movement of the Britons from Wales across the 'Severn Sea' to

Cornwall (literally meaning, 'Wales in the horn-shaped peninsula') and from there to Armorica (and to a lesser extent to what is now Galicia in north-west Spain) had already begun before 450. After this date, however, the trickle of emigration turned into a flood for nearly 200 years, but the height of the flood was between 450 and 550. The first bishop, a Mansuetus, 'Bishop of the Britons', is recorded in 461.

In other words, emigration began well before there was any real pressure on them from English settlers migrating from northern Continental Europe. Already since the beginning of the third century the coasts of what is now eastern and southern England had come to be called 'the Saxon shore'. Many of the 'Roman' soldiers had been recruited from the shores of the Continent opposite, where place-names testify to their presence. Families had followed them, or else they had intermarried with local British women. By about 450 it seems that the last towns in eastern England had been deserted, together with the villas in the countryside. Thus, this was a transfer of the most Romanised and the most Christian inhabitants to form Brittany.

The British Isles and Brittany c. AD*476*

This movement of emigration is proved by archæological, historical, linguistic and place-name evidence. The British emigrants settled in the then thickly-forested interior of the Armorican peninsula, taken there by their ethnic leaders, by churchmen – the saints. They gave their names to the western half of the Armorican peninsula, between Saint Brieuc and Vannes, which became wholly British- (Breton-) speaking, unlike the eastern half, where Breton was basically never spoken. Thus, the northern coasts of Armorica, to the west of Saint Brieuc, were called Domnonia (Devon), the south-western coast, around Quimper, Cornouaille (Cornwall).

The half-submerged coastline of Brittany is surrounded by islands and is very ragged. The resulting islands, peninsulas, sandy spits and inlets were the natural means of access and penetration for the settlers of the Age of the Saints. They landed first on offshore islands, and the hermits naturally tarried there or on the shore, as chapels dedicated to them and standing to this day, prove. Only then did they move inland.

Those Britons who migrated from southeast Wales and eastern Cornwall settled largely on the northern coasts of Armorica, those from southwest Wales and western Cornwall settled on the southern coasts. We know this because a very large number of those who left their names on the northern coasts came from the Glamorgan monastery of St Illtud († early 6th century) at Llanilltud Fawr in south Wales. These include St Samson of Dol († 565), St Gildas of Rhuys (c. 570) and St Paulinus (Paul Aurelian – † 6th century). Another group with Welsh (and also Irish) associations based themselves on the Bréhat group of islands off the coast of St Malo. St Mawes (Maudez – † 5th century?) belonged to this group. Finally, a third group settled in the north – they claimed descent from St Brychan († c. 500?).

St Samson

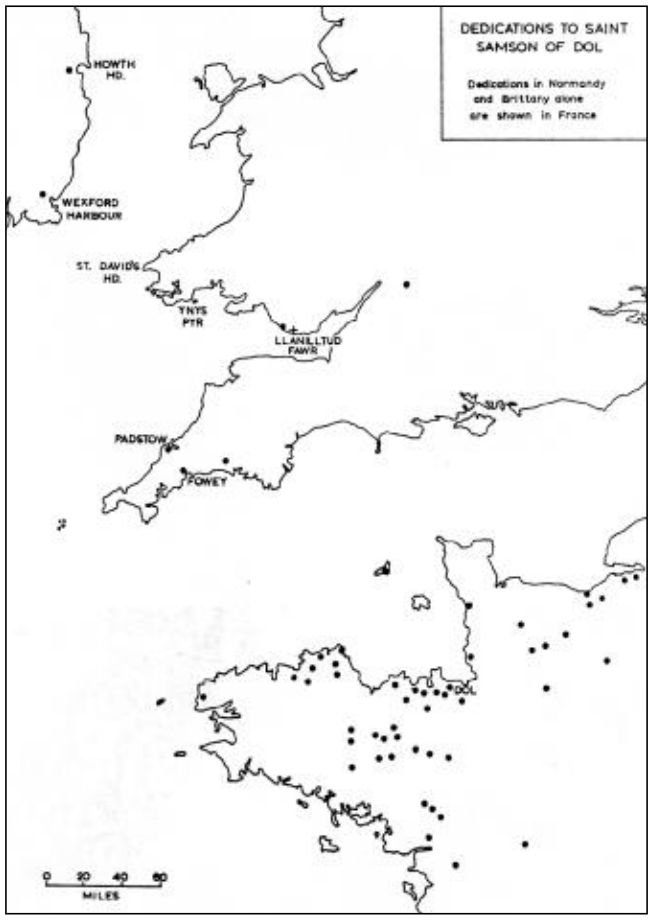
St Samson holds the main place among the founders of the immigrant Church in Brittany. Unlike many other Lives, his Life, which is long and full, was written relatively soon after his repose, perhaps as early as 625. A native of south-west Wales, born perhaps in about the year 500 and with an Old Testament name like St David, he was educated at St Illtud's monastery (Llaniltud

Caldey Island

Fawr) and ordained there by the future St Dubricius (✙ c. 550). He became Abbot of Piro on Caldey Island off the coast of Dyfed.

Later, Abbot Samson visited Ireland and then lived as a hermit on the banks of the Severn. Returning to Llaniltud, he was consecrated bishop and set off to Brittany, crossing Cornwall from north to south, from Padstow to Falmouth. On his way he converted one of the pagan standing stones or pillars of the native Celts into a cross and preached. He may have travelled via the Channel Islands, as there is a church dedicated to him on Guernsey – unless this commemorates a later visit there from Brittany.

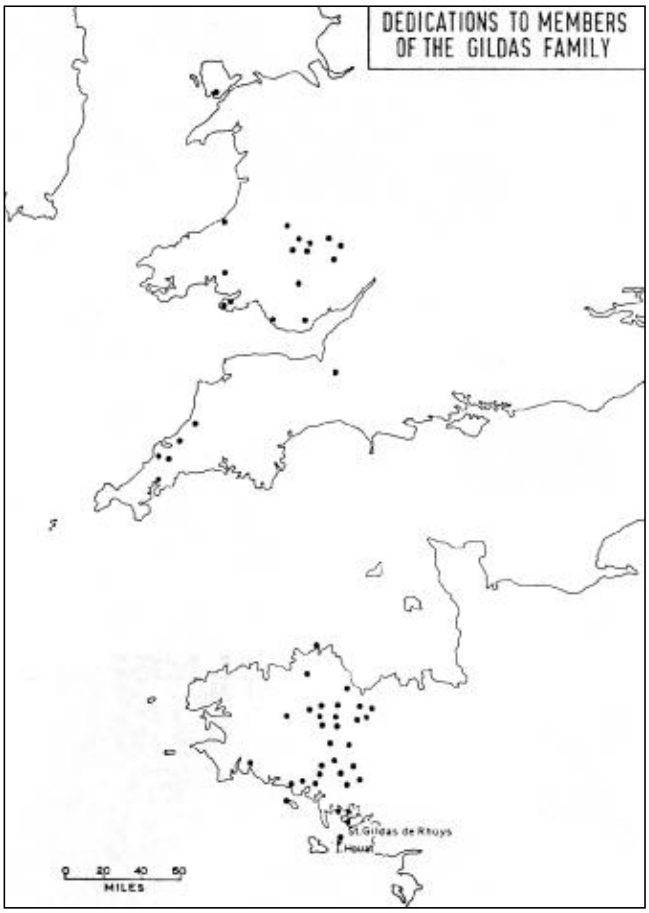
In Brittany St Samson is famous as the founder of Dol and several other monasteries and churches. He also visited the Frankish King Childebert (511–558) in Paris and signed decrees of Church councils held there. It is clear from churches dedicated to him that he had a wide influence, well outside what we call Brittany and in fact little influence in the extreme west of Brittany, Finistère ('Land's End').

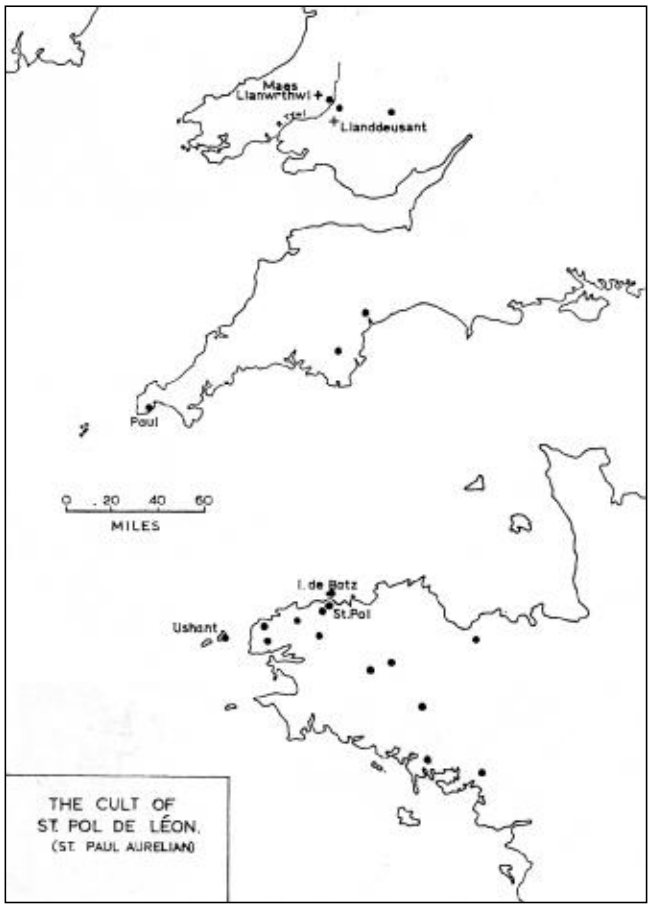


St Samson was a skilled political negotiator and for this used the help of one of his deacons, also a close relative, St Méen (Mewan), after whom the town of St Méen le Grand in central Brittany is named and who also founded the monastery of Gael. These were in forested areas in central Brittany and demonstrate how the Gospel was spread from the coasts inland. He had come from Archenfield, the borderland between present-day Wales and England, the southwest Powys area and eastwards into England, which was also the home of St Dubricius. Many others seem to have gone to Brittany from this area.

St Gildas

The next saint to concern us is St Gildas (c. ✙ 570). He was the author of a unique document, *De Excidio Britanniæ*, an indictment written in prophetic style against five corrupt native rulers of Britain in about 540. His life was written in the early ninth century. He is said to have come from an area that is now near Glasgow on the banks of the Clyde in southwest Scotland. Forced to move south by the invasion of heathen Irish and Picts (a Celtic tribe based in the north of Scotland but which moved southwards), he also became a monk at Llaniltud Fawr.





After this he emigrated to Brittany and, landing on the island of Houat, he then went to the coast and founded his chief monastery in the south-east of the country at Rhuys near Vannes. Houat remained a place of retreat and it is said that St Gildas reposed there. Although no church is dedicated to St Gildas in Wales, there are many dedicated to members of his family, brothers, sisters, sons and grandsons, not forgetting his grandfather St Geraint and his uncle St Solomon (Selevan). From these we have the impression that his family migrated from south Wales through eastern Cornwall into Brittany, using river valleys where possible.

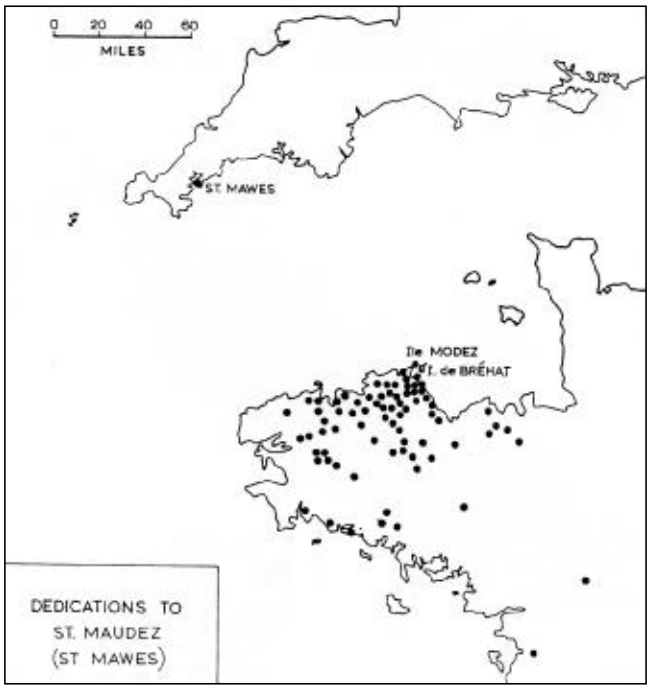
St Paulinus

The next case is St Paulinus, the Roman-named Paul Aurelian. A disciple of St Illtud, he seems to have migrated from further west in Wales and through western Cornwall to north-west Brittany, where there are several churches and chapels dedicated to him, including the cathedral city of Pol de Léon. Again we have a relatively early Life, dating to about 880. This is divided into two parts, his early life in inland south Wales near Llanwrthwl on the River Tywi, and his later life in Brittany. In about 525 he migrated together with twelve priests from Llanddeusant to Cornwall and from there to Brittany.

On the coast north of Brest, Léon lies directly across the channel from southern Cornwall, where there is the parish of Paul, and would have been a natural landing place. However, according to the life, the saint landed first on the island of Ushant (Ouessant) off the west coast of Finistère. Interestingly, the centre richest in traditions about him is also an offshore island, the Ile de Batz. It may well be that, as in the case of St Gildas, the saint landed on one of these islands first, founded a monastery, and only then went to the mainland and founded the monastery at Léon, now Saint Pol de Léon. He reposed on Batz in 594.

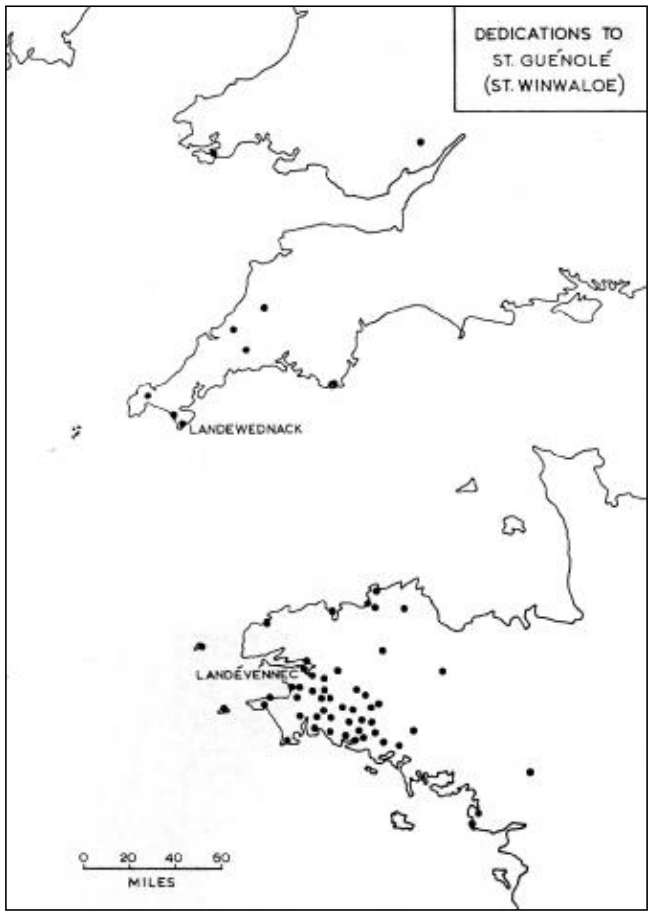
St Mawes (Maudez)

The eleventh-century life of St Mawes claims, improbably, that he was born in Ireland. According to this, he withdrew to the island of Ile Modez ('Mawes' Island') in the Bréhat archipelago in the Gulf of Saint Brieuc. Here he seems to have founded a monastery together with Sts Budoc and Tudy and perhaps others. Over sixty dedications to him show a spectacular pattern spreading out from Ile Modez. Veneration for him later spread all over western and northern France.



This later life is less trustworthy and it is notable that his name Maudez is not at all Irish, but typically Welsh. Although there is a chapel to him in southwest Dyfed, the dedication to him in Cornwall is located side by side with a dedication to St Budoc. This is exactly mirrored on the Ile Modez, where there is a chapel dedicated to St Budoc. Interestingly St Budoc is connected with a Roman villa, repaired by immigrants in the fifth century, on the island of Lavré in the Bréhat group. With the remains of eight round cells in a row and signs of others, it is significant to note that both this monastic plan and the name Lavré comes directly from the Syrian 'laura', or large monastery, which dates from the fourth and fifth centuries. This must be one of the first Orthodox monasteries in the West.

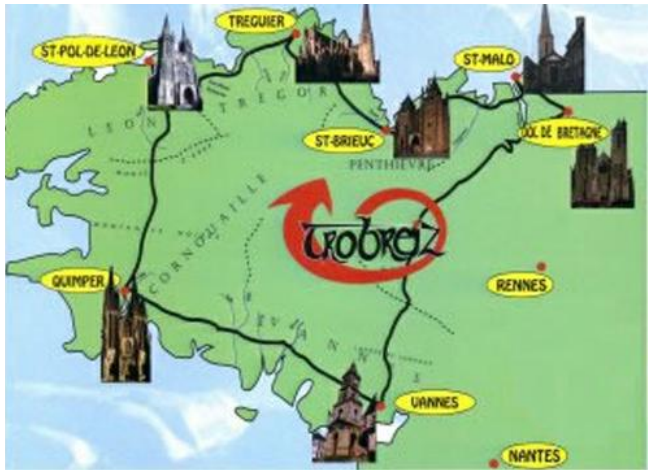
Model of a Carolingian Monastery at Landevennec (Finistère)



St Winwaloe (Guénolé)

Born from the second generation in Brittany in the sixth century near the Gulf of Saint Brieuc, St Winwaloe was a disciple of St Budoc at Lavré. His Life, written in the ninth century, describes how later he became a hermit on another nearby island called Tibidy. Here he practised the common ascetic practices of reciting the Psalter daily with his arms outstretched and dressed in clothes of goat-hair.

Later he founded the monastery of Landévennec (the llan, or church, of Winwaloe) on the coasts of western Finistère, where he became



abbot and which became very famous. Interestingly, veneration for him spread into southwestern Cornwall and south Wales and later up the coasts of northern France and into southern England. This is an interesting case of veneration for second generation British saints returning to their parents' homeland.

Veneration of the Saints in Brittany Today

Bretons love pilgrimages, known as 'pardons'. However, the greatest Breton pilgrimage of olden times and now revived is called 'Tro-Breiz' – 'The Tour of Brittany', since it covers the area where Breton was once the universal first language.

This pilgrimage concerns the seven monk-bishops who, it is considered, founded the Church

Pilgrims in Brittany Today

of Brittany. The seven saints and the towns where veneration for them is based are:

Saint Brieuc: St Brioc (Brieuc), born at latest in the early sixth century, came from Cardigan in Wales, emigrated through Cornwall (St Breock) and founded St Brieuc in northern Brittany where he looked after some twenty monks, reposing in about 500.

Saint Malo: St Malo (Maclou), born in Wales in the sixth century, was born on the day of the resurrection, emigrated to Brittany and is known as the apostle of Brittany. He is commemorated above all by the large city of St Malo on the northeast coast. He reposed between 620 and 650, but his *Life*, as we have it now, was written in the ninth century.

Breton Women in Costume

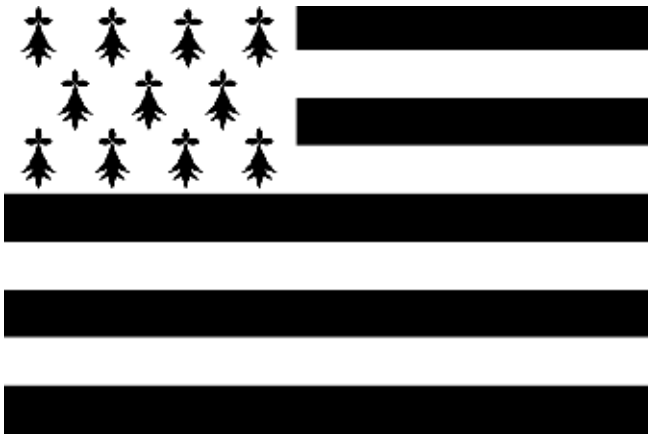
Dol: St Samson (see above).

Vannes: St Paternus (Patern) was not from Wales, but a fifth-century Gallo-Roman who became Bishop of Vannes in 463, reposing before 500.

Quimper: St Corentin was a hermit who became the first Bishop of Cornouaille (Cornwall), of which the centre is Quimper in southwest Finistère. He may have reposed as early as 460 or 480 and must certainly have come from Wales.

Saint Pol de Leon: St Paulinus (see above).

Tréguier: St Tugdual (Tudwal) was the nephew of St Brioc. Born in Wales, he emigrated to the Léon area of northern Brittany where he landed with monks and a large family, probably in 532.



The Breton Flag

He founded a monastery at Lan Pabu ('the church of Tugdual'), where he had 72 disciples. In 542 he became a bishop at Tréguier. He is famed as a healer. His name is also found around Cardigan Bay in southwest Wales, notably at St Tudwal's Island.

Conclusion

Today the Breton language is spoken as a native language only by some 40,000 Bretons in the far west of Finistère. Many of these are aged. Integrated into France, Brittany faces all the usual problems of a secularised Western European country. In order to counter them, to 'repel barbarity', its only hope is to keep something of its ancient national identity – and this can only be in guarding the sacred memory of its saints.

All the Saints of Brittany, pray to God for the Breton land and for all of us!

SAINTS AND HOLY PLACES IN THE HEBRIDES

Introduction

THE Irish monks were great seafarers – and this was not by chance. Their purpose in voyaging was ascetic. In travelling by land and by sea they sought out white martyrdom, that is, exile. They voyaged especially in search of hermitages in the islands of the north-eastern Atlantic. This was their desert, just as for Egyptian monks their desert was in the sands of the north-eastern Sahara. This seafaring movement began very early. For example, it is notable that wherever St Brendan the Voyager, the most famous of the early Irish monk-navigators, sailed in the sixth century, he found other Irish monks already there, in some cases from as early as the mid-fifth century. Certainly Irish monks reached the Faeroes by the second quarter of the eighth century and Iceland by the end of the eighth century – before 795.

However, the land first concerned by the Irish Thebaid was nearby 'Alba' – only thirteen miles from the northern coasts of Ireland. In fact, the 'Scoti' (= Irish) monks were to give their name, their Gaelic language and unity to that land of 'Alba', for it came to be called Scotland, literally, the land of the Irish. The mission of the Irish monks was to convert the whole of that country to Christ, starting from the near west coast and spreading eastwards. Behind them they left their 'cells' (hermitages and monasteries), in Gaelic called 'kil'. Here we shall look at place names on the western seaboard of Scotland, on the islands of the Inner and Outer Hebrides, which show the monks' presence there from the early sixth century on – in all for nearly 300 years. In chronological order, the saints concerned here are:

St Ciaran of Saigir (c. 450? – c. 530: 5 March)

Called 'the first-born of the saints of Ireland', St Ciaran was born on Clear Island off the coast of Cork, the southernmost point in Ireland. His mother belonged to the southern Irish clan of Corcu Loegde – recorded as the first Christians in Ireland. He is said to have founded Saigir (now Seirkieran near Birr in Offaly) thirty years before St Patrick. St Ciaran is presented as a saint who was very close to wild animals. Since St Ciaran was buried at Saigir, it was clearly the earlier part of his life that he spent in 'Alba'.

The greatest number of place names connected with him are on Kintyre (meaning in Gaelic 'the headland') between Tarbert and Campbeltown. This place was originally called 'Ceann Loch Cille Chiarain', meaning the head of Loch Ciaran, or Kilkerran. 'Kil' is a very common place-name component everywhere here and literally means 'cell'. In other words, 'kil' is an easy way of identifying the site of a hermitage or monastic settlement. There is another Loch Ciaran further north towards Tarbert and another Kilchiaran parish across the sound on the island of Islay. Here, on the west side of the Rhinns of Islay at Kilchiarian, there still stands a roofless mediæval chapel. We can assume that this is the site of St Ciaran's cell.

Kilkerran itself is recorded as a monastery, perhaps with fifteen monks, who went there from Ireland with Ciaran. This is written in a later Irish document, called 'The Litany of Pilgrim Saints'. Kilkerran was so famous that in 608 it became the burial place of King Aidan, King of Alba (Scotland). Near Kilkerran there is an almost inaccessible cave-hermitage called St Ciaran's Cave. It is some five miles along the coast from Campbeltown. On

the floor of the cave there is a sculpted stone with a six-armed Chi-Rho cross and a border with a square key pattern. It confirms the cave as an ancient holy place.

St Brendan of Clonfert, called 'the Voyager' (486 – c. 575: 16 May)

Our second saint is St Brendan, who was born in 486 on the Dingle Peninsula in Kerry in Ireland, St Brendan is recalled by a host of place names there. Most famous for his voyages, which may have taken him to the Faeroes (the place name of Brandarsvik), Iceland, possibly Greenland and even perhaps to Newfoundland, St Brendan was also a monastic founder in the Hebrides.

He is recalled by several dedications along the western seaboard of these islands, from Kerry to St Kilda. It has been speculated that cell-type structures on Hirta, the largest island of the St Kilda group, could date back to St Brendan's time. A St Brendan's chapel also exists here. (It should be noted that there never was a St Kilda. The name comes from a corruption of the Norse word 'Skilder' – meaning shield).

St Brendan's earliest life states that he founded his first Hebridean monastery before 524. This was on Eilachnave, one of the Garvellachs. Indeed, the smaller island beside Eilachnave is called in Gaelic 'Cuil Bhrianainn', 'Brendan's retreat'. There are several other 'Cill Brendan' names south of Oban. There are Kilbrannan Sound between Arran and Kintyre, Kilbrennan near Bridgend at the head of Loch Indaal on Islay and Kilbrandon above the Cuan Ferry on the Isle of Seil opposite Mull.

St Brendan made a second foundation in the Hebrides, perhaps in the 530s. This was on Tiree. With fertile soil, this became known as a monastic granary throughout the Age of Saints. Indeed, his was the first of at least four monasteries to be founded on Tiree by the second half of the sixth century. Although the saint returned to his homeland and founded the monastery at Clonfert in Galway in 561, he returned to 'Alba' on visits.

St Cainnech (Kenneth / Kenzie / Canice) of Aghaboe (c. 520 – c. 600: 11 October)

Cainnech was born in Derry in the north of Ireland and was a contemporary and friend of St Columba. He is said to have built the first church at St Andrews. In about 544 he was advised by St Finnian of Clonard to head for 'Alba'

Map of the Sea-Road of Saints

(Scotland). He went to live in the Hebrides, though later returned from his hermitage there to Ireland to found monasteries there, notably at Aghaboe (Kilkenny) before 577. Place-names are associated with him from Kintyre to the Great Glen in central Scotland, though this may not mean that he actually visited all of them.

From Cainnech's life, we know that he lived in a hermitage on an unidentified 'Bird Island'. This was where the seabirds were so noisy that the saint had to command them to be silent at least until after Matins. This hermitage was most probably on the tiny island of Texa off Islay. On Texa there is still a ruined mediæval chapel – this may have been the site of the saint's monastic cell. Opposite it, on Islay, there is a promontory called Dunyvaig, which may mean something like 'fort of the little saint'.

Certainly St Cainnech visited Iona. Two place names can be found there, indicating this. These are 'Cill (= cell / church) Chainnech' and 'Cladh (= cemetery) Cainnech'. On the island of Tiree there is another site called Kilkenneth, 'Cillcainnech'. Here there stands a ruined mediæval church to this day. On South Uist there is a dedication at

Map of the Inner Hebrides

Kilchainie. Opposite Tiree, just a mile off the shore of Mull there is also an Inchkenneth, Kenneth's island. Here, the saint's main foundation, there was once a very large monastery, but all that remains today is a ruined chapel.

St Ernan (6th century)

St Ernan was St Columba's uncle, his mother's brother. His burial place appears to have been at Killernandale on Jura. One of the twelve monks who had accompanied St Columba to Iona, he founded a monastery, most probably here, where he was abbot.

St Eithne (6th century)

St Eithne was St Columba's mother. In the north of Islay, Kilmeny, in Gaelic 'Cill M'Eithne', is named after her. Also a stone on one of the Garvellach islands, to the north of Jura, is traditionally said to mark the grave of St Eithne who prophesied: 'I will bear a son and his teaching will stretch throughout Ireland (Erin) and Scotland (Alba)'. The southernmost of the Garvellachs, Eilachnave, from the Gaelic 'Eileach nan naomh', 'the holy rock', still has drystone beehive cells, proving ancient monastic occupation, whether by her or by others. St Eithne was especially venerated between the seventh and twelfth centuries.

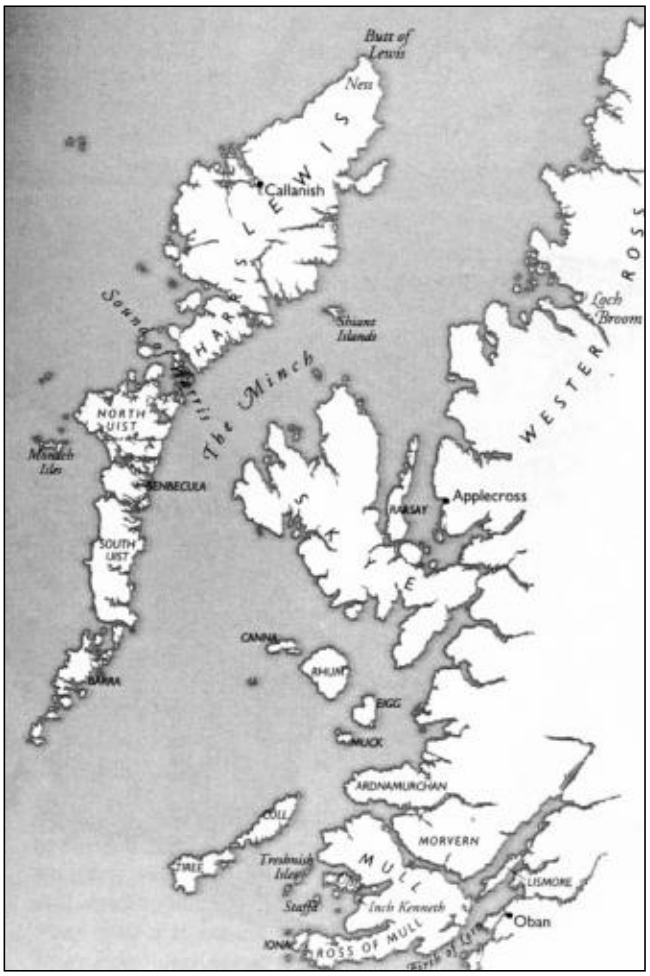
St Columba (c. 521–597: 9 June)

The greatest of the seafaring Irish monks was St Columba. He was considered by the people of the Islands and Highlands of Scotland to be their Patron Saint, helping to convert Picts, Scots (the Irish in Scotland) and the Northern English through Lindisfarne. Born in Donegal in 521, Columba left Ireland for what is now Scotland in 563. However, he did not leave Ireland because of a battle caused by a Psalter in his possession – this is a fairy tale, invented in 1523. On the contrary, St Adamnan, the saint's biographer, clearly says that the future saint left to seek 'white martyrdom', that is, voluntary exile. Apart from Iona, 'I-Columcille', meaning St Columba's Iona, where the saint probably arrived in 565 and where many places are named after him, other Hebridean sites are connected with him.

Firstly, there is a natural cavern above a bay on the north-west shore of an inlet of Loch Caolisport on the Kintyre peninsula. By tradition, this is called locally 'Columba's Cave', the reputed site where St Columba first landed after crossing from Ireland, only thirteen miles away, on Whitsun Eve in 563. A cross with the ancient Chi-Rho form is carved into the rock wall of the cave above a primitive stone altar. From the evidence of stone coffins found there, the cave was certainly used in St Columba's age.

Secondly, if it can be proved that Jura was the island of Hinba, as recorded in St Adamnan's life, Jura is also the site of a monastery founded by St Columba. Above the bay at the Tarbert on the eastern shore of Jura there is a burial ground, where there is an ancient standing stone with carved crosses. This is called Kilmhoire – the church of Mary. This is an ancient site and the foundations of an ancient chapel there are called 'Cill Chaluim-chille' – Columcille's (Columba's) church or cell. A little to the east of here there is also 'Tobair Chaluim-chille' – St Columba's well.

Finally, to the north-west of Iona, there is the island of Tiree, where St Columba founded another monastery. This was close to the island's main village of Scarinish.



Map of the Outer Hebrides

St Moluag of Lismore (c. 530–592: 25 June)

St Moluag was born in the north of Ireland and became a monk at Bangor. He went to 'Alba', probably in 562, and founded a monastery at Lismore, an island in the sea-loch Linnhe. He is linked with St Brendan the Voyager, for he too was a great traveller, going to the islands and also inland, founding settlements at what is now Fort Augustus and Glen Urquhart and Rosemarkie on Black Isle, where a slab of sandstone is said to mark his grave. (However, he reposed at Ardclach in Nairnshire). There are two dedications to him on Kintyre, both called Kilmoluag. However, there are the same dedications and names on Mull, Tiree, Raasay and near Uig on Skye.

There are also two dedications to him in the Western Isles. These are Kilmoluag, on Pabbay (meaning 'isle of the priests' in Norse), in the Sound of Harris and a very ancient dedication of Teampull Mhulig (Moluag's Chapel) at Europie in Ness in the very north of Lewis. It has been suggested that the tiny Orcadian isle of Papa Westray (Norse for 'priests' western isle') may also refer to St Moluag. Even if some of these dedications are much later, even mediæval, they still make St Moluag one of Scotland's most popular saints.

St Finlaggan († c. 590: 3 January)

In Loch Finlaggan, opposite the Paps of Jura, there is a small island called Eilean Mor. Anciently it was called 'an t-Eilean Ban', 'the holy island', and until 500 years ago it was the royal capital of Celtic Scotland. Here there used to stand a chapel built over the cell of a holy man, as recalled by the ancient name of the island, 'Isle of St Finlaggan'. This name is a corruption of Findlugan. He came from Doon in Limerick and crossed into Alba (Scotland). He was the brother and disciple of St Fintan of Doon and is mentioned in St Adamnan's Life of St Columba protecting him from evildoers.

St Cormac († c. 590: 12 December)

St Cormac was abbot of the monastery of Durrow in Offaly, which had been founded by St Columba. He is known as 'Cormac of the Sea', suggesting that he frequently voyaged. It is recorded that he went seeking 'a desert in the ocean' three times, but did not find it. The ruins of a tiny chapel on the small island of Eilean Mor, mentioned above, are dedicated to him. Although these ruins are mediæval, they recall Cormac's cell. This was probably an almost inaccessible cave-hermitage on the south of the island, where an ancient Chi-Rho cross carved in stone has been discovered.

There is another mediæval chapel dedicated to him at Kilmory on Kintyre. We also know from St Adamnan that Cormac went to Iona with St Columba. Some believe that Cormac may also have founded a monastery in the Orkneys. Certainly there seem to have been Irish monks living there as early as the mid-sixth century. They possibly lived at the Brough of Deerness on the northeastern tip of the Orkney mainland, though ruins there are post-Norse.

St Comgall (c. 516 – c. 601: 11 May)

St Comgall of Bangor, which he founded in about 559, only made one visit to 'Britain' (= Scotland) to see 'certain saints'. This was probably in 564, when he saw St Columba and later went to Tiree and founded a monastery there.

St Donnan (Donan) of Eigg and his 52 Companion Martyrs († 618: 17 April)

Just as the Egyptian Thebaid came to an end with invasion and martyrdom by the Arabs, so too did the Irish Thebaid with the Vikings, from 794 on. However, nearly 200 years before this, there was already St Donnan and his companions. Donnan was a younger companion of St Columba and may have been a monk not only on Iona but also at Whithorn, for there are 'Kildonan' dedications in Galloway. However, most Cill Donnain dedications are on Kintyre, Arran, Skye, South Uist, Uig, Eigg, and in the Highlands beyond the Great Glen. On Easter Night, 17 April 618 at his monastery on Eigg, Donnan and his monks, usually given as 52 in number, were martyred not by Viking pirates, but by Pictish pirates. This was an omen for the future.

St Ronan (7th century?)

The jetty on Iona is known in Gaelic as Port Ronain – St Ronan's Bay. Could this be connected with the little known St Ronan? He is said to have gone to the Western Isles, the Outer Hebrides, precisely to Lewis, to convert the people to the Cross. At Europie in Ness, near the Butt of Lewis, he built a small chapel. A few stones gathered around a green mound still exist. This is called 'Teampull Ronain' – St Ronan's Chapel.

Forty-four miles to the northeast of Lewis is the very remote island of Rona, now called North Rona, and said by some to be named after this same saint. Now on Lewis, there was once on Rona a carved stone cross, dating from no later than the early eighth century. There are also the stone remains of a hermit's cell, next to the walls of a 12th century building called St Ronan's Chapel. Certainly, if it was not St Ronan, then another hermit of the ocean once lived in this desert here and remembered St Ronan.

St Beccan of Rhum († 677: 17 March)

The first known hermit of the Hebrides is Beccan of Rhum, mentioned in about 632 and reposing there in 677. There is also mention of his 'wise companions', meaning that other anchorites went to live on the island of Rhum with him.

St Comman († 688: 18 March)

Kilchoman in the Rhinns of Islay was certainly founded in the seventh century and is named after St Comman of Islay. This saint is mentioned in St Adamnan's life of St Columba. He was the saint who heard from Abbot Fergna of Iona (605–623) how he saw the Divine Light descending on St Columba. Abbot Fergna was St Comman's uncle. St Comman's brother, Cummene the White (Ailbe), became Abbot of Iona in 657.

St Maelrubha of Applecross (642 – c. 722: 21 April)

St Maelrubha, called 'the Apostle of the Picts', was born near Derry in the north of Ireland in 642. His mother was a niece of St Comgall of Bangor, one of the largest and most important monasteries in Ireland. He became a monk here before 671. We know from the Irish Annals that the future St Maelrubha sailed to 'Alba' in that year and that he is honoured by more place names in Scotland than any other saint apart from St Columba. He certainly lived in Kintyre and in Argyll and on Islay we find the name Kilarrow, a corruption of 'Cille Mhaoil Rubha', the cell of Maelrubha.

From Islay, dedications mark the saint's two-year journey north along the west coast of the mainland. This was to Apur Crossan, later corrupted into Applecross, opposite Raasay and Skye. This name means 'the mouth of the River Crossan'. However, the Crossan in Gaelic is called 'Amhain Mare', 'Maelrubha's river'. It was here in 673 that Maelrhuba founded a monastery, and was probably joined here by monks from Bangor in northeast Ireland. This monastery became very large, with an estate of some six square miles.

St Maelrubha is looked on as the patron of the whole coast of Wester Ross from Applecross north as far as Loch Broom. From local place names it would seem that the saint and / or his disciples were very active, crossing west to Skye and even as far as Harris, and east into northern Scotland or 'Pictland', as it was then known. This was then ruled by the Christian King Bruide who helped in the evangelisation of his kingdom.

Conclusion

Iona was to be attacked in 795, 802 and in 806, when 68 monks were martyred by the Viking heathen. Although Iona was soon evacuated in 807, on 15 January 825 another monk, St Blathmac, was also martyred here. Thus the white martyrdom of the Irish who had sought exile in the deserts of the ocean ended with the red martyrdom of bloodshed. However, this sacrifice

was not in vain, for it was to convert the heathen Norse to Christ during the ninth century and preserve the Scots themselves as Christians for centuries to come.

(We are indebted to Sea-Road of the Saints, subtitled 'Celtic Holy Men in the Hebrides' (Floris Books, 1995) by John Marsden for parts of the above).

1: Collectivisation in Scotland: THE 'HIGHLAND CLEARANCES'

Introduction

ANY visitor to the Scottish Highlands will see large numbers of abandoned, roofless and ruined buildings. These are the results of a process of ethnic cleansing and land privatisation, known euphemistically as 'The Highland Clearances', sometimes even camouflaged under the name of 'improvements'. Significantly, in Scottish Gaelic, the process is called Fuadach nan Gàidheal, or the 'expulsion of the Gael'. They are an exact parallel to the 'Enclosures', or land-theft, that was operated in England between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, as we shall see in the next article. They meant the expulsion of significant numbers of people from the Highlands during the 18th and 19th century, just so that rich landowners could replace them with more profitable sheep.

These enclosures were carried out by aristocratic landowners, most notoriously the Duke of Sutherland. However, the ethnic cleansing was supported by the British State, which encouraged the forced emigration to the seacoast, the Scottish Lowlands and the North American colonies. The clearances were particularly pernicious because they meant the destruction of the traditional Gaelic clan system and the brutality of many evictions. The impact on the Patriarchal, Gaelic-speaking culture led understandably to a lingering bitterness among the descendants of those forced to emigrate or to remain in impoverished crofting.

The Jacobite Risings and a Century of State Oppression

After the forced and corrupt union of Scotland with England in 1707, from about 1725 on, in the aftermath of the first Jacobite Rising against the London Conquest, Highlanders were forced into emigrating to the Americas. The Jacobite Risings brought repeated British State efforts to curb clan and so ethnic identity. After the Battle of Culloden in 1746 this culminated in brutal and bloody repression, including the prohibition of tartans or kilts, and removed the virtually sovereign power that clan chiefs held. Over all this led to the wholesale destruction of identity and language, the traditional clans and the supportive social structures of small peasant townships.

Foreign troops, many of them from Hannover, were sent into the Highlands and State fortresses were built or extended all over the Highlands. Unsurprisingly, a spirit of revolt lingered throughout the eighteenth century against this oppressive military brutality. Another wave of mass emigration came in 1792, which became known as 'the Year of the Sheep' to Gaelic-speaking Scottish Highlanders. The people lived in very poor crofts or small farms in coastal areas where farming could not sustain the communities and they were expected to take up fishing. Others were forced onto emigration ships to Nova Scotia ('New Scotland'), Ontario or the Carolinas in America. There may have been a religious element in these forced removals, since many Highlanders had remained with the old faith, Roman Catholicism. It must be said that this form of Catholicism was very ancient and hearkened back to Orthodox times of the Irish missionaries who had converted the Highlands.

In 1807 the Duchess of Sutherland wrote that she and her husband were 'seized with the rage of improvements'. That year her husband, Lord

Stafford, later the Duke of Sutherland, used his agents to force the evictions of whole communities. As there were few alternatives, people emigrated or moved to growing urban centres in Lowland Scotland and the north of England. Between 1811 and 1820, evictions at the rate of 2,000 families in one day were not uncommon. Many starved and froze to death where their homes had once been. The Duchess of Sutherland, on seeing the starving tenants on her husband's estate, remarked in a letter to a friend in England, 'Scotch people are of happier constitution and do not fatten like the larger breed of animals'.

In the mid-nineteenth century the potato crop failed and a widespread outbreak of cholera further weakened the Highland population. The ongoing and violent clearance policy resulted in starvation, deaths and a secondary clearance, when families either migrated voluntarily or were forcibly evicted. Houses in extensive districts were set ablaze. There were many deaths of children and old people. This ethnic cleansing resulted in significant emigration to North America and Australia and New Zealand, where today are found considerably more descendants of Highlanders than in Scotland itself. The ethnic cleansing explains the emptiness of the once densely-populated Highlands to this day, which is paralleled only by parts in Eastern Europe since the passage of Hitler and Stalin.

Conclusion

Between 1775 and 1850 it is thought that 25,000 Gaelic-speaking Scots arrived in Nova Scotia. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were an estimated 100,000 Gaelic speakers in Cape Breton. Another major destination for these emigrants in the 18th century was Glengarry County, an original settlement for Highland Scots in eastern Ontario. Gaelic was the native tongue of

The Emigrants Statue commemorates the forced expulsion of Highlanders. It is located at the foot of the Highlands in Helmsdale and was unveiled in 2007

the settlement in which thousands of people spoke the language throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Forced into speaking English, there are now very few in either community who still speak the native tongue of their ancestors.

The facts of history cannot be changed and it is little wonder that today many Scots want independence from England and feel strong resentment against the English. In fact of course, it was not English people who were to blame; it was the British State, which had set up its administration in London under German Kings. It is time to see the 'Enclosures' in England and the 'Clearances' in Scotland in the same light, that of Stalinist-type collectivisations. They were carried out by a State élite, which had little sympathy with any of its victims, English or Scottish alike. Whatever you call it, enclosures, clearances, collectivisations, ethnic cleansing, theft is theft and oppression is oppression and murder is murder. All we can hope for now is some sort of repentance by the descendants of those responsible.

ORTHODOXY SHINES THROUGH WESTERN MYTHS (10)
The First European Revolution, c. *970–1215*

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 civilisation. 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 historian. These are from The First European Revolution, c. 970–1215 by the well-known historian of the period R. I. Moore, Blackwell, 2000. These extracts seem to illustrate abundantly 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:

From the Preface. The eleventh century: Roman Catholic novelty versus Orthodox Tradition.

Like almost everything I have written since, this book has its origin in the most unexpected conclusion of my early work on popular heresy in the twelfth century, that many of those accused of deviating from the traditional teachings and practices of the church were in fact clinging tenaciously to what they had always been used to. Conversely, their accusers, though they believed themselves the staunch defenders of tradition against 'novelties' in faith or worship propounded by their often puzzled adversaries, were in reality radical and dynamic innovators in these as in so many other aspects of social and cultural life.

pp. 1–4 Europe as we know it was born in the second millennium.

Europeans, for as long as they have been Europeans ... have cherished the belief that they are the heirs – the special and particular heirs – of the classical civilizations of the Mediterranean world, and that their civilization is the product of the fusion of the rational and humanistic civilization of Greece and Rome with the spiritual insights and moral strengths of the Judæo-Christian religious tradition. This belief, like much else that is characteristic of European civilization, is a product of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when northwestern Europe, which had long been a peripheral region of the citied civilization (a clumsy but expressive phrase coined by the American Islamist G. Marshall Hodgson) based on the Mediterranean, became for the first time the seat of such a civilization in its own right.

Certainly the new civilization owed a great deal to both the Græco-Roman and the Judæo-Christian pasts, and especially to the texts which had been handed down from those civilizations and the intellectual and technical skills associated with their transmission and use. The argument of this book, that Europe was born in the second millennium of the Common Era, not the first, is far from seeking to minimize or devalue the achievements of the classical and the patristic eras, or to deny their indispensability to our Europe. But that is not the same thing as saying that they were European achievements, or that their history was European history. Above all, it is not the same thing as saying, what is often said, that these legacies shaped or formed Europe. They did not. They provided an essential stock of materials, certainly – social, economic and institutional as well as cultural and intellectual – but from that stock, as we shall see repeatedly, the men and women of the eleventh and twelfth centuries took what they wanted for their own intricate and highly idiosyncratic construction, and discarded what they did not want. 'Not only is it proper for the new to change the old', wrote Arnold of Regensburg around 1030, 'but if the old is disordered it should be entirely thrown away, or if it conforms to the proper order of things but is of less use it should be buried with reverence'. His contemporaries and successors more commonly deprecated innovation as dangerous and disreputable, and modestly insisted that they themselves were doing nothing more than restoring broken and tarnished heirlooms to something approaching their pristine glory. The truth is that when they did not find what

they needed among the relics of the past, whether it was a collar to enable their few and precious horses to draw heavy loads without throttling themselves, or a harsher but more efficient principle to govern the inheritance of landed property, they did not hesitate to invent it.

The example of the horse collar, which seems to have appeared in the ninth century and was essential to the agrarian and transport revolutions of the eleventh and twelfth, is a reminder of the remarkable achievements of the Carolingian centuries. By the same token the emergence of inheritance by primogeniture, no less essential to the articulation of the characteristic and unique social structure of ancien regime Europe, confirms that the decisive developments and the decisive choices which made Europe came after, not before, the millennium. The map of Charlemagne's Empire anticipates that of the European Economic Community as it was established in 1956, and the European Union which has now extended far beyond those frontiers honours its most distinguished servants with a prize that bears his name. Nevertheless, the Carolingian Empire was a successor state, the greatest of many in the crumbling peripheries of the Roman Empire. It had yet to develop permanent or characteristic forms of its own. In particular, it lacked the urban life, with its need and capacity to organize the life of the countryside around it, which is and which defines civilization. The seeds of the future were there, of course, as they always are, and had begun to germinate; but they did not grow and bear fruit until the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and then not by unaided nature, but because they were cultivated arduously and skillfully.

The construction of a new civilization required profound changes in the economic and political organization of the countryside, amounting to a permanent transformation in the division of labour, social relations, and the distribution of power and wealth. In bringing about those changes, and still more in sustaining them and their effects, the culture of the cities played an indispensable part, equipping its bearers with the vision, the technical sophistication, and the unity and consistency of purpose necessary to bring about these sweeping changes. Because the scale and depth of the changes which accompany the appearance of citied civilization is so great – because, quite literally, nothing would ever be the same again – archæologists commonly describe these changes in their totality as 'the urban revolution' …

In arguing for revolution I follow in the footsteps of some of the most respected, and most respectable, of modern mediævalists. In the preface to one of the most influential books ever written on the European middle ages Sir Richard Southern, identifying a development which almost everybody agrees in seeing as central, specifically characterized 'the slow emergence of a knightly aristocracy' as a social revolution, which unlike other social revolutions contained 'no great events or clearly decisive moments'. For that reason he described it, with other associated developments, as a 'secret revolution' …

pp. 12–13. The eleventh-century turning-point. It could have been otherwise. Western history has been written by the 'victors'.

(The distinction between secular and ecclesiastical history, like that between clergy and laity, is of course much older than the eleventh century: it begins in the fourth, with Constantine and Eusebius, as everybody knows. The argument here is not that the eleventh century invented these distinctions, but that it made them fundamental to European society and culture, for the first time and permanently.) Since this was the foundation upon which European civilization has been constructed it is not easy for Europe's children to remember that it might have been otherwise. Our history has been written by the victors in the struggle to bring this social order into being, in the certainty that their victory was right, and because it was right inevitable. By the middle of the twelfth century they dominated the record almost entirely, and their spiritual descendants occupied the commanding heights of European historiography until the enlightenment, and of much of European education, including higher education, until well into the twentieth century.

pp. 48–53. Encastellation and Feudalisation = Economic control and Enslavement.

In Provence less than a dozen castles in the middle of the tenth century had become several times that number by 1000, and perhaps one hundred by 1030; in the Auvergne nine appeared in the tenth century, forty-one in the first half of the eleventh; in Catalonia civil war between 1020 and 1060 allowed newly constructed castles to provide the bases for the enserfment of the peasantry, and in the Charentais sixty-one castles were added by 1050 to the dozen there had been in 1000; in the Chartrain, and Burgundy too, most of the castles that existed in 1050 were of quite recent

construction. Thereafter, as expansion to the north, east and south from the springboard of the Frankish and Rhenish heartlands began to gather pace, castle building was always the first priority of the conquering knights …

'When and how ancient slavery came to an end', in the words of a question famously posed by Marc Bloch, remains a complex and vigorously disputed issue. The institution of slavery continued long after the formal fabric of Roman government had disappeared, although it was shaken by the successive upheavals of the fifth, seventh and ninth centuries. Reinvigorated and brutally sustained by the lawcodes of the Germanic successor states, in this case reflecting common practice rather than mere aspiration, slavery was in the tenth century still widespread throughout the former Carolingian empire. Yet by the twelfth century it had apparently disappeared, to be replaced by the characteristic mediæval institution of serfdom, which embraced a far larger proportion of the population, in effect amounting in many parts of lowland Europe to the entire productive population. So, at least, many scholars maintain, and much controversial erudition has been expended in elaborating and explaining a distinction between two institutions habitually described by the same word (servus). From the present perspective, however, the transition from 'slavery' to 'serfdom' was important not so much because of whatever modifications it may have implied in the circumstances of individuals so described, as because it became the condition of almost the entire rural population rather than of a relatively small proportion of it. The servi or mancipii of the ninth century were descended, for the most part, from the slaves of antiquity, their numbers topped up by capture in war and legal punishment, but still (in the view of most scholars) amounting to no more than a small minority of the agricultural work force. The servi, colliberti, villani, homines and so forth who in the lowland regions constituted the great majority of the twelfth-century population were the descendants, for the most part, of free men and women …

The detail becomes finer and richer with each new regional monograph or archæological survey, but the picture remains essentially the same. From around the end of the tenth century, and somewhat sooner in the south than in the north, European society was reorganized from and around rapidly multiplying castles. Their purpose was less military than economic, to act as centres from which communications could be commanded, rents and tolls collected, and the countryside controlled.

The apparent exceptions prove the rule. The absence of castles from England before the Norman conquest of 1066 was a striking sign of the continuity and comprehensiveness of royal authority – and the same authority enabled the wealth of the countryside to be more efficiently tapped through a network of well supervised markets in the royal burhs …

From the valleys of the Rhine to the Ebro and of the Seine to the Tiber the indications continue to mount that rural populations substantially free in the last years of the tenth century were experiencing rapid and ruthless enserfment in the early decades of the eleventh. Not until then did the tripartite society of lords, free peasants and slaves, still in the tenth century approximating much more to the social structure typical of the ancient world, give way to that of the 'feudal' middle ages, in which the division between the free and the unfree was both stark and universal. Hence the audacious claim, which also gains plausibility from other points of view, that it was in the eleventh century, and not until then, that Europe experienced the transition from antiquity to feudalism…

The crucial fact was that by 1100 many who had once been free were free no longer …

Whereas in the tenth and eleventh centuries the holy men had often come to the aid of the poor against their oppressors, in the eleventh and twelfth the powers of the shrine were increasingly used to enforce the needs of the new order …

p. 62. The trick of 'reform' of clerical celibacy was simply enslavement.

Priestly dynasties were certainly not unusual in England even much later: Osbern, the son of Brihtric the priest of Haslebury 'succeeded his good father Brihtric in that charge', and the Cistercian abbot John of Ford, writing in the 1170s, mentions the fact more than once without obvious surprise or disapproval …

From this point of view the campaign for clerical celibacy in the eleventh century must be regarded in part, like so many other aspects of the reform, and like earlier campaigns against sorcery and later ones against heresy, as an attempt to subordinate local hierarchies to central authority. As Mr Chichely put it, in Middlemarch, 'Hang your reforms! You never hear of a reform, but it means some trick to put in new men'.

pp. 107–8. As soon as Roman Catholicism develops, so do the first forms of Protestantism. Two sides of the same worldly coin.

Peter of Bruys (burned alive in 1139/40 – N. of Ed.) denied the efficacy not only of prayers for the dead but of infant baptism and of the eucharist. Henry of Lausanne also rejected infant baptism, the authority of the clergy and the controls over marriage which were being so painstakingly imposed in his time. These were the commonest and most fundamental objections recorded or alleged against Catholic teaching in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some or all of them are included, with or without additional accusations, in every appearance or assertion of popular heresy throughout the period. We are fortunate to have in Henry of Lausanne a preacher both articulate enough and well enough documented to show clearly that it was not by accident that they were directed precisely against the changes and innovations which have been identified in this chapter as the foundations of the new social order which was created by the First European Revolution.

pp. 147–8. The self-justifying propaganda of arrogance of the new eleventh-century West against the rest of the world, including the old West.

... The final break between the (Greek and Latin – *sic*) churches in 1274 followed abortive negotiations which foundered, like several earlier attempts, largely on the westerners' intransigent insistence on their own superiority.

The churches in Brittany, Wales and Ireland had been regarded by Bede as a rival source of cultural authority supported by spiritual prestige, but their missionaries had converted much of the early Germanic World, and their scholars were received with honour at the courts of Charlemagne and Alfred the Great. They began once more to be regarded with suspicion in the eleventh century, and then reviled as founts of heresy and barbarism, preparatory to their conquest and absorption into the Latin Christendom of the twelfth. Guibert of Nogent cited the example of Piro, who was said to have drowned himself by falling into a well while drunk, to show how the cult of saints in Brittany represented every thing that he deplored about popular enthusiasm unsupported by properly – that is, clerically – authenticated literary evidence. For Abelard 'the country (Brittany) was wild and the language unknown to me, the natives were brutal and barbarous, the monks (of his abbey of St Gildas de Rhuys) were beyond control, and led a dissolute life which was well known to all'. The same rhetoric, magnifying the allegedly unreformed condition of the Old English church, provided an important pretext for the Norman conquest of 1066, and a useful means of legitimizing it, and then supported the extension of Norman and Angevin power into Wales and Ireland. Those who did not live under the obedience and according to the customs of the 'reformed' Roman church were represented as lazy, backward and immoral, the people steeped in vice and their clergy in corruption. The chroniclers of Anglo-Norman England too denounced their Welsh neighbours as primitive and debauched, and Gerald of Wales in turn described the Irish in the same terms after Henry II sent him to Ireland in 1185 with a military expedition led by Prince John. The History and Topography of Ireland, read in public performance to Gerald's fellow clerks at Oxford in 1188, is in its own way a classic of the stereotyping process:

'While man usually progresses from the woods to the fields, and from the fields to settlements of communities and citizens, this people despises work on the land, has little use for the money-making of towns, spurns the rights and privileges of citizenship ... Little is cultivated and even less sown ... not through the fault of the soil but because there are no farmers to cultivate even the best land. ... For given only to leisure and devoted only to laziness they think that the greatest pleasure is not to work, and the greatest wealth is to enjoy liberty. ... They do not yet pay tithes or first fruits or contract marriages. They do not avoid incest. They do not attend God's church with due reverence'.

In short, they had not experienced the First European Revolution.

pp. 152, 155–157. The 'necessary' Demonisation of the Jews.

The crucial question in the demonization of the Jews was whether or not those who crucified Christ knew that he was the Son of God. The crucial step in resolving it was taken in the 1090s, when Anselm of Laon, despite Abelard's mockery, the most influential teacher of his generation, broke away from the conclusion of St Augustine, in the fifth century, almost unanimously accepted by subsequent Catholic commentators, that they had not. Anselm's teaching that, on the contrary, they did know, was reiterated a few years later by the converted Spanish Jew Petrus Alfonsi. From this it

clearly followed that Jews must be the willing agents of the devil ... The Jews of both sexes who appear repeatedly in his *Monodiæ* as pimps and sorcerers, filthy, debauched and depraved, inaugurate the dreary and sinister stereotype which retained respectability in European discourse until the middle of the twentieth century ... In the 1140s Peter the Venerable *(sic)* helped to round out the portrait of Jews as enemies of Christ by envisaging the foul indignities to which they might subject holy pictures and vessels entrusted to them in pawn (the chalice, as the container of the body of Christ, naturally figured especially prominently here), and a few years later Thomas of Monmouth manufactured from the unexplained death of a Christian boy just outside Norwich the first complete and grisly account – it would have more than one hundred and fifty medieval successors – of how international Jewry had conspired to avenge its secular history and temporal misery by re-enacting the crucifixion. Such motifs continued to provide material for the creative faculties of theologians *(sic)*, draftsmen and fantasists for centuries to come, but the essentials were firmly in place, and in circulation, by the time the twelfth century was half over …

Fundamental as this relationship (the need to borrow money – N. of Ed.) was, it would not alone explain the sustained and increasingly successful vilification of the Jews as the agents of the devil working to undermine everything that sustained Christian society, which in the thirteenth century completed the stereotypes that persisted to become a central and indispensable element in European anti-Semitism. The cultural onslaught to which Jews and Judaism were subjected with mounting ferocity from the 1090s was essential to the construction of Latin Christendom, and to the cultural hegemony of the clerks within it.

That is not to say, of course, that there was any conscious or deliberate conspiracy among the clerks, or that anybody intended or foresaw the results of the arguments which were placed in circulation in these years and the inferences that were drawn from them …

The depiction of Jews as objects of loathing and contempt, filthy and debased in their persons and demeanour, but wielding sinister power through their diabolic associations, served at least three distinct purposes. In the first place, the denigration of Judaism, its characterization as a source of heresy, idolatry and immorality, was one aspect of the general assault on older literate cultures with which the new clerical intelligentsia of Latin Christendom consolidated its own cultural hegemony. In this context, the attack on the Jews had a further advantage for those who conducted it, since it eliminated the most immediate and authoritative challenge to the authority of Christian masters in the exposition of the scriptures. In doing so, it also removed from the arena of competition for place and influence at the courts a potential élite much better qualified for that role by its mastery of the essential skills of literacy, numeracy and legal acumen than the Christian clerks who were so desperate to fill it …

... Nothing is more obvious, at the level of daily experience, than that Christians in these centuries rationalized and justified their treatment of Jews by projecting on to the Jews the intention of doing as they had been done by. Ever more regularly, especially after the massacres associated with the preparations for the crusade in 1096, Christians stole the property of Jews, murdered their wives and children, desecrated their holy places and sacred objects, and forced them to renounce their faith on pain of death. They must therefore not only invent but persuade themselves to believe a mythology which accused the Jews of intending to do those things to them.

pp. 183 and 187. The eleventh-century Revolution.

Especially since the year 1000 crops up so frequently in the story, many examples could be added to those mentioned above – historians have been accustomed to hail these developments as the beginning of a new age, and thereafter to stress the elements of continuity in the next three centuries, during which the outline of a Latin Europe so boldly and rapidly sketched in the decades around the millennium was filled and coloured to make the great familiar canvas of Mediæval Christendom. To leave it at that, however, would be to miss the sea-change in the character of expansion from the former Carolingian heartlands in the eleventh century, and with it in the thoroughness of the incorporation into Latin Christendom not only of territories conquered after that point, but of those which had already been added in the great sweep of conversions around the periphery of the Carolingian and Ottonian world at the end of the first millennium. The newly formidable military capacity of the Latin west began to show itself in the 1030s, when the Christian rulers of northern Spain, their armies rapidly swollen by recruits from north of the

Pyrenees, began to exploit the weakness and disunity of the Muslim principalities, first by border warfare and then by territorial expansion ... The same power and interests were primarily responsible for one of the great barbarities of world history, the conquest and sack of Constantinople in 1204 by an army raised for the Holy Land by northern barons, but transported and manipulated by the Venetians …

The victories which continued on every frontier of Latin Europe throughout the eleventh, twelfth and most of the thirteenth centuries built in a variety of ways upon the achievements of the first millennium ... But they were also the direct result of the social revolution of the eleventh century, and of two of its aspects in particular. The military revolution produced mounted knights equipped and trained to perform intricate manoeuvres with high speed and precision, including the charge with couched lance which at that moment no force in the known world could resist. The dynastic revolution compelled young men to place themselves at its disposal, and defined the terms upon which land and revenue would be divided. Behind the knights followed the monasteries and cathedrals, the towns and the laws, which were equally and inseparably the products of the same revolution. In short, the new expansion of the 'age of the Crusades' (as it is sometimes vulgarly called, after the least consequential if perhaps the most barbarous of the military exploits which marked it) was not only engendered by Europe's internal transformation but, as Robert Bartlett has shown with great eloquence and force, exported the structural principles worked out in that transformation to the newly conquered and colonized lands, and in doing so laid down the common foundations upon which Europe has been built.

pp. 197–8. The great change after the year 1000.

This ... may suggest that it was precisely in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that the complex civilizations of Eurasia began to follow separate paths, and to assume in their social and cultural institutions the increasingly distinctive identities which until then had been more obviously proclaimed in their ruling ideologies. 'It was 800, not 1000, that was in most parts of Carolingian Europe the turning point of local aristocratic dominance', as Chris Wickham has said – but it was 1000 which was the turning point for maintaining it. By transforming the Carolingian élite the First European Revolution saved it from going the way of so many others. The price was the restless dynamism of Europeans – the energy which Burckhardt related also to their inner restlessness, their need to explore themselves and their destiny as well as the world they inhabited. The resulting combination of greed, curiosity and ingenuity drove these first Europeans to exploit their land and their workers ever more intensively, constantly to extend the scope and penetration of their governmental institutions, and in doing so eventually to create the conditions for the development of their capitalism, their industries and their empires. For good and ill it has been a central fact not only of European but of modern world history.

The peculiar fact that it was in Europe that the 'breakthrough' to the industrial economy took place, that it was Europe and the 'neo-Europes' which it strewed around the world that upset the equilibrium between the traditional civilizations and set about reducing the world to a single social and economic regime, has often been attributed to the 'origins' of European civilization both in classical antiquity and in the Christian religion. The beginning of 'European supremacy' has been dated variously from the Renaissance of the fourteenth century, the Reformation of the sixteenth, the enlightenment and the colonial expansion of the seventeenth and eighteenth. In particular, there has been a long tradition among historians and (still more) in the social sciences, of associating European dynamism with an awakening from the long quiescence of 'the middle ages' – a tradition which has been increasingly at odds with the growing appreciation of specialists in these centuries of the immense vigour and creativity of those who struggled not only to survive but to build.

In reality it begins here in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with the birth of Europe itself, and in the inner and outer struggles which shaped the urgent ambitions of the first Europeans. It is true, especially when we look beyond the valleys of the Loire, the Seine, the Meuse, the Rhine and the Thames, that it is not always easy to distinguish clearly between the expansionary movements of the ninth and tenth centuries, which were part of the common experience of extending city-supporting society throughout the Eurasian periphery, and that of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which was the peculiar outcome of the First European Revolution. Nevertheless, the differences between the two turned out to be of

decisive importance. They are directly attributable to the dual system of landholding and the changes in family structures with which it was inseparably connected that we have traced from the later part of the tenth century, and the consequences that flowed from it. Taken together, these were the changes which ultimately imparted, for better and for worse, and for the first time, a common and distinctive character to the territories which their results embraced, despite all that separated them – a character which can only be described by acknowledging that in combination they constituted the first European revolution.

Questions & Answers

Who did Christ take from hades first, Adam or Eve?

L. D., Colchester

Since He had two hands, why could He have not delivered them both from captivity at the same time? Look at the icon of His Descent into Hades!

Was St Simeon a Levitical priest? If so, did he receive and sacrifice the turtledoves offered by the Theotokos and St Joseph. If not, did another Levitical priest receive and offer the doves? The offering would seem unnecessary for the latter to take place after the Lamb of God and Temple of God (the Theotokos is also the temple of God) was received, the hymns of the Feast proclaiming (I'm paraphrasing a bit I think) that God comes to the temple offering Himself to Himself. Of course, Christ received circumcision to fulfill the Law while sinless so maybe that by default means the animal sacrifices were offered. Anyway, I've wondered for some time about whether anything is said of this according to Holy Tradition.

J. D., California

He was indeed a priest. It is recorded that he was 380 years old when he died, so I do not know whether he was actually serving at the Temple. However, he was above all the translator of the Seventy (Septuagint) who corrected Isaiah 7, 14 and so a prophet, not only a priest.

Of course the sacrifice was unnecessary – just as was Christ's baptism (as St John the Baptist pointed out). The sacrifice was required only because, as with the Circumcision and so many other cases, this is proof of His human nature. He had to undergo in His human nature all that his generation and race underwent, that is, the Law which, even though surpassed by His grace, still had to be fulfilled).

I always thought that when coming up to the chalice for communion, we crossed our right arm over our left, not left over right. Now I have heard of left over right. Is there a correct practice?

J. L., USA

Both practices exist, although right over left seems to be more common. However, left over right has a historical justification. First of all, it prevents the right hand from making the sign of the cross in front of the chalice – which should not be done at this moment for fear of upsetting the chalice, but secondly it refers back to the time when laypeople took communion in their right hand cupped in the left hand, as clergy still do.

What is your view of Metropolitan/ Patriarch Sergius (Stragorodsky)? Fr Seraphim Rose's book, *The Catacomb Saints*, is very negative about him. In 1930 over 30 bishops rejected administrative submission to the Primate of the Russian Church, Metropolitan Sergius, disputing his compromise with the atheist authorities. Metropolitan Sergius found himself in isolation, face to face with an atheist orgy, that took on a larger and larger scale. However, I would like to understand better his role in rallying the Russians during WWII.

H. N., USA

In Russia today there is still a hangover from the Soviet period. De-Sovietisation has not completely taken place. That will need another generation. For this reason there are still those there who praise Metr Sergius. Abroad we, who never went though Sovietisation, must concentrate on the New Martyrs themselves, on the canonized, for example, on the

holy Metr Kyrill of Kazan, and not on such divisive figures as Metr Sergius. True, Fr Seraphim Rose's book, *The Catacomb Saints*, reflects some of the sharp polemics of the '70s, but that book is still fundamentally right, despite the unnecessarily sharp language used in it sometimes. Having said this, we should never fall into the trap of judging and condemning Metr Sergius. God is his judge, as He is ours too.

As for World War II, Stalin realized he could not win the war without the Church. The Nazi attack on the Russian Lands, on the feast day of All the Saints of Russia, 22 June 1941, was what saved the Church, not Metr Sergius. And from then on until Stalin's death and after the Church was not annihilated as before 1941, though Stalin and then Khrushchev after him did of course close many, many churches which Stalin had allowed to reopen and sent many to camps and prisons, though there were no longer the mass shootings etc. Rallying Russians? I am not sure. It could be argued that the Church survived DESPITE Metr Sergius.

I've been listening to some debates, and reading various articles and so on about freedom of speech and how it relates to blasphemy, and denigrating religious symbols etc. As you know, many people in the West (and elsewhere) saw the Pussy Riot performance, for example, as 'freedom of speech'. Now, in this case they weren't really sentenced on the basis of blasphemy, but rather 'hooliganism' and incitement of hatred. But how about the various so called 'works of art' and films that are extremely offensive to Christians, mocking holy things and so on, like in New York, which is currently being shown at some 'art' gallery, and which was simply created to insult and denigrate Christians and Christianity? And I know that God cannot really be mocked, since he is above such a thing, but the Church still obviously regards blasphemy as a grave sin. (And when I say 'insulting' I don't mean films like *The Da Vinci Code* which was just silly, or things questioning Christianity in a rational and reasonable way.)

All that brings me to my question: What is your view regarding laws on blasphemy? Should there or can there be any at all? I know that there is something of a blasphemy law in Greece. It's not that severe, but nonetheless it states that one cannot blaspheme God or the divine in public, and since the Orthodox Church is the official church in Greece, it must have approved of this law.

F. S., London

First, we have to make a fundamental distinction. Freedom betters, but licence debases. So what is freedom? And what is licence? Here is an example:

To express opinions should always be allowed. That is freedom. But to incite to violence must be wrong. That is licence.

I am not a lawyer, but I can think of some different cases. For example:

If I express my 'freedom' by shouting 'Fire' in a cinema when there is no fire and cause a stampede in which people die, I must be punished for manslaughter.

If I deliberately insult Muslims (knowing how oversensitive and violent some of them are) and cause rioting in which people die, they must be punished for murder – but I must be punished for incitement. (This was the case of Pussy Riot, punished for incitement).

As for blasphemy, we have to distinguish between a society that is wholly Orthodox (as Greece was) and one where we are a minority. Of course, God does not need protecting, but society does. Blasphemy causes all sort of natural disasters because God backs away and abandons blasphemers and if a whole society blasphemes, then it will expose itself to all sorts of demonic activity (earthquakes, typhoons etc) as it leaves itself unprotected by the grace of God.

So if all are Orthodox, then a law against blasphemy in order to protect society is good. But where a society has no overwhelming Orthodox element, it cannot work, it will be seen as oppressive by the anti-Christian or indifferent majority.

Below: A Very Early Mosaic of Christ from Hinton St Mary, Dorset

THE REPORT OF CHRIST SPREADS TO THE PROVINCE OF BRITAIN

The Host

Talk to us: tell us what you seek …
I follow Truth: My wife is Greek.

The Youth

If both permit, I will attempt
To tell the law seen, the dream dreamt.

Twenty years since, an Eastern man
Entered your Province, and began
To teach what none before had heard.
And every hearing soul was stirred,
The old to wrath, the young to praise.
Who was he? Common rumour says
An Indian teacher; or, at least,
One knowing wisdom from the East.
Some say, a Roman soldier's son, Borne by some girl in garrison.
The rumours vary: no-one knows.

I never met the lucky those
Who went about with him, and knew him.
He taught ... and then the Romans slew him
For rousing people's spirits so.
The Romans did not end him, though.
His friends maintain that he survives,
With all mankind's undying lives,
Forever, near us, everywhere:
That those who search, become aware
That this is so; they enter in
To Wisdom innocent of sin,
And are in joy with Him again.

On hearing this, I thought it vain;
But yet, the men who told me this
Had half-perceived some mysteries
That this man's spirit had revealed.
And words that he had uttered healed
A sorrow that was killing me.

And soon the teaching came to be
The only way of life I know.

An inner prompting bids me go
Wherever beaten sorrowers dwell,
Wherever lostness is in hell
To bring the heaven of my news;
A heaven men may never lose.

So I have followed conquest here,
To this, now Roman, desert drear,
Where people hardly lived, but now,
Live harder, sorrow more, and bow
Under a foreign yoke, that bears
Hard on slave-necks, but worse on theirs
Who once were free as the winds blowing.
Sorrow like theirs is worth the knowing
It is a present spur to irk
My sloth to do my, teacher's work;
It makes me wholly feel and see
A spirit-world surrounding me
Using my heart and hand in ways
That comfort man and give God praise ... .

He was the light, and lived in light
All-knowing, lovely, infinite,
And universal, everywhere,
For those who hope, for those who date,
To cease not seeking till they find
All spirit flooding full the mind
With utter selfless gladness given,
The very God vouchsafing Heaven.

Men in my presence have wept tears
Remembering their ecstatic years
When they could hear him every day.
They weep, because they brought away
So little of the marvellous view
Each phrase, or story, opened-to.

They say "When we were with him there,
The very Heaven was laid bare.
His presence made us understand
The universe from grains of sand.
Though now we wonder what he meant.
He was a light that Heaven sent." …

I listen mute to all you say.
You saw and heard him: I, alas,
Was but an infant when he was.
Sir, all the virtue Rome has spread,
Keeps mankind housed and clad and fed,
O, it is much; beyond count more
Then empire ever wrought before.
But yet, may I attempt to tell
Where kernel fails a splendid shell?
Do not some conquered subjects feel
As grain ground underneath a heel?
Do not earth's scoundrels seek a chance
To snatch the great inheritance?
To seize the purple for the ends
Of pirate-kings with robber-friends?

This lady, like myself, is Greek.
Our gods were on the snowy peak;
In Spring's divinest light; in flowers;
In mountain glens where the tarn cowers;
In the mad valley of bright flood
Where beauty shudders in the blood;
None but the blindest failed to see
The omnipresent deity.

And some revealed that loveliness
As far as mortal can express.
My teacher, whom that spirit fed,
Knew it as life and daily bread,
As dwelling-place, as inly known
That being there is Life alone,
Wisdom, Direction, Beauty, Power,
Transfiguring man's little hour.

Sir, in a moment that there came,
My teacher called me by my name,
And bade me give myself away.
"Keep nothing but the night and day
But break your selfish heart by giving."
Such is the order of my living.
And O, my living teacher knew.
I wind upon a shining clue
That brings me brightness as I wind,
And certainty that I shall find
The light itself, the very Word
The deathless told-of Tree, the Bird
Singing amid the burning spice
Of Paradise, of Paradise.
The fiery wisdom that is Heaven.

From the title poem of the collection On the Hill
by John Masefield (1949)