

ORTHODOX ENGLAND

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The Atlantic Thebaïd

Magnus of Orkney

Foula's Almost Fidelity

*The Symbolism of the Eucharist
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*The Decline of England:
Eadmund 'Ironside' and Cnut*

August 1914

and much more . . .

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Editorial: THE SAINT-MAKING FAITH

WHAT defines English Identity? We can perhaps define three fixed determinants and one that is variable. What are they?

Firstly, England is on an island. Island peoples are insular. Indeed much of English character can be found repeated in some other island peoples, in, say, the inscrutability of the Japanese or the reserve of Cypriots and Sardinians, though not in all island-peoples, for example, not in the Irish. Insularity can of course be negative. Insular can mean narrow, hidebound, bigoted, xenophobic, superior; closed, reserved; weak, compromised, unprincipled. A brief survey of the tabloid press will conform that all these traits exist in England. However, they do not have to exist. With an injection of authentic faith, all these traits can be transfigured into traditional; sober; having a sense of fairness in unity and diversity.

Secondly, England has a climate that is moderate, generally without extremes. This can mean boring, weak, spineless, gutless. However,

these traits do not have to exist. With an injection of authentic faith, all these traits can be transfigured into kindly, tolerant, mild, moderate.

Thirdly, England is not mountainous, without a rough and aggressive landscape, but largely flat and fertile. This can mean short-sightedness, short-termism, the failure to see beyond, visionlessness. However, these traits do not have to exist. With an injection of authentic faith, all these traits can be transfigured into being close to the natural world, but visionary enough to see through it to the 'Jerusalem' of its Creator, into being 'green and pleasant', like the song 'Greensleeves'.

As we can see, the variable determinant in our identity is the leaven of an authentic, saint-making faith that raises up the English Nation from its fallen determinism. This can transfigure a bigoted, closed, unprincipled, boring, spineless and short-sighted people into a people that is traditional, sober, fair, kindly, mild and visionary. The choice is ours.

From the Holy Fathers: FROM A GREEK SAINT TO AN ENGLISH SAINT: A PATRIARCH WRITES TO HIS METROPOLITAN

Letter LXIV. Pope Zacharias writes to
Archbishop Boniface on 1 May 748

ZACHARIAS, servant of the servants of God, to Boniface, his very reverend and holy brother and fellow bishop.

Our beloved Bishop Burchard, presenting himself at the threshold of the blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, and coming to us, has brought a letter from Your Fraternal Holiness. From this we learn that you are struggling hard in your strenuous work of preaching the Gospel of Christ our God and upholding the holy catholic, orthodox and genuine faith received from our Redeemer, God, and Lord Jesus Christ and handed down through the blessed Peter, His own appointed prince of the Apostles, and Paul, His chosen vessel, and all the Apostles. Hearing this we, sinner though we are, lifted up our hands to Almighty God and returned our boundless thanks, beseeching His ineffable divinity to confirm and strengthen your courage

still more and keep you safe and sound in body as long as He shall bid you live. May you accomplish the mission laid on you for the winning of souls against the day of Jesus Christ, that you may be worthy to hear that word of welcome which the Lord will speak to those who love him: 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world'.

In this address of yours there were also several topics to which you urgently requested the judgment, the advice and the comfort of the Apostolic See.

First, as regards the Synod of the Church in which you were born and brought up, among the Anglo-Saxon people in the island of Britain. Over this church the first preachers sent out by the Apostolic See – Augustine, Laurence, Justus, Honorius, and recently, in your own time, the Greco-Roman Theodore, once a learned philosopher at Athens, then ordained and given the pallium at Rome and sent on to Britain – presided

and made decisions. Therein it was decreed and strictly ordered and faithfully observed that whoever was baptized without the invocation of the Trinity did not receive the sacrament of regeneration. And that is absolutely true; for if you are immersed in the font of baptism without the invocation of the Trinity, you have gained nothing unless you are baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

You write also about those who hold that if one be immersed with the words of the Gospel and the invocation of the Trinity in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, he undoubtedly receives the sacrament, so that even if such baptism were administered to him who asks for it by a heretic or schismatic, or by a thief or a robber or an adulterer, it would, nevertheless, be the baptism of Christ infallibly consecrated by the Gospel words. On the contrary, baptism administered even by a righteous man, if he has not called upon the Trinity, at the font according to the Lord's appointment, such baptism as he gives is not a real one. Now as to those base and impure heretics and schismatics who baptize those who request it in the name of the Trinity and also those who, without invocation of the Trinity, immerse in the baptismal font, you, my brother, know what is contained in the sacred canons about these, and we exhort you to hold fast thereby. It is written in the Lord's word: 'Be ye holy, even as I am holy'. Stand firmly, by what you received from our predecessor, Gregory of blessed memory. Fall not away in the least from the tradition of the Gospels and the Apostles as handed down by the holy fathers, but armed with the breastplate of faith and the helmet of salvation, fight manfully against the iniquity of diabolical deceitfulness by setting forth the apostolic life. For it is written: 'Behold I have made thy face strong against their faces, and I will comfort thy steadfastness against their assaults, and thy steadfastness shall be firmer than a rock'.

As to those sacrilegious priests who, you say, sacrificed bulls and goats to heathen gods, eating the offerings to the dead, defiling their own ministry, and who are now dead, so that it cannot be known whether they invoked the Trinity in their baptisms or not, while the survivors are in fear lest they be not truly baptized by such a ceremony, you have ordered that all should be rebaptized. In the above-mentioned synod the clergy took the same position, namely, that if any person of the Trinity were not named in baptism, this could not be a true baptism. And it is certainly true that he who

has not confessed any one member of the Holy Trinity cannot be fully a Christian. For if he confesses the Father and the Son, but not the Holy Spirit, he then has neither the Father nor the Son; and he who confesses the Father and the Holy Spirit, but not the Son, has neither the Father nor the Holy Spirit, but is wholly without divine grace.

You report also, my brother, that you have found so-called priests, more in number than the true catholics, heretical pretenders under the name of bishops or priests but never ordained by catholic bishops. They lead the people astray and bring confusion into the service of the Church. Some are false vagrants, adulterers, murderers, effeminates, pederasts, blasphemers, hypocrites, and many of them are tonsured serfs who have fled from their masters, servants of the devil transformed into ministers of Christ, who, subject to no bishop, live according to their own caprice, protected by the people against the bishops, so that these have no check upon their scandalous conduct. They gather about them a like-minded following, and carry on their false ministry, not in a catholic church, but in the open country in the huts of farm labourers, where their ignorance and stupid folly can be hidden from the bishops. They neither preach the catholic faith to pagans, nor have they themselves the true faith. They do not even know the sacred words which any catechumen old enough to use his reason can learn and understand, nor do they expect them to be uttered by those whom they are to baptize, as, for instance, the renunciation of Satan, and so forth. Neither do they fortify them with the sign of the cross, which should precede baptism, nor do they teach them belief in one God and the Holy Trinity; nor do they require them to believe with the heart for righteousness or to make confession with the lips for salvation.

Wherever, beloved, you find these ministers, not of Christ but of Satan, you will call a meeting of the clergy of the province and utterly reject them. You will strip them of their priestly functions and order them to spend their lives in penance under monastic rule. Thus disciplined in the body, if they ever turn to the right way and believe in their hearts, let a true confession with the lips witness to their salvation. But even if they shall not be converted, the justice of your decision shall not be denied. For you will have as your consolation against the iniquity of evildoers the canonical sanction of the holy Apostles and other recognised fathers.

Therefore, most reverend brother, be strong to win in the law, in the Gospel of Christ, and in the preaching of that catholic and orthodox faith which shall glorify you. For tribulation of our body is temporal and has an end, but 'experience [hath] hope: and hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, which is given unto us ... Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation or anguish?' and so forth. Though we be cast down, my brother, we shall not be destroyed. Let us bear about in our bodies the death of Jesus, that the life of Jesus may be manifest in our bodies in the day of his coming, as we are taught in His divine Word: 'Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven'.

Encourage also all our beloved orthodox bishops, priests, deacons and clerks, pious abbots and monks, all glorious dukes and nobles who are defenders of the Christian law, to aid us against the enemies of the orthodox faith and all heretics and schismatics, that they may be worthy of reward for their good works in the kingdom of heaven, as it is written: 'Him that overcometh I will make a pillar of my temple and will write my name upon him'.

You say, my brother, that you have found a certain priest, an Irishman by birth, named Sampson, who has wandered from the path of truth, saying that one may become a Christian through laying on of hands by a bishop, without the ritual invocation or the water of regeneration. He who says such a thing is devoid of the Holy Spirit and a stranger to the grace of Christ. He is to be cut off from the fellowship of the priesthood. For who can be a true catholic unless he is baptized according to the Lord's command in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and then consecrated by laying on of hands? After due condemnation, expel this scandalous person who says such things from the Holy Church of God.

But as to those who were baptized by heretics, where there is room for doubt whether or not they were baptized in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, inquire carefully into the facts

of the case to ascertain whether they were baptized by priests of unsound faith and fall not to deal with them according to the rules handed down to you by our predecessor, Pope Gregory of blessed memory, and the sacred canons, that they may not be lost forever but saved by consecration according to the Gospel.

We have examined the document which you sent out to all bishops, priests, deacons, and others leading the religious life, concerning the unity of the catholic faith and the apostolic teaching. Pray accept our most hearty commendation, beloved, for the zeal you have shown in doing this through the grace of the Holy Spirit vouchsafed to you.

You have asked in another letter, holy brother, that a clergyman be sent by us to the regions of Gallia and Francia to hold a Synod there. But so long as, by the grace of God, Your Holiness is there to represent us and the Apostolic See, it is not necessary to send anyone else.

When you find men, my devoted brother, who have knowledge of the sacred doctrine, who keep the sacred law and defend the orthodox faith without hesitation, be diligent in sending them out to preach the word of salvation in such places as you may select.

Bring together the bishops of your province and hold councils when and where you may think best, and if you find any in the way of error, shame them in such wise that they may be without honour before all men. The Lord our God will be with you.

We have received the written statement of the true orthodox faith and catholic unity which Your Reverence, together with our beloved bishops in Frankland, have sent us. As we opened it we were filled with joy and gave boundless thanks to God the Father Almighty who has deigned to bring them back into unity among themselves and harmony with us, that their spiritual mother, the Holy Church, may rejoice in them. Greet them all, beloved, in our stead, with the kiss of peace of Christ. We have sent them also an apostolic letter of thanks for their devotion ...

THE ATLANTIC THEBAID

THERE are twenty-six place-names in the Western Isles (the Hebrides) and the Northern Isles (Orkney and Shetland) which contain the word 'papar' (Old Norse for 'priests' or

'monks')¹. These names were given by Norse settlers because of their association with Orthodox ascetics, called 'culdees' meaning 'companions of God'. Inspired by the spirit of Orthodox monasticism originating from St John the Baptist

and then the deserts of Egypt and Palestine, these forerunners had first arrived on Iona in 563 and from there had moved northwards in the seventh and eighth centuries. Their names are evidence of an Atlantic Thebaid, a monastic presence stretching all across the North Atlantic in the first millennium, even beyond the Northern Isles.

Indeed, in AD 825 the Irish chronicler Dicuil wrote that Irish anchorites had already for a hundred years been living as far north as the Faroe Islands, which may even briefly have been visited by St Brendan the Voyager in the sixth century. Dicuil tells how one of these hermits had made the voyage to the Faroes in a two-oared boat, taking only two summer days and a night for the journey, no doubt covering the 170 miles from Shetland. He also stated that, some thirty years before he was writing, a number of Irish hermits had spent a summer even further north-west, in what later became known as Iceland.

This is confirmed by Norse records which say that there were Irish hermits living in Iceland well before their arrival in 874. This was chiefly in the southeast of the country, as confirmed by archaeologists who have discovered remains dating to about 800 in Kverkarhellir. There is also mention of the *papar* in the Icelandic *Landnámabók*, where it is recorded how their books, bells and other

relics were found in Papey on the east coast. They also lived in Papa-byli, Papos, Papafjord, Papavik and at Kirkjubaer in Sida in the south of the country; no heathen thereafter could live at that hallowed place and it was not inhabited again until the Christian Ketil Fíflski went there from the Hebrides. Later, when all Iceland was Christian, it became the site of a convent.

It was surely the search for monastic silence, *hesychia*, that had driven the monks from Ireland, sending them first to the Hebrides, then to Orkney and Shetland, then north-west to the Faroes and then north-west again to south-east Iceland. But whatever made them go so far, there surely can have been few more remarkable voyages in the history of seamanship than those of the Irish anchorites. In frail little boats they sought the faraway empty lands of the north, there in loneliness and quiet to worship God.

1. These names are:

The Hebrides: Pabaigh (x 4) (Pabaigh on Lewis was an early Christian monastery with beehive cells and Pabaigh Barra was also a monastic centre), Pabay (an ancient site off Skye), Pabail, Paible (x 2), Papadil, Pabanish.

Orkney: Papa Stronsay, Papa Westray, Steeven o' Papay, Paplay (x 3), Papdale.

Shetland: Papa Stour, Papa Little, Papa, Pape, Papil (x 4) (Papil on Burra was a major early Christian monastery), Papil Geo.

MAGNUS OF ORKNEY (c. 1075 – c. 1116)

ST MAGNUS, Earl of Orkney, was a man of extraordinary distinction, tall, with a fine, intelligent look about him. He was a man of strict virtue, successful in war, wise, eloquent, generous and magnanimous, open-handed with money, sound with advice and altogether the most popular of men.

The Orkneyinga Saga, *Chapter 45*

IT is well-known that Orthodoxy and her saints continued to prosper in southern Italy and Sicily for many years after the mid-eleventh century. This was when the new Germanic popes in Rome definitively took most of the Western Patriarchate into the *filioque* heresy (which had already infected some in the West much earlier) and so invented Roman Catholicism. But what of Orthodox in remote regions of the West and North, like Scotland, Ireland and Scandinavia? Did they

also fall into error in about 1050, or did Orthodoxy continue there for some decades afterwards?

We know that England was infected by the developing new mentality, which came to be called Roman Catholicism, during the rule of the half-Norman Edward the Confessor, who came to power in 1042 and actually sent bishops to the councils of Leo IX, the author of the Schism, in 1049–50. Of course, the already decadent situation in England became immeasurably worse after 1066. Lowland Scotland was infected under Queen Margaret, who became Queen in 1069 († 1093) and introduced the Norman-led 'reforms' (= spiritual decomposition, feudalism and crusading) there under Norman-trained bishops. (In Ireland we know that the main corrupter was Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, who lived as late as 1094–1148).

The immediate effects of the spiritual corruption in Scotland were such Norman-named bishops as William the Old, installed as the first fixed Bishop

of Orkney in about 1112 in Orkney¹. He was a crusading champion and the remains of his palace still stand in Kirkwall. The Schism itself began with the Pope, was fed down to the bishops and then the clergy and then the people. But when were the people of a remote area like Orkney infected? We do not know. Below we print a life of Magnus of Orkney, with the suggestion that he may just still have been in communion with the Orthodox Church at his death. Perhaps we shall never know for sure one way or the other on this side of the Last Judgement, but it is food for thought and prayer.

We begin in 1098 when the earldom of Orkney was divided between two earls, Paul and Erlend. Magnus was the eldest son of Erlend, while his cousin, Hakon, was the son of Paul. In 1098, the King of Norway, Magnus III 'Barelegs' unexpectedly arrived in Orkney. He unseated both earls and made his illegitimate son, Sigurd, overlord of the islands. Earls Paul and Erlend were ordered to go to Norway where they both died before winter's end.

With Sigurd in place as 'king' of Orkney, King Magnus left Orkney on a raiding expedition, taking Hakon Paulsson and Magnus Erlendsson with him. Heading down the west coast of Scotland, the raiders travelled as far south as Anglesey. When the Vikings attacked the Welsh rulers of Anglesey, Magnus refused to participate. Instead, we are told by the sagas that he chose to remain on the ship singing psalms – which did not please the King, who strongly disliked Magnus, regarding him as a coward.

Whatever the truth, the Orkneyinga Saga goes on to explain that Magnus escaped. Slipping overboard one night, he swam to the Scottish coast where he lived until the death of King Magnus in 1102. Meanwhile in Orkney, Sigurd had returned to Norway to become joint ruler, leaving Magnus' cousin Hakon in the position of earl. Three years later, after making representations to the Norwegian throne, Magnus was granted his share of the earldom.

At first there was a good relationship between the two earls and their reign, from 1105 until 1114, was said to be just and pleasant. However, this did not last. The Orkneyinga Saga states that men of 'evil disposition' began stirring up trouble between Hakon and Magnus. Hakon, says the saga, was jealous of Magnus' popularity and was therefore 'more disposed to listen to these miserable men'.

Whatever their motives, the agitators succeeded in creating enmity between Magnus and Hakon, so much so that they drew up for battle at an assembly place on the Orkney Mainland, possibly at Tingwall. But this was averted when neutral parties managed to persuade the two earls to make peace. A further meeting was arranged to finalize their treaty, with the earls to meet on Egilsay at Easter, each bringing only 'two ships and an equal number of men'.

At the allotted time, and with the agreed number of men, Magnus set out for Egilsay. Approaching the island in calm water, says the saga, a great wave rose up and struck Magnus' ship. This, it recounts, was taken to be an omen of the earl's death. 'No wonder that you are surprised by this', said Magnus to his men, 'indeed, I take this as a foreboding of my death'. Magnus was the first to arrive on Egilsay, where he waited for his cousin. When, later that day, eight warships came into view it became clear that treachery was afoot. Hakon and his men landed on Egilsay the following morning.

After first ransacking the church, Hakon sought out Magnus. He was found, captured and brought before an assembly of local chieftains. There, the saga stresses, Magnus was concerned only for the welfare of his deceitful cousin's immortal soul. Magnus made three suggestions that would save Hakon from breaking his oath by killing an unarmed man. The first, that Magnus would go on a pilgrimage and never return to Orkney, was rejected, as was the second, that Magnus be exiled to Scotland and imprisoned. The final suggestion was that Hakon should, 'have me mutilated in anyway you choose, rather than take my life, or else blind me and lock me in a dungeon'.

Hakon deemed this acceptable, but the assembly announced that one of the earls had to die. Hakon informed the dissenters that, as he preferred ruling and was not ready to die, Magnus should be slain. Magnus put forward no argument, so 'was sentenced to death'. Informing his followers they were not to die defending him, Magnus stepped forward to accept his fate.

With Magnus' fate sealed, Hakon ordered his standard-bearer to execute the earl. But the warrior angrily refused. Enraged, Hakon turned to his cook, Lifolf, and instructed him to kill Magnus. According to the saga, Lifolf wept loudly but Magnus spoke comforting words and forgave him for the acts he must carry out, saying: 'Be not

afraid, for you do this against your will and he who forces you sins more than you'.

Magnus knelt before Lifolf and asked to be struck hard on the head, rather than beheaded like a common criminal: 'Stand before me and hew on my head a great wound, for it is not seemly to behead chiefs like thieves. Take heart, poor wretch, for I have prayed to God for thee, that He may be merciful to thee'. Lifolf struck the blow and cleaved the Earl's skull in two. This was probably in 1116.

Initially, Magnus was denied a Christian burial by Hakon and simply buried where he fell. Shortly afterwards miracles began. The *Orkneyinga Saga* recounts that the site of Magnus' murder was originally rocky and overgrown, but after his death 'God showed that he had suffered for righteousness' sake' and the area was miraculously transformed into a green field. Magnus' mother, Thora, pleaded with Hakon to allow her son a Christian burial. Hakon relented and allowed Magnus' corpse to be retrieved.

It was taken to Birsay, where it was interred at Christchurch, which Magnus' grandfather had built. This is generally thought to be the site of the present St Magnus Kirk on Birsay. From the day of Magnus' burial a bright, heavenly light was said to have been seen above his grave. This light was accompanied by a 'heavenly fragrance'. Before long, as the cult of Magnus grew, other stories began to spread, each detailing miraculous happenings around the gravesite. The *Orkneyinga Saga* recounts in great detail the numerous miraculous healings that resulted from visits to Magnus' resting place.

Initially, the by then Roman Catholic Bishop of Orkney, called William, tried to suppress the growing popular cult of Magnus, dismissing the alleged miracles and warning that it was 'heresy to go about with such tales'. But William was convinced of Magnus' holiness after being struck blind in the church of Christ in Birsay. Falling upon Magnus' grave and praying, the bishop's sight was

miraculously restored. 21 years after their burial, Bishop William had Magnus' remains exhumed, washed and tried in consecrated fire and Magnus was proclaimed a saint. The remains were enshrined above the altar in the church in Birsay.

The relics remained in Birsay for 20 years until Magnus appeared to a man in a dream and told him to tell Bishop William that he wished to leave Birsay and move to the unassuming little church of St Olaf in Kirkwall. Some years later, the saint's relics were moved again – this time to the massive, sandstone cathedral in Kirkwall that had been founded in 1137 in Magnus's honour by his nephew Rognvald, who was later himself murdered and canonized in 1192.

In March 1919, a wooden box containing a skull and bones was found during renovation work in St Magnus Cathedral. The skull, which showed clear signs of injury, was heralded as that of St Magnus – the martyr of Orkney, murdered at Easter 1116. The bones were later re-interred in the Cathedral, where they remain today, though in recent years some doubts have been expressed about their authenticity by an academic.

There are two Icelandic sagas of St Magnus's life, Magnus' saga the shorter and the longer, as well as the account in the *Orkneyinga saga*. In addition to this there are several devotional works about St Magnus, including a Latin life. In total there are 21 churches in Europe dedicated to St Magnus.

1. The ancient credentials of Christianity in Orkney are without question. In his life, St Adamnan of Iona tells of St Columba seeking safe passage and security for the monks who were either already in or were about to go to the islands. The first Christian there was the sixth century Serf (Servan), Apostle of Western Fife, who is venerated as a saint on 1 July and who figures on the icon of All the Saints of the Isles. The monastic foundation at Eynhallow (Holy Island) can perhaps be dated to these times. There were also very early foundations at the Brough of Birsay and the island of Cava in Scapa Flow. The church, and traces of beehive cells on Birsay, as well as the old Celtic saints bell found in the mound of Saverough across the bay, are all evidences of an early Christian settlement.

FOULA'S ALMOST FIDELITY

FOULA, literally 'bird island', is in Shetland and is one of Great Britain's most remote permanently inhabited islands. Bleak yet spectacular, the island is the seventh largest and most westerly of the Shetland Islands, about 2.5 miles by 3.5 miles in size. Lying on the same

latitude as Saint Petersburg, it has a population of 38 people. Remarkably, Foula remained on the Julian calendar when the rest of Great Britain was forced into adopting the Gregorian calendar in 1752. It adhered to the Julian calendar by keeping 1800 as a leap year, but unfortunately failed to

observe a leap year in 1900. As a result, the Gregorian calendar is now 12 days ahead of Foula's calendar and not 13, so Foula observes Christmas Day on 24 December (6 January

according to the Gregorian reckoning), instead of 25 December (7 January according to the Gregorian reckoning).

ON THE INWARD APPEARANCE OF OLD ENGLISH CHURCHES

OLD ENGLISH sermon-writers like Ælfric (*Catholic Homilies* II. XL) emphasised the spiritual nature of the following parallel: the people of God are the living stones from which the church is built, but the liturgy stresses the physical resemblance. Thus, the reading for the service of dedication of a church in the *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert* implies that the building being dedicated resembles in some way the jewelled city of St John's vision in Revelation 21, 2: 'I saw the holy city, and the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, as beautiful as a bride all dressed for her husband'. The psalms and antiphons for the dedication ceremony are chosen from those in praise of the earthly and heavenly cities of Jerusalem.

The earliest examples of these parallels between the earthly and heavenly churches date from the fourth century when Eusebius described the buildings erected by Constantine round Christ's tomb as the New Jerusalem. Constantine's buildings replaced the buildings of the Jewish city of Jerusalem and were therefore literally the New Jerusalem. For Eusebius, however, they had a further significance. They symbolise the heavenly Jerusalem of Revelation 21, 3 and 22, the true tabernacle and temple of God. At about the same time an artist in Rome chose to portray Christ in glory by showing him seated among his disciples in front of the Constantinian buildings of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Just as the Christian churches of Jerusalem were understood as symbols of the heavenly Jerusalem, so too were the Ark of the Covenant and Solomon's temple, which had been replaced by these churches. The parallels were well-known to English writers. St Wilfrid building his church at Ripon was compared to Moses fashioning the Ark of the Covenant; St Bede justified the use of paintings and carvings in churches through the comparison with Solomon's temple.

Further support for the beautifying of churches was found in verse 8 of Psalm XXV (Septuagint): 'Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy house and the place where Thy honour dwelleth'. St Æthelwold is said to have enriched the church at Abingdon because he remembered this verse; of Byrhtnoth, Abbot of Ely, it was written: 'He loved the glory and beauty of God's house which he sought to beautify with various ornaments'. And Emma and Ælfwine vied with each other to ornament the church of St Swithun at Winchester: 'But he was defeated, either because she was able to do more or because she loved the house of God more'.

Much of the decoration in Old English churches was related to this role of the church as a symbol of the heavenly city. The first requirement was magnificence, achieved through friezes and panels carved with geometric or foliage designs and through the use of costly hangings. King Æthelstan's gifts to St Cuthbert included seven palls, three curtains and three tapestries, while Bishop Leofric's bequest to Exeter in 1072 included two wall-hangings as well as seat-covers and other textiles. Æthelric's gifts to Crowland (984–92) included a large number of palls for hanging on the walls next to the altars on feast days many were of silk, some woven with golden birds, some patterned, others plain. Sigeric, who in 990 became Archbishop of Canterbury, sent Glastonbury, his former home, seven palls decorated with white lions which entirely covered the walls of the old church on its anniversary. Always the main idea was that the interior of any church should be beautiful – an earthly reflection of heavenly beauty, in other words, the church building itself should possess a sacramental beauty, revealing the invisible God on earth, making Him incarnate before all.



THE SYMBOLISM OF THE EUCHARIST IN TENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

ONE of the most influential and popular interpretations of the Eucharistic liturgy in the late Old English period was Amalarius of Metz's *Liber Officialis* (See Hardison's *Christian Rite*, pp. 35–79). This book was certainly known in England and may even have been translated into Old English. Abbot Ælfric used sections of it in his *Catholic Homilies* and Bishop Wulfstan was familiar with it and used it in at least one of his sermons.

For Amalarius, as for Orthodox everywhere, the Eucharist is a dramatic ritual which re-creates the events of the history of salvation. The consecration of the bread and wine is understood as a re-presentation of Christ's actions at the Last Supper and of His offering of Himself on the Cross, but the whole service is a symbol of Christ's life. Prompted by the actions in the rite those present remember the events of Christ's life, reliving them. Because Christ is really present in the Body and Blood, this reconstruction acquires a reality of its own so that the participants feel that they are really present, not simply at the renewed offering of Christ to His Father on the altar of the church but also at all the events of His life.

The early part of the Eucharist, up to the Gospel, represent Christ's birth and early life, the Gospel represents His public preaching and the Eucharistic canon represents His Passion and Resurrection. This drama is framed by the entrance procession and verse, which symbolize the Patriarchs and Prophets waiting for the Messiah. The dramatic way in which the action was understood is shown particularly clearly in the interpretation of the Eucharistic canon. The deacons, who stand with bowed heads to the beginning of the communion, play the role of the disciples who were oppressed.

The altar-servants who stand facing the celebrant across the altar, represent the holy women who remained with Christ during His sufferings. At the prayer 'We ask Thee', Christ commends His soul to God and dies and the subdeacons raise their heads.

The sense of being really present at the events of the past can be seen vividly at this point in the treatment of the chalice, which is placed to the right of the paten on the altar in order that it can catch the blood from Christ's side. As the prayer of consecration ends, the priest and the deacon wrap the chalice and paten in two cloths and place them on the altar, enacting the parts of Joseph and Nicodemus placing Christ's body in the tomb. The Eucharist reaches its climax at the communion when a particle of the host is placed in the chalice and the people relive the Resurrection of Christ.

The main force of Amalarius' interpretation lies in its reliving by clergy and people of events from the past. It was this which gave it its enormous appeal, particularly to those who could not read or understand the Latin. The meaning of the Eucharist appears in the treatment of the blessing where the priest turns to the east, 'to commend himself to the Lord's Ascension', at which point the eastern part of the church becomes the next world, to which Christ has ascended. The point is emphasized in the comment on the dismissal of the people by the deacon. As the people reply to his '*Ite missa est*', their minds turn to their home in heaven: 'Our mind turns to that homeland where our head has preceded us, that we may be there in desire where the desired of all nations awaits us with His trophy'.

ON THE TRANSFIGURING NATURE OF TRUE ART WHICH DISPLAYS THE VISION OF IONA – THE GLORY OF THE CREATOR

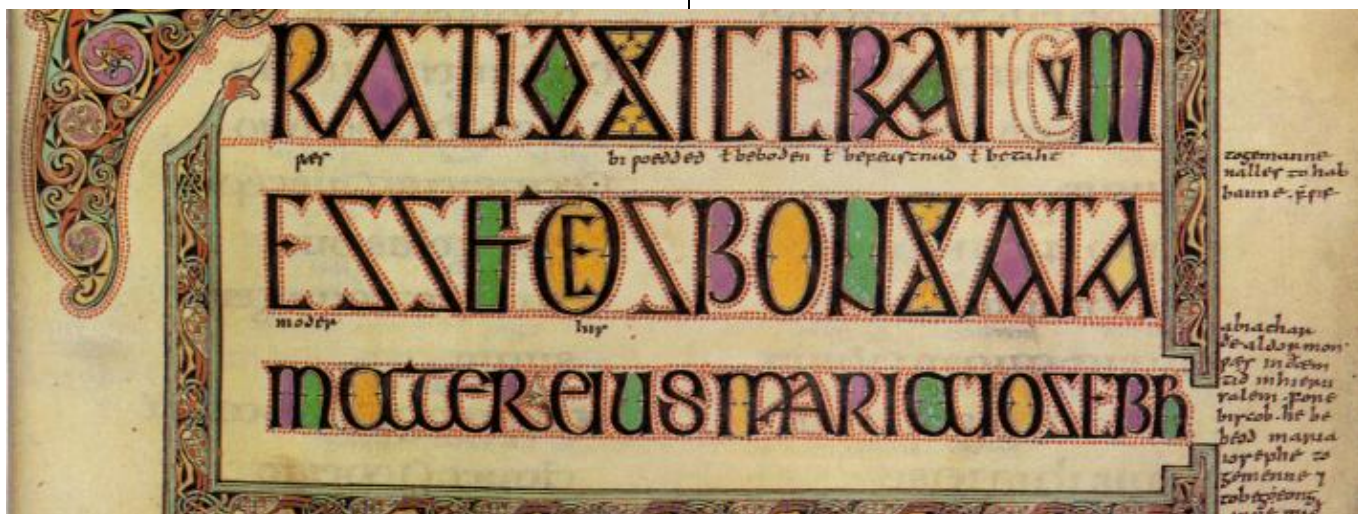
HE was a blessed priest of the Irish race and he could ornament books with fair marking, and by this art he accordingly made the shape of the letters beautiful one by one, so that no modern scribe could equal him. It is no wonder if a worshipper of the Lord could do such

things, when already the creator spirit had taken control of his fingers and had fired his dedicated mind towards the stars... He taught the brothers, so that they might seize the light above.

(From *Carmen de Abbatibus* ('Song of the Abbots'), a Latin poem by the ninth-century monk

Fr Æthelwulf. It recounts the history of his monastery (possibly at Bywell or, less probably, Crayke, twelve miles north of York) from its foundation through its six first abbots and ending with Æthelwulf's two visions. It is addressed to the

Bishop of Lindisfarne, Egbert, and dates to between 803 and 821. Here it describes the holiness and miracles of the Lindisfarne monastic artist, Fr Ulfstan



The picture above shows a detail from f.29 of the Lindisfarne Gospels, illustrating the kind of ornamentation described in the article.

The Decline of England 5: EADMUND 'IRONSIDE' AND CNUT

By Eadmund

Eadmund fights for the kingdom

WHEN Æthelræd died in London on 23 April 1016, Eadmund was quick to make sure of the city. All the councillors who were in London, and the citizens, chose him as king. However a much larger and more representative Witan, convened in Southampton, declared for Cnut. After leaving London ready to face Cnut's inevitable attack, Eadmund's first task was to head west and win them back to their natural allegiance. In a campaign of which no details are recorded he made himself master of Wessex, and after this its militia was always at his command. However while he was there he had to leave the Thames valley lightly defended, and thus allowed Cnut to begin a leisurely siege of London. For this Cnut needed to command the whole course of the Thames, and he set his men to cut a channel along which ships could be dragged round the southern end of London Bridge into the upper river.

Before the end of June he was free to leave London for Wessex, and gave battle to Eadmund in Dorset and Wiltshire, but neither engagement was decisive, and after the second fight the armies fell out of touch with one another. Cnut seems to have

returned to his siege of London, and Eadmund began to prepare for an assault on the Danish lines around the city. Avoiding familiar roads, he chose to descend via unguarded tracks through the woods that then existed behind Tottenham, and emerged from them so unexpectedly that the Danes were taken completely by surprise and driven to their ships, in which they crossed the river. Eadmund would have followed them, but there was no practicable crossing nearer than Brentford, and the Danes took the opportunity to dig into a new position. When Eadmund eventually reached them two days later, he defeated them in a battle fought on the south bank, but his losses were so heavy that he was forced to retreat into Wessex to raise a new army. On his withdrawal the Danes reoccupied their original entrenchments, and renewed their siege.

Up to now the Danes had had the advantage: London was the key-point and although he had made a great effort and won brilliant initial success, Eadmund had failed to drive them from their positions. But the difficulty of obtaining supplies was beginning to make Cnut's position untenable, and he at last decided to throw his

whole force into an attack by land and water. The attack failed, and the host abandoned its positions and sailed to the mouth of the Orwell, provisioning itself by a great raid over East Anglia and Mercia. The ships, now provisioned with food and livestock, now sailed from the Orwell to the Medway, and the host, remounted, struck out on an extended course that brought it at last into Kent. Eadmund, who had been watching these movements, overtook and defeated it at Otford, and drove it into Sheppey. Cnut's opportunity of a decisive victory had been lost with the failure of the attack on London.

The Battle of Ashingdon

With Eadmund now, seemingly, on the winning side, the weathercock of the situation, Eadric of Mercia, turned around once again and came onto Eadmund's side. In the autumn the Danes, to whom the sea was still open, crossed the Thames estuary and raided across Essex and the adjacent Mercian shires. Eadmund, commanding an army drawn from all over Southern England, followed them and overtook them at Ashingdon² in Essex. Early in the battle Eadric of Mercia took to flight with the contingent that he had brought from Herefordshire and south Shropshire. This broke the morale of other detachments, which followed its example, and although the bulk of the army continued the battle, it ended in an overwhelming Englisc defeat. Bishop Eadnoth of Dorchester, Abbot Wulfsgie of Ramsey, Ealdorman Ælfric of Hampshire, Godwine, ealdorman of Lindsey, Ulfcetel of East Anglia, and Æthelweard, son of Ealdorman Æthelwine were all killed there.

Many leaders would have been devastated by this reverse, and given up the struggle, but Eadmund, known as 'Ironside', was made of stern stuff, just like his forefather Ælfred: a contrast to his father so great as to seem almost miraculous. He fled far into the west, and began to raise yet another army. Cnut and his Danish councillors were so shaken by his indomitable resolve that they decided to make peace with him, and met him on Alney, an island in the Severn, not far from Deerhurst. But Eadmund, unlike Ælfred after his triumphant return from Æthelney, was not negotiating from a position of strength, and he only managed to retain the kingdom of Wessex. The rest of the country was to fall to Cnut. Wessex, however, remained, a beacon of freedom for those not prepared to live under Danish rule.

Eadmund's Achievement and his Tragic Death

Eadmund needed the respite. It would take time to recoup his strength. His restoration of national morale and his securing of Wessex as an independent Englisc realm must be accounted one of the most magnificent achievements of any Englisc king. What the sequel might have been is open to speculation – probably a protracted duel between Eadmund and Cnut for the mastery of the rest of England. However it was not to be: Eadmund unexpectedly died on 30 November 1016, and they buried him at Glastonbury beside his grandfather Eadgar. As far as the succession was concerned, æthelings³ Ælfred and Eadweard were too young to rule, and in any case were in Normandy. Eadmund's last surviving brother, Eadwig, had done nothing to suggest that he was a fit candidate for the throne. Eadmund's own sons, Eadmund and Eadweard, were of course infants, and at that time infants were only potential players in the succession stakes. The Witan of Wessex had no other alternative but to accept Cnut as their king.

Cnut has the Victory

Cnut always seems to me like the leader of a gang of hooligans who breaks into an Orthodox Church on the report of treasure within, but who is so completely over-awed when he gets inside that he is converted on the spot. This is not to say that his respect for the Englisc church was feigned or that his efforts to conform to its rules were not sincere; but there was always some hard place in him, the legacy of an upbringing in a barbarian military household, which could not be ironed out, and which continually was breaking through.

For about twelve months after his accession, Cnut seems to have treated England as a conquered province. He divided the whole country into four great districts, each the responsibility of one person, who came to be known as an Earl rather than by the Englisc title of Ealdorman. Although these areas quickly broke up, the Danish term rather than the Englisc was to survive and the Ealdormanry, which had always seemed to express local self-consciousness, was replaced by an area of which the boundaries were fixed arbitrarily by the king. Cnut also maintained a personal body-guard, the huscarls, who corresponded closely to the thegns of Old English society, but the force as a whole was set apart from other men by the severity of its discipline, its elaborate constitution and its

intimacy with the king. Throughout the reigns of Cnut and his sons its existence must have impressed on every Englishman the truth that the Danish royal house had only come to power through conquest. There were also quite a number of Cnut's officers whose service he needed to reward with land. Although there was nothing remotely like the general expropriations that followed the Norman Conquest, the Domesday survey shows that in every part of England there were landowners bearing Scandinavian names. Cnut was prepared to entrust a wide responsibility in local government to individual Englishmen, but his conception of the relationship between a king and his lord ran on Danish rather than English lines. At least four prominent Englishmen were slaughtered without any recorded trial, although one of them was Eadric Streona, who at last paid the price of his consistent treachery.

One of Cnut's first acts on coming to power was to marry Emma⁴, the widow of Æthelræd, although he was already married (in some sense) to Ælfgifu, daughter of Ælfhelm, once earl of Northumbria, who was never dismissed into obscurity, and was encouraged to behave in the north as his queen. Eadwig, Æthelræd's last surviving son, was driven out of the country, and later murdered by his orders. The two young sons of Eadmund Ironside only survived because they fled to a refuge in Hungary, beyond the reach of his agents. He was also implicated in the murder of Uhtred, Ealdorman of Northumbria, which instigated a blood feud of which the echoes lasted beyond the Norman Conquest⁵. In these ways and others Cnut ostentatiously disregarded conventions of civilized royal behaviour, although he was the first Viking leader to be admitted into the civilized fraternity of Christian kings.

The Viking Leader becomes a Responsible Christian King

Before the end of the first year, he was so well established that he dismissed his fleet, though not without exacting £10,500 from their old enemy the City of London to pay the crews. Danegeld of £72,000 was laid on the rest of England. Forty ships only were retained: the rest sailed for Denmark. At a national assembly, held at Oxford in 1018, his leading followers and Englishmen from all parts of the country decided that Eadgar's laws should form the basis of the new Anglo-Danish state. It is with these two happenings that his reign can really be said to have begun.

In the opening years of his reign the English Witan had been concerned with his extensive responsibilities outside England. When he returned to Denmark in 1019–20 to make sure of that kingdom on his brother's death and during his subsequent efforts to make sure of his supremacy over the whole of Scandinavia they thought that he might use England as a combined treasury, arsenal and recruiting centre for his Scandinavian wars, but though English volunteers did fight in Norway and Sweden, this worry proved unfounded.

Some historians have attributed to him the deliberate attempt to found a northern empire, but although he succeeded for a few years in uniting Norway, Denmark and England in a composite dominion held together by his personal supremacy, there is no evidence that he ever thought of this dominion as an organized state. He regarded himself as the lord of a number of separate peoples, and his 'empire' had already begun to



Cnut and Emma make a presentation to New Minster.

disintegrate before his death when Magnus, king Olaf's son, took over the kingship of Norway.

For the first half of his reign, Cnut had been protected against any attempt to restore the line of Æthelræd by the goodwill of the Norman court, secured by his marriage. However Richard II, his ally, died in 1026, and Robert, Richard's younger son, inherited the duchy in 1027, and was unlikely to be bound by any understandings to which he had not been a party. To revive the alliance Cnut gave his sister Estrith, Earl Ulfr's widow, in marriage to the duke, but he soon repudiated her, and it is thought that he was planning an invasion on behalf of Ælfred and Eadmund. It is certain that there was no friendship between the Englisc and the Norman courts for some years before Cnut's death, but if the princes had been brought back to England by a Norman army, they would have found the country apathetic if not hostile. Cnut's wise course of overtly Christian rule in continuity with former Englisc kings had established peace and prosperity, and memories of the desperate struggle with Eadmund Ironside had faded dramatically.

Whenever Cnut left the country, he would write long letters to the Witan, and their style shows that he had a staff of Englisc clerks with him. These letters suggest a consoling father, summoned abroad on business, letting his family know that he was all right, everything was going well, that he was keeping in close touch with their interests, and that he would be back as soon as he could. In 1020 he dedicated a lavish new church at Ashingdon in commemoration of the great battle of 1016, which commemorated not only his own victory, but the gallantry of the Englisc themselves under their late king. In 1023 he gladly supported a solemn ceremony of atonement for one of the blackest crimes committed by the Danes during the last years of the conquest of England: the murder of Archbishop Ælfheah. He presided over the solemn translation of the saint's remains from St Paul's in London to Canterbury on 11 June. The most prestigious event of his reign was his journey to

Rome in 1027 to attend the coronation of a new Western Roman Emperor, Conrad, where he conferred on equal terms with Pope and Emperor. While he was there he negotiated successfully a reduction in the tolls levied on Englisc pilgrims on their way to Rome.

Cnut's death

As Cnut's reign proceeded in peaceful state towards its close, warmed by the afterglow of the Rome 'summit', only one problem was left the succession. He had left no definite instructions, and on the death of this now dignified and Christian king at Shaftesbury on 12 November 1035, the state once again degenerated into near chaos.

Further Reading

- Sir F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford 3rd edn., 1971.
 Dorothy Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, Penguin Books, 1954.
 G. N. Garmonsway (trans.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Dent, 1954.
 Richard Humble, *The Saxon Kings*, George Weidenfeld and Nicholson Ltd, London, 1980.
 Richard Fletcher, *Bloodfeud*, Penguin 2002.
 N. J. Higham, *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England*, Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1997

- 1 Pronounced with the vowel lengthened 'Cnoot', to rhyme with 'hoot'.
- 2 The site of the Battle of 'Assandun' is disputed (Ashingdon and Ashdon being the principal claimant locations): tradition has it that Edmund, defending his country, had taken up a position on Ashingdon Hill and Cnut, invading it, had taken up a position on Canewdon Hill, two miles to the north-east. The two armies could see one another from their respective encampments.
- 3 Ætheling was the Englisc term for a prince.
- 4 Although this was not a 'forced' marriage, Emma in fact had little option if she hoped to preserve her life and the lives of her children.
- 5 See Richard Fletcher, *Bloodfeud*, Penguin Books, 2002

Orthodoxy Shines Through Western Myths (15)

THE MAKING OF EUROPE, CONQUEST, COLONIZATION AND CULTURAL CHANGE 950-1350

OLDER Western scholarship on Church history is not generally of much use to Orthodox. Most of it is simply anti-Orthodox and therefore anti-authentic Christianity,

even openly boasting of its 'Judeo-Christian' and not Christian civilization. The anti-Orthodox prejudices of such scholarship, when it mentions Orthodoxy at all, come simply from the fact that

history is 'written by the winners', and even despite the First World War, up until the Second World War most Western scholars thought that the West had won.

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

In the following article, the latest in a series taken from various works of secular scholarship, we have selected extracts from a religious scholar. These are from *The Making of Europe, Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* by the historian Professor Robert Bartlett, BCA, 1993. These extracts seem to illustrate abundantly the modern post-Orthodox deformations of Western culture which originally 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:

pp. 19-21. The papacy becomes Frankish and allies itself with Frankish barbarian aggression by the eleventh century.

... attention is focused upon the alliance of papal and aristocratic power, the use of new activist religious orders by the papacy and the remarkable case of the crusades, the best example of a papally orchestrated war of conquest. All these are important, but, even in the last case, it should

be clear that orchestration is not the same as playing the instruments: papal directives aroused the crusading armies but they did not give possession of Muslim or pagan fortresses. Even in this, the clearest case of 'Latin Christendom at war', material and lay elements must not be neglected. Moreover, if we recognize the directive role of the papacy from the eleventh century onwards, we must still seek some explanation of why it was just at that period that papal direction became so insistent and so effective. The mere existence of the institution is not enough to account for the rise of the papal monarchy. The papacy is best seen as an enterprising and initiatory institution, but one that made its greatest mark by taking advantage of changes in the world around it. The great popes of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries did indeed have a consciously pursued goal of 'extending the bounds of the Church', but they did so in a world where dynamic growth of a material kind was already afoot.

The 'Latins' were also 'Franks'. In the first half of the ninth century the Christian West and the Frankish empire had come close to being coterminous. Apart from the British Isles and the kingdom of Asturias, virtually no Latin Christians acknowledged any overlord but Charlemagne and his son. This world of mixed Roman, Christian and Germanic descent, shaped by the power of ideological warrior-kings ruling from Barcelona to Hamburg and from Rheims to Rome, left a deep imprint on the following centuries. 'Frankish Europe', as we may call it, the lands ruled by the Carolingians, was the heart of the West ... In particular, northern France and northern Italy proved extremely innovative regions. Most of the new religious orders of this period, for example, originated here and spread outwards. Northern France, the birthplace of Gothic architecture, scholasticism and Arthurian romance, gave thirteenth-century civilization much of its distinctive flavour. These areas, it might be argued, formed a 'core' or 'metropolitan region' in relation to the 'periphery' around them.

... by the eleventh century some Frankish or Latin Christians had developed particular technologies or forms of social organization that gave them an expansionary edge. The spread of Latin bishoprics would then be a consequence of that technologically or socially fuelled expansion. On the other hand, the rhythms and direction of high medieval expansion require a religious explanation

too – nothing else can account for the arrival of west European armies in the hill country of Judaea.

The experience of the Celtic world provides another major doubt about simply equating the territorial growth of western society with the multiplication of Latin bishoprics. The case of Ireland is particularly instructive ... However, although Christianity was ancient in Ireland, the history of the country in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries seems to be marked by processes very similar to those that were taking place in the areas of northern and eastern Europe being incorporated into Latin Christendom at that same time. The incursion of a feudal cavalry elite, the immigration of peasant settlers, the formation of chartered towns, the introduction of a more widely diffused documentary literacy and coinage – all these aspects of Irish history can be paralleled in other areas experiencing the expansionary wave of the High Middle Ages ... Despite their being Latin they were the victims, not the bearers, of Latin expansion ...

pp. 22–23. The modern technique of dehumanising the 'enemy' is not at all modern. The intolerance of the Frankish West justifies its imperialist slaughter by making others seem subhuman and uncivilised.

When St (*sic*) Bernard described the Irish in the early twelfth century, he wrote of their 'barbarism' and their 'beastlike ways', criticized their marriage customs and their failure to conform to correct ecclesiastical practices, such as the payment of tithes, and concluded by condemning them as 'Christians only in name, pagans in fact'. Native clergy were as outspoken as foreigners and one of the things they sought in this period was the remodelling of the Irish church along lines more like those of the Frankish world...

... An even sharper line of exclusion was drawn by non-native critics, such as the English prelates who criticized Irish ways or the immigrant warriors and clerics who began to establish lordships in Ireland in the 1170s and 1180s. These observers and intruders made a neat elision. For, while twelfth-century Anglo-Norman incursions into Ireland were motivated, in the words of a contemporary source, by the desire for 'land or pence, horses, armour or chargers, gold and silver ... soil or sod', the invaders were able to claim 'some show of religion' by portraying the Irish ... in

the words of St Bernard, as 'Christians only in name, pagans in fact'. They were 'pagans in fact', despite their avowed creed and rituals, because their social order was deviant from the continental western European model. By the twelfth century their economy and social structure looked odd to men from England, France and Italy and this meant that, although the Irish were Christian, they could be described and treated as if they were not. Just as the Christian knights in *The Song of Roland* recognized their counterparts in the chivalrous warriors of Islam and lamented only the fact that they were of the wrong religion – 'If he were Christian, what a knight he would be!' – so, in Ireland, Frankish warriors recognized alien customs even under the cover of a shared religion. When we bear in mind the earlier missionary history of the Irish, the phrase used to justify the planned Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland is poignant: its purpose was 'to expand the boundaries of the Church'. Not sharing the social patterns of western Europe meant not being part of the Church.

The images of exclusion and otherness available to those who formed and expressed opinions in twelfth-century western Europe included not only the dichotomy Christian/non-Christian, but also that of civilized/barbarian, and the two polarities were often mutually reinforcing. The Welsh were 'rude and untamed' and hence 'nominally profess Christ but deny him in their life and customs'. The Ruthenians, who 'confess Christ only in name, but deny him in their deeds', were associated with other 'primitive Slavs' and 'wild peoples' of 'uncivilized barbarism'. All this suggests that mere adherence to the Latin liturgy and obedience to Rome were not enough to qualify for full inclusion in the ecclesia, that is, in society. As the men of Frankish Europe intruded upon societies around and unlike their own, they found both non-Christians (in eastern Europe and the Mediterranean lands) and local variants of Christianity (notably in the Celtic countries). Their response was to equate the two, if the Christian societies did not have the social and legal characteristics with which they were familiar. The expansion of the High Middle Ages was a matter not simply of Latin Christendom growing, but of the territorial growth of a certain kind of society. It tended to describe itself as Roman and Christian, but also recognized the Celtic lands as alien to it. By the eleventh century 'Latin Christendom' can be used to designate not merely a rite or an obedience but a society.

pp. 94–95. Self-justification through the 'Law' of Conquest.

Exactly parallel arguments emerged in other conquest states and lordships. 'My ancestors came with William the Bastard and conquered their lands with the sword', objected the earl Warenne when challenged by Edward I's *quo warranto* judges. 'The king did not conquer and subject the land by himself, but our forebears were sharers and partners with him'. When the same king challenged the regalian status of the earl of Gloucester in his Welsh lordship of Glamorgan the earl responded 'that he holds these lands and liberties by his and his ancestors' conquest'.

Conquests produced a 'law of conquest' which was more elaborate than a mere law of the jungle. When the Christians took possession of Jerusalem in 1099 they seized the houses in the city by a regulated right of conquest

After the great massacre, they entered the houses of the citizens, carrying off whatever they found in them. Whoever first entered the house, whether he were rich or poor, was not to be harmed by anyone else in any way, but took, held and possessed the house or palace and whatever he found in it as if his very own. They established this rule to be held between them.

... A strong awareness of the conquest as a rupture naturally implied the image of a time before the conquest, before the arrival of the conqueror, when the land had other possessors and occupants. This consciousness of dispossessed precursors is reflected in the use in charters of such phrases as 'in the time of the Irish' in Ireland, 'in the time of the Moors' and 'in the time of the Saracens' in Spain or 'in the time of the Greeks' in Venetian Crete.

... The picture that etched itself into the minds of the conquerors and new settlers thus contained a strong image of what might be loosely called 'those days' – the days before the new and current dispensation. Naturally a vital question was the status of legal rights claimed from 'those days'. Men pondered whether the conquest had created a jural *tabula rasa*, an entirely new start, or whether possessions and privileges from before the dramatic moment of fissure might still have some validity in the new age. In Ireland, for example, the exact legal significance of the conquest was important in defining property rights. Churches that predated the coming of the Anglo-Normans (*sic*) were anxious to secure confirmations of the lands

and grants they had received before the crucial moment, which was variously termed 'the 'coming of the English', 'the conquest of Ireland by the English', 'the coming of the Franks into Ireland', 'the arrival of the English and the Welsh in Ireland' (this from a Henry fitz Rhys!) or, most precise of all, 'the first arrival of Earl Richard [Strongbow] in Ireland'.

pp. 243–244. The role of the new, eleventh-century papacy in Western imperialism.

One bishop, the bishop of Rome, was superior to all others. One order of service was model. 'Rome is ... the head of the world', and it is the Roman Church which holds the superior power of correcting the whole of Christendom'. Latin Christendom was constituted by the lands and peoples admitting these claims. One of the things that marks a distinction between the early Middle Ages and the High Middle Ages was the significance attached to such claims and the degree of success in enforcing them. For, while the papacy had enjoyed a position of prestige and centrality in western Europe since the very birth of official Christianity under Constantine, the means and mechanics supporting that position underwent a transformation during and after the eleventh century. Starting with the reform movement of the middle and later years of that century, papal power became greater, papal decisions more enforceable, ritual uniformity more real ...

... what led Europe was an inadvertent, rarely conscious, but very real alliance between Europe's aristocracies and the see of Peter (*sic*) ...

pp. 248–249. Ritual uniformity is imposed.

One sign of loyalty to the authority of Rome was cultic and ritual uniformity, and Gregory was a vigorous campaigner for this cause. He insisted, for example, that the clergy of Sardinia should 'follow the custom of the holy Roman Church' and shave their beards. This, he asserted, had been 'the practice of the whole Western Church from the very beginning', and any Sardinian ecclesiastic who refused to conform should have his property confiscated. Gregory's energy was also addressed to more general issues, especially the question of liturgical conformity. He refused permission for a vernacular liturgy in Bohemia and won a particularly striking victory in Spain, where his campaign of Romanization culminated in the abandonment of the Mozarabic liturgy and the introduction of the

Roman rite. Alfonso VI of Leon-Castile, with his French wives and close ties with Cluny, the most prestigious abbey in France, was a ruler predisposed to adopt trans-Pyrenean norms, but, even so, it was only with some difficulty that 'the Roman law entered into Spain'.

pp. 250–51. The new identity of an ethnic Western religion.

From around 1050 Rome thus created a new institutional and cultural uniformity in the western Church. Alongside the development of the machinery of authority and communication, however, one sees the strengthening of something less easily defined or dated, namely an identity. Ever since the age of conversion, of course, self-definition as Christian been important for the peoples of the Mediterranean region and western Europe, but in the High Middle Ages this definition strengthened and took particular forms.

pp. 260–61. The former Church in the West becomes militarized.

One of Gregory VII's favourite biblical quotations was from the book Jeremiah (48: 10): 'Cursed be he who keepeth back his sword from blood', and it was under his *ægis* and that of his successors that the concept practice of holy war became a familiar and essential part of the life western Christians. Just as the papacy provided leadership, Christendom an identity and the orders an institutional network, the crusades offered a shared goal for the men of the West.

The crusade was 'the common enterprise of all Christians', a political and military undertaking virtually universally praised and very widely supported by the aristocrats, clerics and people of western Europe.

pp. 269–70. 'The Europeanization of Europe'.

Europe is no longer true to itself as it is militarily and politically taken over by the new alien ideology of the eleventh century which had grown up in Carolingia. 'Europe' is merely a Carolingian construct, built by conquest.

The phrase 'the Europeanization of Europe' may initially sound paradoxical. A moment's reflection, however, makes it clear that such terms serve as a shorthand to point to a variety of complex processes. If one considers the parallel term

'Americanization', as applied to post-war Europe, the range of these interrelated trends becomes apparent from the clear-cut but limited impact of military occupation, through the more diffuse but also more widespread process of cultural and social imitation to the global issue of convergent development. From this it follows, and this too emerges from the analogy, that terms such as 'Americanization' and 'Europeanization' do not always imply a strictly localizable 'Europe' or 'America', behind the process. The 'America' in the term 'Americanization' is not geographically exact; it is a construct. Similarly, 'Europe' is a construct, an image of a set of societies that can be seen as sharing something. The phrase 'the Europeanization of Europe' is intended to convey the point that there was a dramatic change in what was shared and how widely over the course of the High Middle Ages.

By saying Europe is a construct we are not saying that it is a purely metaphorical creation. The Europeanization of Europe, in so far as it was indeed the spread of one particular culture through conquest and influence, had its core areas in one part of the continent, namely in France, Germany of the Elbe and north Italy, regions which had a common history as of Charlemagne's Frankish empire. In part the cultural homogenization of Europe was thus a function of the Frankish military hegemony described in earlier chapters of this book. It was from this part of western Europe expansionary expeditions were launched in all directions, and by 1300 these wars had created a ring of conquest states on the peripheries of Latin Christendom. It would be easy to concentrate a strictly military eye on this expansionary movement, but as important is the process of cultural change which interwove with the more simply military tale and was not merely a function of it.

It is indeed notable that historians of the Middle Ages have used the term 'Europeanization' especially when referring to those regions which underwent cultural and social transformation in the High Middle Ages without the pressure of foreign invasion or conquest. The Hungarian historian Hgedi writes: 'We maintain that Hungary was Europeanized (*europaeisiert*) in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries'. Alfonso VI of Leon-Castile, a ruler active on another flank of post-Carolingian Europe, the Iberian peninsula, has been characterized as 'anxious to Europeanize his realms', pursuing a programme part of which was

the 'Europeanizing of the liturgy'. The term crops up too in discussion of the 'modernizing' kings of twelfth-century Ireland. The usage is, of course, incorrect, if not meaningless, in a strictly geographical sense, since Ireland, Spain and Hungary all form part of the continent of Europe as defined geographically. Its significance rests rather on the assumption that there was a culture or society (perhaps at this level of generality the distinction between these two concepts does not matter much) that had its centres in the old Frankish lands, was Latin and Christian but was not synonymous with Latin Christendom, was marked by certain social and cultural features and was expanding into the surrounding regions during the High Middle Ages, changing as it did so. Some of those social and cultural features form the subject of this chapter.

pp. 270-1. Even saints and names are changed.

Saints and names are closely related subjects. Parents or others responsible for the choice of a child's name often gave preference to the names of those saints who particularly mattered to them. Among the medieval Bohemians it was apparently the custom 'that they gave to their children the names of saints on whose days they were born into this world'. Geographical and chronological variations in the popularity of saints and the popularity of names thus often coincided.

In the early Middle Ages most regions of Europe had highly localized repertoires of names. It is easy, given a few personal names, to tell which region or ethnic group is being talked about ...

If we find a town whose churches are dedicated to Saints Chad, Mary and Alcmund, we know we are in the English Midlands (the example is Shrewsbury). This regional concentration is characteristic even of the more successful cults ...

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries this highly compartmentalized world began to change. A circulation of names and saints through the system began. Sometimes this occurred as a result of conquest. England provides a neat example of such a change. In 1066 the country was conquered by an army of French-speakers from northern France. Within a few years that army had transformed itself into a landed aristocracy – a French-speaking aristocracy ruling an English-speaking peasantry. Not only did the two groups speak different languages, they bore different names. Although

Norman and Anglo-Saxon nomenclatures were both, in origin, Germanic, the two countries had developed quite different repertoires of names. English Ethelreds, Alfreds and Edwards faced Norman Williams, Henrys and Roberts. In the eleventh century the distinction is fairly watertight: a name is a virtually certain indicator of ethnic origin. In twelfth century this situation changed.

pp. 300-01. The consequences and outward signs of the falling away of Europe from Orthodoxy are still with us today.

The direct historical consequences of high medieval migration and ethnic mingling are with us to the present day. As German-speakers from eastern Europe still trickle back into Germany or men still die fighting for or against the rights of the British Crown to Irish soil, we can see how fundamental political problems of the twentieth century have their origins in the dynamic period of conquest and colonization that occurred six or seven centuries ago. The cultural identity and political fortunes of the inhabitants of the Celtic lands or eastern Europe have been irrevocably shaped by that expansionary movement.

TRANSFORMATION ON THE PERIPHERY

The implantation of new aristocracies, encastellation, urbanization, new peasant settlement, the development of documentary literacy, all effected fundamental transformation in those lands along the periphery of Latin Europe where they were experienced. The political outcome was varied. The conquest states of Brandenburg and Ulster have been discussed in Chapter 2. They were not the only examples. All around the fringes of Europe garrison societies could be found. A particularly remarkable example is the Ordensstaat of the Teutonic Knights, a state ruled by an alien military élite which would never integrate with local society, since it was composed of celibates recruited from overseas (only Rhodes provides a limited parallel). Elsewhere one could find other bridgehead lordships and 'Outremers' – in the Levant, in Greece and in the Celtic lands. Often the best description of such places is 'half-conquered countries'. Ireland is a notorious instance; Wales before 1282 provides another; the Crusader States may possibly be categorized in the same way. A dominant, newly arrived population, led by knights and clerics, stiffened by burgesses and some farmers, but still, overall, a minority, confronted a large native majority, alien in language, culture, social structure and, often, religion. The minority

had to take care of its own security, ensure its profits and control, suppress or transform the native population. Beyond the sometimes precariously held colonial towns and fiefs lay native polities that were not subjected: Gaelic or Lithuanian kings, Greek or Islamic states that nurtured long-term plans of revanchism and revival. In polities like these warfare and competition between newcomer and native, settler and indigenous population, were taken for granted as a permanent feature of life.

pp. 310–13. The loss of the Pre-Schism world.

The chartered town, the university and the international religious order crystallized in the West between 1050 and 1200. As the image of crystallization suggests, many of the elements that composed them were already in existence but not yet in the exact arrangement or relationship that they were to assume. From a fusion of the monastic rule and the knightly ethos came the military orders; from the immunity and the market, the chartered town; from the priesthood and the guild, the university. What was characteristic of these forms was their uniformity and reproducibility. They were vectors of expansion because they could be set down anywhere and still thrive. They all show how a legal blueprint, codifiable and transmissible, was able to diffuse new forms of social organization throughout Europe quite independently of centralized political direction. Such forms were perfect instruments for the lay-ecclesiastical consortia we have just described ...

The world of the early Middle Ages was one of a diversity of rich local cultures and societies. The story of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries is of how that diversity was, in many ways, superseded by a uniformity ...

For many, the conquests and expansionary movements of the High Middle Ages were a loss, a pain and a tragedy. 'What? Have they not marked it with ignominy?' grieved the Muslim poet Ibn Hamdis of Sicily. 'Have they not, Christian hands, changed its mosques into churches ...? I see my homeland abused by the Latins, which was so glorious and proud under my people.' The Welsh cleric Rhigyfarch, witness to the Norman conquest of south Wales in the late eleventh century, sounded a similar note:

The people and the priest are despised
By the word, heart and deeds of the
Frenchmen.
They burden us with tribute and
consume our possessions.
One of them, however lowly, shakes a
hundred natives
With his command and terrifies them
with his look.
Alas, our fall, alas the deep grief.

Native peoples subject to the violence of the military aristocracy of the Latin world did not only grieve. Sometimes reaction on the part of native societies was strong enough to produce enduring states, hammered out in the very process of resistance. The Lithuanian state was born in response to the German threat and went on to outlast the Ordensstaat and, by the late Middle Ages, to dominate eastern Europe ...

Native reactions elsewhere, if less dramatic, were equally dogged. In areas such as Ireland, where the invaders were unable to establish undisputed authority, one can find complex situations in which a partial conquest produced a strong reaction from native rulers, who were, nevertheless, unable to oust the conquerors completely ...

In Spain the conquered Muslims, the Mudejars, usually submitted only on condition that they were granted free exercise of their religion and judicial autonomy. There were some mass expulsions from certain cities, and the chief mosques were rededicated as cathedrals; but down to the time of Columbus there were large Muslim minorities – Muslim even if, as was increasingly the case, they spoke Spanish and bore Christian names – practicing the Islamic religion in the Christian kingdoms of the West.

pp. 314–14. Western imperialism from
c. 1049–1492 is mirrored by Western
imperialism in the wider world
from 1492 on.

This book then tells both how a more uniform cultural pattern was created and extended on the continent of Europe and also how that same process produced a surrounding ring of linguistically and ethnically divided societies. This tale of increasing cultural homogeneity coupled with stark cultural divisions should have a familiar ring for those who study later periods of history, including our own. There is a connecting thread. It

has been shown, reasonably conclusively, how the mental habits and institutions of European racism and colonialism were born in the medieval world: the conquerors of Mexico knew the problem of the Mudejars, the planters of Virginia had already been planters of Ireland.

There is no doubt that the Catholic societies of Europe had deep experience of colonialist enterprises prior to 1492. They were familiar with the problems and the promise involved in new territorial settlement and had confronted the issues raised by contact with peoples of very different culture. Of course there was nothing in their experience as dramatically 'out of the blue' as the contact established in 1492. Both ecologically and historically the medieval Latin world was contiguous and often continuous with the neighbouring cultures and societies. Nevertheless, from

the Iberian peninsula in a wide arc east across the Mediterranean and north to the Arctic Circle, Catholic Europe did have a frontier and, from the tenth century, a frontier that was moving outwards.

Conquest, colonization, Christianization: the techniques of settling in a new land, the ability to maintain cultural identity through legal forms and nurtured attitudes, the institutions and outlook required to confront the strange or abhorrent, to repress it and live with it, the law and religion as well as the guns and ships. The European Christians who sailed to the coasts of the Americas, Asia and Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries came from a society that was already a colonizing society. Europe, the initiator of one of the world's major processes of conquest, colonization and cultural transformation, was also the product of one.

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS



What was the attitude to the Psalter among Pre-Schism monastics in the West?

J. L., Texas

As far as I can see it was identical to the attitude of all Orthodox monastics, both then and today. Monks and nuns started by learning the Psalter by heart – some pious laypeople did this, like the future King and Saint Edmund. The text used until about 1050 was that of Blessed Jerome's old *Latin Roman Psalter*, which was very close to the Greek Septuagint, but in Latin. This was actually used at the monastery of Barking in England until about 1500. (The Massoretic text, as used by Protestants, was only written down by the Jews at about the time of the Schism). The Rule of St Benedict (which was based on St Basil's recommendations) stated that the whole Psalter was to be read once a week. It was divided up into groups of psalms, apportioned to each daily service.



We are told that even if priests commit the worst sins, their sacraments are still valid. How is this possible?

C. S., Chicago

As a priest and a sinner, I have had cause to wonder about this. First of all the priest does not have any sacraments, they are performed through him, not by him.

In wondering, I reached the conclusion that all human-beings are potential channels for the Holy Spirit, but that priests (and bishops) have an additional or sacramental channel, which is opened up on ordination (or consecration). This channel for sacramental grace operates by the grace of the sacrament of ordination, independently of the ordinary channel. This means that though we priests may even be great sinners, the sacraments still operate through us. Having said this, it is of course much better if the ordinary channel is operating normally, that is, that it too still operates as a channel for the Holy Spirit, being only slightly blocked by 'minor' sins, in combination with the additional priestly sacramental channel.



When did the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites come to an end?

C. T., London

As far as I know it was during the second half of the eleventh century. It seems that Pope Nicholas II

(1059–61) killed off Ambrosian chant, together with the Ambrosian justification of married clergy around the year 1059. As regards the Mozarabic rite, it seems that Pope Alexander II (1061–1073) and Pope Gregory VII (1073–85) (who had both blessed the 1066 Norman genocide in England) began the work of destruction there. The scholars Tellenbach and Reuter write in *The Church in Western Europe in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Cambridge 1993, p. 198):

'One of the principal papal aims was to establish Roman liturgy and eliminate the old Mozarabic rite. This was bitterly resisted in Navarre and Leon. Three bishops were sent with liturgical manuscripts to Rome, in order to defend the local liturgy. It was pointed out to Alexander that an earlier Pope John had already examined the Spanish rite and given it his approval. The pope is supposed to have confirmed the orthodoxy of the rite at a Roman council held in 1065 or in 1069. Strange legends grew up around this dispute. It was claimed that a judicial duel had been fought on the issue, in which the Roman champion had been defeated. Another report claims that a Roman and a Mozarabic manuscript had been laid side by side on a bonfire; the Mozarabic codex leapt out of the flames and was undamaged, whereas the Roman manuscript was burned. There is a corresponding, though less hostile, story told by the Milanese Landulf the Old about the dispute over the Roman and Ambrosian liturgies. According to this it was agreed that the two codices should be laid side by side, and that the first to open of its own accord should be accepted as orthodox; both opened simultaneously. In northern Spain the Roman rite was able to establish itself rapidly from the time of Alexander II and Hugh the White in spite of these difficulties. It was accepted in 1071 in Aragon, and in 1076 in Navarre, Castile and Leon ...'.



Is persecution a sign that the group being persecuted is right?

D. L., Suffolk

I think persecution is a sign that the group is sincere, but for example, in modern Germany Nazis are persecuted, so I don't think that it means the group is right. However, more generally, perhaps it can be said that persecution does not mean that the persecuted are always right, but it does mean that the persecutors are always wrong.

As an example we can take the persecution of ROCOR that went on for decades, however, as soon as the Church inside Russia was free, it stopped persecuting us and agreed with us. What is more disturbing is that representatives of other Local Churches did not stop persecuting us and still have not apologized!



The official schism was in 1054. Surely England was therefore affected before 1066?

M. C., Suffolk

Absolutely. I think the decadence can actually be traced back to the assassination of King Edward the Martyr in 978. According to the Canterbury chronicler Eadmer, St Dunstan prophesied this:

'England enjoyed peace and happiness throughout the length and breadth of the land so long as she was fortunate enough to have King Edgar and Father Dunstan with her in bodily presence. But when the King felt that his last day was approaching, he delivered up the reins government to his son Edward. He, successor of a glorious father, himself glorious, after being consecrated by St Dunstan, ruled the Kingdom, so long as he lived, with the utmost diligence. But within a few short years of his accession to the throne he was put to death by the shameful treachery of his stepmother and had as his successor his brother Ethelred, that wicked woman's son, who inherited his kingdom but none of his integrity.

'This Ethelred, because he had grasped the throne by the shedding of his brother's blood, was sternly denounced by Dunstan who declared that Ethelred himself would live in blood, that he would suffer invasions of foreign foes and all their horrible oppression and that the Kingdom itself was to be worn again and again by bloody devastations. How true proved this prophecy of the man of God can be all too easily seen both in the chronicles by those who care to read them and in our own afflictions by those who know how to discern them, not to mention the happenings which the course of this present work will in their proper places portray, as truth shall dictate.

'But when Saint Dunstan was translated to heaven, immediately, as he had foretold, England was laid open to the incursion of foreign foes. The indolence of the King be-

came known round about and the greed of those outside her borders, aiming rather at the wealth than the lives of the English, invaded the country by sea at one point after another and laid waste at first the villages and cities near the coast, then those further inland and in the end the whole province, driving the inhabitants in wretchedness from their homes. The King instead of meeting them in arms panic-stricken shamelessly offered them money suing for peace; whereupon they accepted the price and retired to their homes, only to return in still greater numbers and still more ruthless, from renewed invasion to receive increased rewards. In this way they obtained now ten thousand pounds of silver, then sixteen thousand, then twenty-four thousand, then thirty thousand, this King Ethelred lavishing all these sums upon them and grinding down the whole Kingdom with crushing exactions'.

The Norman Conquest actually began with the half-Norman Edward the Confessor (reigned 1042-1066). This was the coming of the Normans. In his massive work of scholarship on the *Norman Conquest*, so hated by the Establishment, the Victorian historian Freeman (Vol II, pp. 29-30) wrote of Edward thus:

'Normandy was ever the land of his affection ... His heart was French. His delight was to surround himself with companions who came from the beloved land, and who spoke the beloved tongue, to enrich them with English estates, to invest them with the highest offices of the English kingdom ... His real affections were lavished on the Norman priests and gentlemen who flocked to his court as to the land of promise. These strangers were placed in important offices about the royal person, and before long they were set to rule as Earls and Bishops over the already half conquered soil of England. ... These were again only the first instalment of the larger gang who were to win for themselves a more lasting settlement four and twenty years later. In all this the seeds of the Conquest were sowing, or rather, it is now that the Conquest actually begins. The reign of Edward is a period of struggle between natives and foreigners for dominion in England'.



What are Orthodox to make of Bernard of Clairvaux? Is there something Orthodox in him?

P. V., Rennes

No doubt he had his qualities, but he supported the Crusades and justified all kinds of wars and atrocities, as summed up in his notorious phrase 'baptism or death'. After that, there is little more to say!



What were the consequences of the Norman Invasion for England?

B. R., Colchester

Read R. H. C Davis, *The Normans and their Myth*, London 1976. But know also that the Norman Occupation continues today and sits in the so-called Houses of Parliament

'The Norman conquest of England was a rare historical phenomenon. If the story were not so familiar, it would have been thought incredible that England, or any other country, could have been completely overwhelmed after a single battle. But that is what happened after the Battle of Hastings. Apparently as the result of one day's fighting (14 October 1066), England received a new royal dynasty, a new aristocracy, a virtually new Church, a new art, new architecture and a new language. By 1086, when Domesday Book was made, less than half a dozen of the 180 greater landlords or tenants-in-chief were English. By 1090 only one of the sixteen English bishoprics was held by an Englishman, and six of those sees had been moved from their historic centres to large towns. By the end of the twelfth century almost every Anglo-Saxon cathedral and abbey had been pulled down and rebuilt in the Norman style. For almost two centuries the language of polite society - the aristocracy and the court - was French, and English was relegated to the underworld of the unprivileged.'



A friend says that religion is all 'pie in the sky', be good and you will have an invisible reward. What would you answer him?

C. P., Essex

I would say this. If it is all pie in the sky, why do heaven and hell start here and now? Surely your friend would agree that some people have a blessed life ('pie in the sky' now), others have a

hellish life and talk about 'families from hell', 'neighbours from hell', or 'holidays from hell'. We create heaven or hell here and now in our lives through our own choices. Since this is so here and now, what could it be like if our souls are immortal? Your friend may have no faith, but surely he has to admit that Christianity is at least logical.



What do Orthodox make of Thomas a Kempis?

A. C., Nantes

Kempis' *Imitation of Christ* shows great and admirable piety. However, such pietism, typical of the Flemish mystics of that period, is not the same as holiness. This is the acquisition of the Holy Spirit. We do not externally imitate Christ, but live in Christ. External pietism, and it can be seen among traditionalist Catholics and Protestants still today, can cause a kind of spiritual constipation, an outward rigidity, lack of freedom, affectation or posing and can be unnatural and artificial. In extreme cases it can give rise to psychic/physical illusions such as stigmata.



I have seen pictures of religious statues that existed in the West already in the 10th century. How is this possible when the Schism did not happen until 1054?

S. P., Felixstowe

We must understand that 1054 is a symbolic, if convenient, date and the Schism was more a process than a single event that ran from about 750 until about 1350, although all the major turning-points occurred in about 1050.

It is true that we can find a few religious statues in France and in England in the late 10th century, for example in Ely. They only became universal in the 12th century. Their origin is in their use by pagan Romans and the weak understanding and acceptance in much of the West of the eighth-century Seventh Universal Council. This was actually rejected by the semi-pagan Carolingians, though they were sharply rebuked by the Orthodox popes in Rome. So the tendencies to the formation of Catholicism were of course present in the vestiges of the still unChristianised, old, pagan Roman mentality (statues, shaven clergy, organs, Roman bureaucracy etc). To put it crudely, the Roman Catholic pope simply replaced the pagan Roman emperor, the 'Pontifex Maximus'.



Why are there so many unused churches in England and Western

Europe that are sold to become shops and night clubs?

V. P., London

The situation is like that in the old Soviet Union. However, there it was an atheist State that used churches as clubs, workshops, stores or museums, whereas here it is voluntary and it is the Church authorities themselves that sell off these churches because there is no-one to go there on account of the massive loss of faith in the European Union. Churches are replaced with skyscrapers and malls, supermarkets, that have their secular shopping 'aisles'. These are the new cathedrals dedicated to the idolatry of Mammon. Interestingly, it is generally the most recent churches that go first, those built in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The more ancient churches that have more Orthodox heritage generally stay in use. The greater the original faith, the longer they stay.



What was the singing of St Augustine like when he came to Canterbury?

W. G., USA

The short answer is that we shall never know exactly because there was no recording equipment in those days. And there is no point in listening to recordings of so-called 'Gregorian chant' because that chant was invented in the 19th century, mainly in Solesmes in France. Then too, modern people do not sing like seventh-century people did. For example some years ago Mary Berry in Cambridge made recordings of 'Anglo-Saxon chant'. It sounds typically upper-class, Cathedral-school Anglican, like recordings of Russian liturgical music done by Anglican converts! Not at all 'Anglo-Saxon', or Orthodox.

Here is the answer of a learned person, Christopher Hohler writing in 'Theodore and the Liturgy' in Michael Lapidge's book (1995) on *St Theodore of Canterbury* (pp. 234-5):

'Furthermore, I do not believe that liturgical music in the Roman empire differed in its principles according to whether you were a Latin or a Greek, because, in the higher reaches of the church, the Latins will have followed the Greeks. And I feel sure that singing in Latin at Rome, at all relevant dates one of the greatest cities of the empire, will have followed the same rules as anywhere else over such things as chromatic scales and ornamentation, for there is no obvious reason why the Greeks should have changed the principles of their music for Roman

consumption. I suspect that it is the West which has diverged, owing to Charlemagne's sudden decision that everyone must sing as they did in Rome (which is likely to have involved numerous simplifications) and to the rise of polyphony, which plays no part in Greek Church music and which also tends to simplification. So long as music is not written down, the tradition of anything elaborate is dependent on the existence of a quite limited number of teachers and pupils, and its survival is always a matter of great fragility ...

... The possible relevance here of Theodore is the negative one, that there is no hint (that I know) that he had or was expected to have any problems with the music, which suggests to me that Latin music in Rome and therefore at Canterbury, was a great deal more like modern Greek music than Latin music in general very soon became. No music survives from England from earlier than the tenth century, and when notation does begin

to appear in liturgical manuscripts at that time, it derives from centres of reformed monasticism in France and Germany. Roman music, in the meantime, was out of step with that of northern Europe, and was suppressed in the thirteenth century (though the claim has recently been made that the earlier Roman music has been preserved in part in certain manuscripts, among them one from the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere). Accordingly, it is now virtually impossible to form any impression of what the church music of seventh-century Rome may have sounded like, but if my hypothesis is correct, it will have differed very little if at all from that of the Greek Church in which Archbishop Theodore was brought up. In this respect as in so many, others, the impact of St Theodore on the English Church was arguably profound; but the demonstration of that impact will require the continuing study of Greek (as well as Syriac) liturgical sources'.

OPINION PAGE

Old-fashioned definitely, but ...

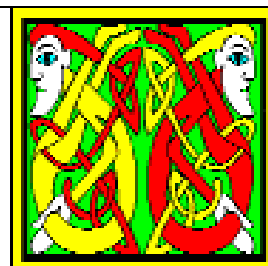
'SUGAR and spice and all things nice, that's what little girls are made of. Well, they used to be! I remember a time when young girls dressed like girls. They wore pretty dresses and shoes, and they put on just a hint of make-up to complement the way they wore their hair. They smiled often and they spoke nicely. They never smoked on the street and you never heard them swear.

I can remember the way we used to call for a date – yes, we often took flowers and chocolates when we could afford. (We never let a girl go home on her own and we never met them in town. We collected them from their homes and took them back there).

It was a gentle age of gingham skirts and high heels; it was an age of moonlight walks and songs with words you could learn. It was an age of romance and dreams, of broken hearts and tears. It was an age of love songs and good manners.

And the girls responded to it as only a girl can. Girls I took out would have sat in the car all night

By James Adams of Felixstowe



had I not got out and opened the door for them. They wouldn't walk through a door unless it was opened for them. Many reading this will scoff and, I dare say, many will look back and remember.

Yes, things are much different today. The girls wear jeans and bits of steel stuck into their faces and bodies. They smoke anywhere and everywhere. They curse out loud with words that would make a sailor blush. They expect to be treated as equals.

When I was a lad, we didn't treat girls as equals, but as angels. If any of us hurt a girl physically, that fellow would get beaten up by his friends. The girls didn't have equality from us boys; they had something far more important – respect.

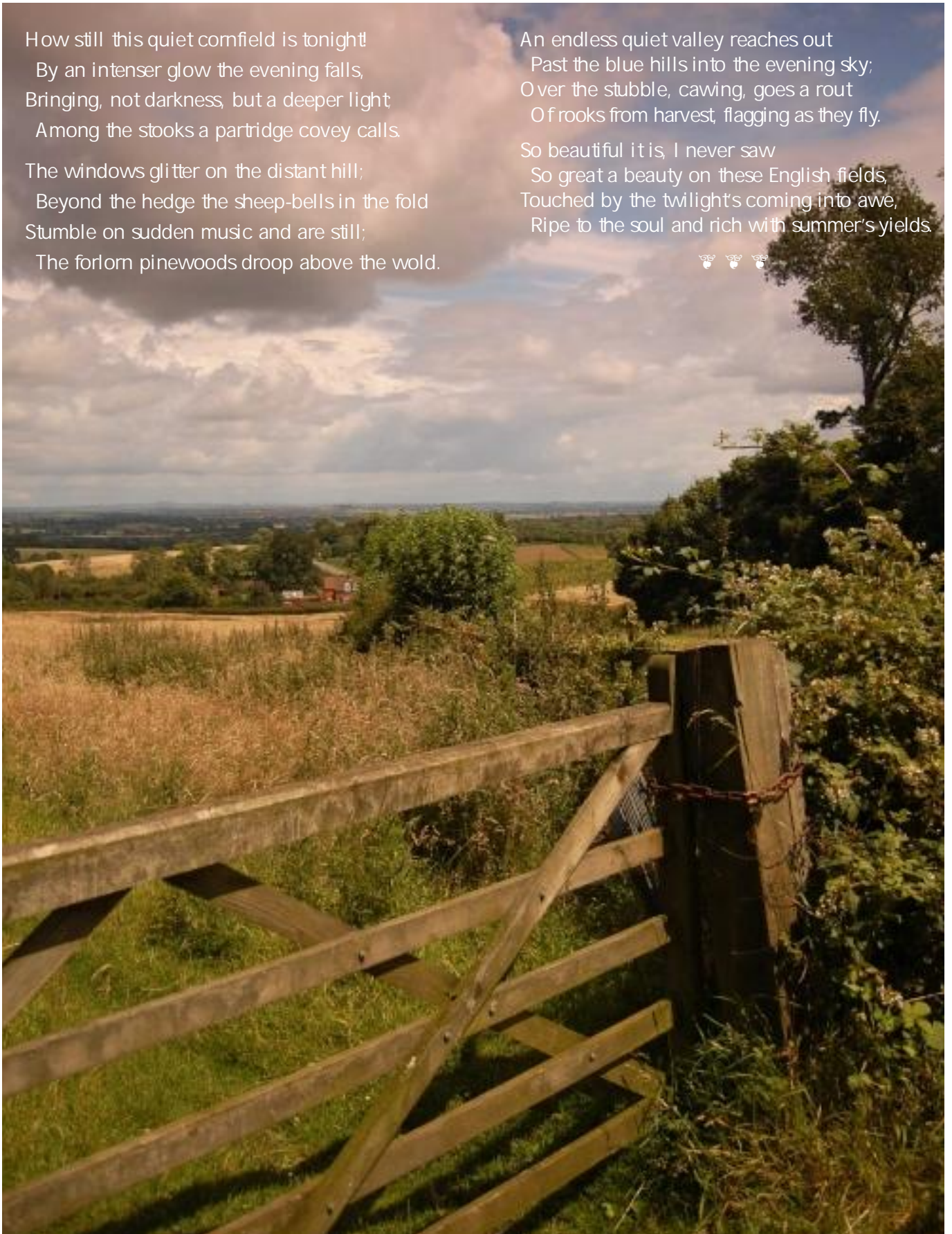
But then the girls were different; they acted differently and were proud to be what they were – young ladies. Today's papers are full of stories of rape, beatings, murders and the abuse of women. Is there a lesson somewhere here?

AUGUST 1914

by John Masefield

How still this quiet cornfield is tonight
By an intenser glow the evening falls,
Bringing, not darkness, but a deeper light
Among the stooks a partridge covey calls.
The windows glitter on the distant hill;
Beyond the hedge the sheep-bells in the fold
Stumble on sudden music and are still;
The forlorn pinewoods droop above the wold.

An endless quiet valley reaches out
Past the blue hills into the evening sky;
Over the stubble, cawing, goes a rout
Of rooks from harvest, flagging as they fly.
So beautiful it is, I never saw
So great a beauty on these English fields,
Touched by the twilight's coming into awe,
Ripe to the soul and rich with summer's yields.



These homes, this valley spread below me here,
 The rooks, the tilted stacks, the beasts in pen,
 Have been the heartfelt things, past-speaking
 dear

To unknown generations of dead men,
 Who, century after century, held these farms,
 And, looking out to watch the changing sky,
 Heard, as we hear, the rumours and alarms
 Of war at hand and danger pressing nigh.

And knew, as we know, that the message meant
 The breaking off of ties, the loss of friends,
 Death, like a miser getting in his rent,
 And no new stones laid where the trackway
 ends

The harvest not yet won, the empty bin,
 The friendly horses taken from the stalls,
 The fallow on the hill not yet brought in,
 The cracks unplastered in the leaking walls

Yet heard the news, and went discouraged home,
 And brooded by the fire with heavy mind,
 With such dumb loving of the Berkshire loam
 As breaks the dumb hearts of the English kind,

Then sadly rose and left the well-loved Downs,
 And so by ship to sea, and knew no more
 The fields of home, the byres, the market towns,
 Nor the dear outline of the English shore,

But knew the misery of the soaking trench,
 The freezing in the rigging, the despair
 In the revolting second of the wrench
 When the blind soul is flung upon the air,

And died (uncouthly, most) in foreign lands
 For some idea but dimly understood
 Of an English city never built by hands
 Which love of England prompted and made
 good.



If there be any life beyond the grave,
 It must be near the men and things we love,
 Some power of quick suggestion how to save,
 Touching the living soul as from above.

An influence from the Earth from those dead
 hearts

So passionate once, so deep, so truly kind,
 That in the living child the spirit starts,
 Feeling companioned still, not left behind.

Surely above these fields a spirit broods
 A sense of many watchers muttering near
 Of the lone Downland with the forlorn woods
 Loved to the death, inestimably dear.

A muttering from beyond the veils of Death
 From long-dead men, to whom this quiet scene
 Came among blinding tears with the last breath,
 The dying soldier's vision of his queen.

All the unspoken worship of those lives
 Spent in forgotten wars at other calls
 Glimmers upon these fields where evening drives
 Beauty like breath, so gently darkness falls

Darkness that makes the meadows holier still,
 The elm-trees sadden in the hedge, a sigh
 Moves in the beech-clump on the haunted hill,
 The rising planets deepen in the sky,

And silence broods like spirit on the brae,
 A glimmering moon begins, the moonlight runs
 Over the grasses of the ancient way
 Rutted this morning by the passing guns.



