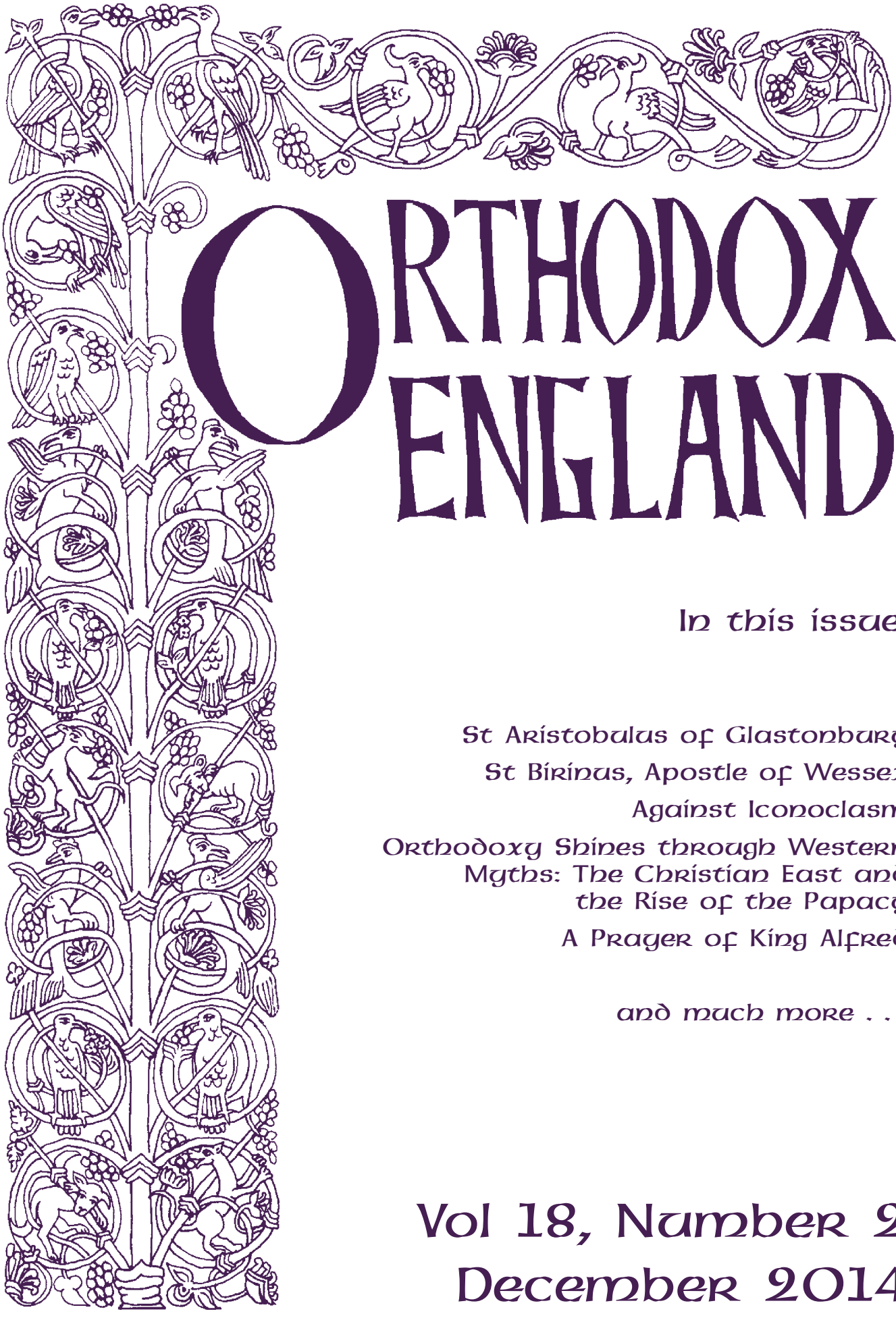

ORTHODOX ENGLAND

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and much more . . .

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Editorial:
ST ARISTOBULUS OF GLASTONBURY

IT is a tragedy that over the last generation or so Glastonbury has become a hotbed of New Age paganism, witchcraft and the occult, much of it just silly, some of it evil. Before this, however, Glastonbury already used to attract strange, pseudo-clerical people issued from Victorian Anglo-Catholicism. Although most were fairly harmless, others were dangerous, but all were *vagantes* and eccentrics who liked dressing up in strange clothes, giving themselves apostolic succession (sometimes through simony) and ridiculously self-important and pompous titles, including one who, though living in London, called himself 'Patriarch of Glastonbury'!

Even before this, there was the tragedy of late twelfth-century and later legends making out that Glastonbury had been inhabited by King Arthur (as such he never existed), or St Joseph of Arimathea and even Christ (these stories could only be true in a spiritual, non-literal sense). However, beyond all this nonsense, there is a very ancient tradition that the earliest church in Britain was founded precisely in Glastonbury. Is there any truth in this? Could Christianity have been introduced there as early as the first century? Let us now turn to facts.

The tradition that the earliest church in Britain was in Glastonbury is of interest, not because of legends fabricated much later about its foundation, but because of its site. When Julius Cæsar raided Britain in 55 and 54BC, London was non-existent and Britain's trade with Gaul and the Mediterranean was conducted by way of the Severn mouth and Glastonbury. Economic historians stress the importance of Glastonbury as the focal point of trackways from the Midlands, Wiltshire and Somerset, as well as the near neighbour of the lead workings carried on in the region of Meare and the Mendips and the tin workings in Cornwall and in Wales. (Tin is near vital to bronze and so to the Bronze Age).

Moreover, early traders did not make their ports at the mouths of great tidal rivers, but in the small streams that flow into the river mouth. In the west, on the great river that was then the front door of Britain, the small ships of the traders tied up, not at the spot we now call Bristol, but at Glastonbury, protected by its marshes at the head of the Old Rhyne river. Both Glastonbury and Meare were lake villages. Meare, like the *La Tene* village on Lake Neuchatel in Switzerland, had houses built on a timber sub-structure, the houses timber-built and some with superimposed floors.

The villagers lived by farming, fishing and hunting and they used the crafts of metal working, carpentry, weaving and leatherwork. Archæological evidence shows that, at the beginning of our era, Glastonbury as a trading centre shared in the most advanced civilization then established in the country. The claim made for the church of Glastonbury to antiquity was in fact a claim that this old Celtic culture had contact with Christianity. Although there is no historical evidence to support the claim except for the words of Tertullian, points can be made in its favour.

The speed with which Christianity spread from the Middle East to Edessa, Persia and even, it seems, India, along great trade routes well-known to the Romans, and this in the first and second centuries, makes it possible that a similar expansion along trade routes occurred in the west, through the Mediterranean, Massilia and the Rhone valley to north Gaul and Britain, or round the western promontories to the Severn mouth.

Again it is strange that early mediæval tradition in Britain asserts that the church of Glastonbury was the oldest in the land, when those who made the tradition did not favour a western origin. Nor did they have the evidence of Glastonbury's economic and cultural importance available to modern archæologists, and without the pointer that Glastonbury and the Severn mouth were indeed the places where a trade-borne Christianity was likely to have arrived in the second or even the first century. There were no obvious Roman remains in Glastonbury to prompt the rise of a tradition. And no early claim was made on behalf of any other church in Roman Britain to have been the earliest founded.

It was this tradition of early (and therefore allegedly apostolic) foundation that inspired the holy King Ine of Wessex (689–728), to build a great new church at Glastonbury. In the tenth century it inspired the future St Dunstan, when first embracing the monastic life, to make his cell near the 'old church' ('*vetusta ecclesia*') at Glastonbury. It finds its expression in the twelfth century in William of Malmesbury's account of a conver-

sation between a monk of Glastonbury and an old monk of Saint Denis near Paris. The monk of Saint Denis believed his monastery to have been founded by Dionysius the Areopagite of the Acts of the Apostles and Glastonbury by some apostle or apostolic man.

Again, the series of churches disclosed by excavation at Glastonbury shows that the 'old church' there was older than the age of St David, who was said to have visited it, and so older than the Irish chapel which King Ine found at Glastonbury when he conquered Somerset. This chapel may have been founded in the age of St Patrick or soon after and it certainly had at least some Irish monks. But the 'old church' was older than this Irish chapel.

The 'old church' is recorded as a wooden building of wattle and daub with wooden uprights, its structure similar to that of the houses on the lake village at Meare. It was later spoken of as the church of the Mother of God, 60 feet long and 20 feet wide and had a square chancel of nearly the same width, believed to have been added by St David. In the time of King Ine of Wessex, this old timber church was regarded with great reverence. King Ine built his own church to the east of it, on the same line, and beneath the floor of his church has been found some flooring of *opus signinum*, a pink cement used by Roman builders.

Moreover, in 1954, the foundations of another very old building were revealed beneath King Ine's floor: a building not certainly a church, but showing at least that the site was inhabited in the Roman period. The discoveries consisted of a series of post-holes belonging to a wooden building probably with wattle and daub walls, and unfloored. Fragments of pottery trodden into the surface, however, were found, and included pieces of native ware of the first century AD, a scrap of Samian ware, and some from the fifth and sixth centuries. That is: in the time of the Roman occupation (AD43 to the middle of the fifth century). Glastonbury must have had at least one, if not two, Roman buildings next to the traditional site of the earliest church.

Who could have founded this 'old church'? Here let us forget the medieval legends about St Joseph of Arimathea. Orthodox hagiography preserves the name and tradition of the only person possible. This is the Holy Apostle Aristobulus, one of the Seventy, who is commemorated on 16 March.

Aristobulus, born in Cyprus, was the brother of the Apostle Barnabas and a disciple of the Apostle Paul, who mentions him in his Epistle to the Romans (16, 10). When the Apostle Paul consecrated bishops for different regions, he made Aristobulus Bishop of Britain. According to a note in the *Lives of the Saints* by St Dmitry of Rostov, this means the west, in particular the Isles of Scilly and Cornwall. It is said in his Life that in Britain people were wild, pagan and wicked, and Bishop Aristobulus endured unmentionable torments, misfortunes and malice. He was beaten mercilessly, dragged through the streets, mocked and jeered. But in the end the holy man was successful by the power of the grace of God. He enlightened the people, baptized them, built churches, ordained priests and deacons and finally reposed here in peace, going to the Kingdom of the Lord whom he had served so faithfully.

St Aristobulus of Glastonbury? Perhaps. We shall not know for sure on this side of the Kingdom of Heaven.

From the Righteous: ÆLFRIC

'God became man that man might become god'

HE was born today from the holy maiden Mary with body and soul, He who was always living with the Father in His Divine Nature. He is born twice and both births are wonderful and incapable of being described. He was always born from the Father, because He is the Wisdom of the Father, through Whom He created and shaped all created things. Now this birth is without beginning, because the Father was always God and His Wisdom, that is His Son, was always born from Him without any mother. This birth which we celebrate today was from an earthly mother without any earthly father. The Father created us through Him and again, when we were condemned, He sent that same Son to this life to free us.

(Catholic Homilies II. i (ed. Godden, p.3)

WHEN Christ was conceived, the Almighty Son of God was made man, and on that day believing men were

made gods, as Christ said: I said, 'Ye are gods, and ye are all sons of the Most High'. The chosen are God's children, and also gods, not by nature but through the gift of the Holy Spirit. There is one God, by nature in Three Persons, the Father and His Son, that is His Wisdom, and the Holy Spirit ... Their nature is indivisible, always living in one Divine Nature. Yet the same one said of His chosen ones, 'Ye are gods'. Through Christ's human nature men were freed from slavery to the devil and through the coming of the Holy Spirit human-beings were made gods. Christ received human nature at His coming to earth and men received God through the coming of the Holy Spirit.'

(*Catholic Homilies 1. xxii* (ed. Thorpe, p. 324)

ST BIRINUS, APOSTLE OF WESSEX (c. 600–650)

'DURING the reign of Cynegils, the West Saxons accepted the faith of Christ through the preaching of Bishop Birinus. He had come to Britain at the direction of Pope Honorius, having promised in his presence that he would sow the seeds of our holy faith in the most inland and remote regions of the English, where no other teacher had been before him. He was accordingly consecrated bishop by Asterius, Bishop of Genoa, at the Pope's command; but when he reached Britain and entered the territory of the West Saxons he found them completely heathen, and decided it would be better to begin to teach the word of God among them rather than seek more distant converts. He therefore evangelized that province, and when he had instructed its king, he baptized him and his people. It happened at this time that the most holy and victorious Oswald (of Northumbria) was present and greeted King Cynegils as he came from the font, and offered him an alliance most acceptable to God, taking him as his godson and his daughter as wife. The two kings gave Bishop Birinus the city of Dorcic (the Romano-British town of Dorchester-on-Thames in south Oxfordshire) for his episcopal see, and there he built and dedicated several churches and brought many people to God by his holy labours'.

So writes the Venerable Bede (673–735). The so-called 'Anglo-Saxon' Chronicle makes brief reference to the baptism under 636, though St Berin arrived in 634. Apart from a number of untrustworthy mediæval chronicles written much, much later, these two near contemporary documents give us nearly all we know about Bishop Berin, often known by his Latin name Birinus, apart from local vestiges, names and folklore.

This name Berin, son of the Bear, suggests that Bishop Birinus came from one of the Germanic races which had crossed the Alps into Italy, and since history shows that he came from Lombardy, we may infer that he was Lombard. The Langobardi had settled there in the sixth century, taking their origin from the banks of the Elbe. There is mention of any interpreter coming with him, but he would not need one if he were a Lombard.

Of his journey to these shores we know nothing. It is assumed that he landed at 'Hamwic', now Southampton. He stayed here for a time and may have founded a church there dedicated to the Mother of God. Then he journeyed inland to meet the King of the West Saxons, Cynegils, who was the grandson of Cutha, the brother of Ceawlin, in whose time the West Saxon dominion had been extended beyond the upper Thames by the victory of a third brother, Cuthwulf. All three were grand-children of Cerdic, the Anglo-Celt who had founded the West Saxon kingdom; presumably his father was Saxon and his mother was a Briton.

Local folklore says that the meeting of Bishop Berin and Cynegils took place at Churn Knob, a mound on the Berkshire Downs above Blewbury, itself an ancient place. Two or three miles away on the Thames is Cholsey – Ceols' isle. Now Ceol was the father of Cynegils and royal ownership of this settlement continued until Henry I. It may well have been that Cynegils was at Cholsey and that Bishop Berin came there to meet him; it is likely that the neighbouring hilltop had been agreed upon as a meeting place. Perhaps like King Ethelbert and Bishop Augustine in Kent, King Cynegils preferred to negotiate in the open air for fear of any magic brought to bear upon him.

Of the King's attitude to Bishop Berin, history is silent He must have been disposed to look favourably on the Christian faith in view of his baptism the year after the Bishop's arrival. No doubt the presence of Oswald, his overlord and suitor for his daughter's hand, who was already a Christian, had some influence. We know that Oswald had refused to ally himself to a heathen against the Mercians and if Cynegils wanted an

alliance, then he would have been forced to accept baptism first. We know that Cynegil's son, Cenwalh, refused baptism; his son Cwichelm deferred the act for a year, but the baptism of his grandson Cuthred († 661) followed in 639.

With the agreement of the two kings, Bishop Berin, who originally had thought of evangelizing pagan Mercia, established his see at Dorchester where he built his Cathedral, dedicated, as so often in early English times, to Sts Peter and Paul. It was endowed with much land in nearby Benson, where the King lived. The Bishop supposedly laid the foundations for a church to the Mother of God in Reading, St Helen's in Abingdon and other churches across old Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, including the church at Wing in Buckinghamshire and the church of Sts Peter and Paul at Checkendon near Reading. At the end of his life he dedicated a church in Winchester, to be the centre of the diocese from 660 on and indeed later the capital of England.

Besides Dorchester, Churn Knob and the above, tradition associates Bishop Berin with three other places. One is Berinsfield near Dorchester. The second is Berin's Hill across the river near Ipsden in Oxfordshire, where he is reputed to have had a chapel to which he would retreat. Its location once formed a detached part of the Hundred of Dorchester. The third place is Taplow, on the Thames in Buckinghamshire, some miles to the east. A mound ('low') stands in the churchyard of the Norman church, below which is a field called Bapsey Meadow. In this field is Bapsey Pool, said to have been used by Bishop Berin as a place of baptism. One tradition says that he was bitten by an adder. A bell at Dorchester Abbey, dated *ca.* 1380, is inscribed *'Protege Birinesque convoco tu sine fine'* ('Do thou, Berin, ever protect those whom I summon'). There is a tradition that:

> Within the sound of the great bell
> No snake or adder ever shall dwell.

St Berin reposed in 650 and was buried in Dorchester. His feast is on 3 December. The saint's relics were said to have been re-buried at Winchester in *c.* 690, but in the thirteenth century a controversy arose and it was shown that they had never left Dorchester – or else had been brought back – where they remain under the floor. In recent times the saint's presence has been felt there and he has been heard pacing his Cathedral church at night.

HOW ORTHODOX ROME AND ORTHODOX ENGLAND FOUGHT AGAINST ICONOCLASM

> The fullness of all victory is accomplished in Christ alone and this was achieved through the humanity that He took on Himself, that is, the great and incomprehensible mystery, which was made finite through His humanity as a help to mankind.
>
> The Story of Peter and Paul, *Blickling Homily XV (p.179 in the Morris' edition)*

THE teaching in the tenth-century Blickling Homily that at Christ's Incarnation the infinite was made finite is not only central to Christian belief and the hope of salvation: it provides one of the justifications for Orthodox iconography. An icon is not a portrait: it is a statement of belief, firstly, that God has chosen to become man and be united in a real sense with His creation, and, secondly, that, in so doing, He has revealed himself to human sight.

Moreover, as a result of the entry of the divine into human existence, all possibility of idolatry has been abolished, for the image of God present in the Person of Christ is given by God Himself, unlike the idols against which men were warned in the Old Testament, which derived from the impure, material and sensual ideas of men. The link between the Incarnation and the abolition of idolatry is taken up by St Bede in a homily for the Feast of the Ascension:

> 'The Lord ascended on a swift cloud, so that when he entered Egypt he could overturn its idols, when the Word was made flesh and dwelled among us. He took on Himself a body immune from all stains of iniquity and entered the world in it, so that He could destroy the cult of idolatry and make clear the true light of divinity to the shadowy and dark hearts of the Gentiles. He Who is not enclosed in a place willed to go from place to place by means of this cloud, His human nature'
>
> *(Homilies II, 15, Martin and Hurst II, 143).*

In his *Homily XXI* Ælfric (*c*. 1000) gives a description of the pagan cults of the Old Testament in an account of the creation of the world by the Trinity, the Second Person of Whom came to earth and showed that He was truly God. He makes a similar point in a *homily for the Feast of SSts Peter and Paul* (*Homily XXVI – Catholic Homilies I*, Thorpe p. 366) where he interprets Peter's confession, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God' (Matt. 16, 16) in relation to the folly of those who honour false gods. Through Christ's incarnation, the visual is restored, saved from the service of idols, restored to the worship of One Who was, in the words of the Creed, 'Light from Light, true God from true God'.

The idea that the icon serves as a book for those unable to read recalls St Gregory the Great's statements on iconography. In the first of two letters to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, he praises the recipient for opposing the adoration of icons but condemns his destruction of them, since they provide a useful substitute for books for those who are unable to read (*Epistle IX*. 209). In a second and longer letter he reminds Bishop Serenus that icons of the lives of saints have traditionally been placed in churches as a means of instruction: Serenus should not prohibit the making of icons, which rouse those who see them to a feeling of compunction, but he should explain to his congregation that they should worship only the Trinity (Epistle XI, 10).

St Gregory's statements formed the basis of the attitude of the first millennium Church in the West to iconography. From the time of St Constantine onwards the popes had encouraged the placing of icons in churches. They consistently supported the veneration of icons in the arguments over the legitimacy of iconography and, when the Roman Emperor Leo first began to speak against icons in 726, Pope Gregory II (715–31) immediately condemned his beliefs as heretical and sent two letters to him refuting his views. Pope Gregory argued that icons create an emotional response, as well as reminding the viewer of a person or event: when we see an icon of Christ or His mother, he says, we pray to the one depicted; icons remind us of the reality of the Incarnation and provide a focus for prayer. This reference to icons as an adjunct to prayer reminds us of a passage approving the use of icons for purposes of prayer which was added during the seventh or early eighth century to a letter (Epistle IX, 148) written by Gregory I to the hermit, Secundinus:

> 'Your request (for icons) pleases us greatly, since you seek with all your heart and all intentness Him Whose icon you wish to have before your eyes, so that, being so accustomed to the daily physical sight, when you see an icon of Him, you are inflamed in your soul with love for Him Whose icon you wish to see. We do no harm in wishing to show the invisible by means of the visible…. We know that you do not ask for the icon of our Saviour in order to worship it as God, but so that, by remembering the Son of God, you may grow in love for Him Whose icon you wish to see. We do not prostrate ourselves before (the icon) as if before God, but we adore the One Whom, through the icon, we remember as born, suffering and seated on the throne. And while we recall to memory the Son of God by the same icon as if by Scripture, our soul both rejoices in the resurrection and is softened by the passion'.

It is clear from these passages that the writer considered that icons were a means of recalling not only Christ's earthly life (His birth and passion), but also His risen and glorified nature: that they could represent the spiritual as well as the material. Opposition to iconoclasm continued under Pope Gregory III (731–41). When he heard of the destruction of icons of Christ, Mary and the apostles by Leo and his son Constantine he wrote to the Emperor in the same terms as his predecessor. When his messenger was detained, so preventing delivery of the letter, he excommunicated those who destroyed, profaned or blasphemed the icons of Christ and His saints and condemned those who opposed the veneration of icons. When a second letter to Leo, ordering him to restore the icons, suffered the same fate as the first, Gregory proceeded to put additional icons in the churches of Rome. Pope Stephen III (768–72) anathematized the iconoclast council of 754 and confirmed the veneration of icons by the Church of Rome at that time.

When the proto-Protestant iconoclast Carolingian heretics and *filioquists* condemned the decisions of the Seventh Universal Council of 787 in the heretical *Libri Carolini*, whose attitude is very close to that of the iconoclast council of 754, Pope Hadrian I (772–95) sent Charlemagne a long and detailed refutation of the arguments put forward by his so-called 'theologians', many of whom came from Spain and had been educated by Jews and Muslims. Reprimanding them for their

primitive errors, the Orthodox Pope drew attention to the long tradition of placing icons in churches, making it clear that they were to be venerated, though not worshipped.

He also recalled the Old Testament images which God commanded Moses to make and the letters of Gregory the Great to Bishop Serenus and Fr Secundinus. He referred to Canon 82 of the Sixth Universal Council, that the symbol of the lamb should be replaced by representations of Christ in human form, to remind those who saw them of Christ's birth, sufferings and death. He stated that through icons we are led from the visible to the invisible and finally and approved St Basil the Great's statement that the honour paid to the icon passes to its prototype. The position of the Pope and His part of the Church was the same as that of all other Orthodox: icons did not simply record past events, nor was their value confined to the instruction of the illiterate or the adornment of churches, they were a means of raising the mind to God and were a reminder of the reality of the Incarnation.

Thus the disincarnate, *filioquist* Carolingian scholars viewed iconography quite differently from the Pope and all Orthodox, west and east. Their arguments, set out in their *Libri Carolini*, were based on a disincarnate, spiritualist, anti-material view of worship – which in fact was not spiritual at all because it was anti-Incarnational. According to them, the Holy Spirit proceeded both from God the Father and from Christ (*filioque*) and was therefore locked up between them. Christ was merged with God the Father, a mental reflection of Jewish monotheism; both the Trinity and the Incarnation of God were rejected. Therefore the material world, including Christ's own human nature, could not be divinized or even therefore portrayed and the material world and human nature were condemned never to be sanctified or divinized by the Holy Spirit. Humanity was effectively placed beyond redemption and the path was prepared for the mediæval 'satisfaction theory'.

Like the iconoclasts (and the later Lutherans – their spiritual descendants), the Carolingians believed in the primacy of external words, not in the internal primacy of the Holy Spirit, which inspired the Incarnation of the Word. Their Jewish-inspired iconoclast conception of God was the Old Testament one – that God spoke to his people, but had no visible form. The iconoclasts admitted that God had chosen to become visible in Christ, but argued that this was a temporary dispensation. This was their excuse to replace God with their emperors, whether in Constantinople under the iconoclast Leo or in Aachen under the iconoclast Charlemagne. In the West this was all part of Charlemagne's barbarian, imperialist ideology, to demonize the Orthodox as heretics in order to justify his own power-grab.

The Orthodox, on the other hand, stressed the change which had taken place at the Incarnation: whereas the Patriarchs and Prophets had merely heard God's word, Christians were able to see His Word in the Person of Christ, the image of God. The shift in emphasis is well put by St Hippolytus, in a passage which echoes the opening chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews:

> 'We do not refuse belief to words spoken by, divine power. These God committed to the Word. The Word spoke, and by these words he turned man away from disobedience, not enslaving him by force or necessity, bur inviting him to choose freedom of his own accord. In the last days the Father sent the Word. In His plan the Word was no longer to speak through the prophets. He was no longer to be a figure of conjecture, announced in an obscure way. He was to be manifested visibly, so that the world could see Him and be saved'
>
> *(Translation in* the modern Roman Breviary*, 30 December)*

This was not the view of the heretical authors of the *Libri Carolini*. They listed the Old Testament events which were narrated and not depicted; they reminded the reader that the Gospels talk of books and reading, not of icons; they described St John, the eye-witness of the Gospel events, as the one who wrote about Christ and who was instructed, 'Write down all that you see in a book, and send it to the seven churches' (Rev. I, 11). (Here they omitted, 'There were many other signs that Jesus worked and the disciples saw, but they are not recorded in this book', Jn. XX, 30).

In addition the Old Testament-inspired Carolingian ideologists believed, just like the other iconoclasts, that the relationship between an icon and its prototype involved an identity of substance: they therefore maintained that icons were incapable of representing anything other than the material. This was anti-spiritual, anti-Incarnational, materialist, a denial that the Holy Spirit can sanctify matter, including therefore human nature, and would eventually open the Western world to

secularism. It follows from this that icons could not represent Christ's divine nature but only His external appearance. They could remind the viewer that Christ had once lived on earth, but were quite incapable of leading the mind to contemplate spiritual realities, including therefore Christ Risen in glory. This would develop into the later Roman Catholic emphasis on the crucifixion of Christ's human body and the quasi-denial of His Resurrection in glory; for them Good Friday would be the culmination instead of Easter Sunday.

After the death of Charlemagne in 814 and the collapse of his so-called Empire, there was no longer any need for his anti-Christian iconoclast ideology. Indeed, by the time of the death of Louis 'the Pious' in 840, the position in the former Carolingian 'Empire' had returned to Orthodoxy. When the Spanish heretic and proto-Protestant Bishop Claudius of Turin († 827) attacked the images and relics in his new church as abominations, comparable to statues of pagan gods, he was accused by Bishop Jonas of Orleans († 841) of resurrecting the Arian and Adoptionist heresies and, by the Irish St Dungal († 828), of contempt for the Incarnation and Passion of Christ. Both authors were writing at the request of Louis the Pious and addressed their work to him and to his son, Charles the Bald. Whereas the *Libri Carolini* had denied that the icons associated with the ark of the covenant and the Tabernacle could be used as precedents for icons of Christ and the saints, Jonas argued that likenesses of heavenly beings had been made in the past by Moses and Solomon and, since there had been icons in the past which were types of future things, it was surely legitimate to create icons of past events.

Both St Dungal and Bishop Jonas drew a clear distinction between the worship due to God alone and the veneration offered to icons of Christ and the saints; both drew attention to the use of the word '*adorare*' in the Old Testament and in the liturgy in contexts which imply veneration or reverence; both saw attacks on icons quite rightly as attacks on the teachings of the Incarnation and Resurrection. For St Dungal, the veneration of icons was a means of showing love and honour to the Saviour and Redeemer of the world and of asking the saints for their prayers; for Bishop Jonas, icons were an adjunct to prayer.

In contrast to the heretical ideologues of Charlemagne, the Old English did not confess iconoclasm and the iconoclast attitude towards material things. (This was despite the fact that some English delegates had been sent to the semi-iconoclast but anti-Adoptionist Council of Frankfurt, called by Charlemagne in 794). St Bede had included a long passage justifying icons of Christ and the saints in his *De Templo*, written shortly before 731.

His information about the rise of iconoclasm probably came from Nothelm, who had recently returned from Rome bringing with him copies of some of St Gregory the Great's letters. Nothelm must have been aware of the actions taken by Pope Gregory II against the iconoclasts and it is noticeable that the theology put forward by Bede in support of icons is Orthodox, as found in the papal letters mentioned above. He mentions the precedent of the Old Testament icons which God commanded Moses to make, the value of icons as 'living reading' for those who could not read, and the emotional effect produced by icons on those who saw them.

In his *History of the Abbots* (trans. Webb and Farmer p. 191) and his descriptions of the icons which St Benedict Biscop had brought back to adorn the walls of his churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow, St Bede again draws attention to the educational value of icons and to their role as reminders of the Incarnation and of the presence of Christ and his saints:

> 'Thus all who entered the church, even those who could not read, were able, whichever way they looked. to contemplate the dear face of Christ and His saints, even if only in an image, to put themselves more firmly in mind of the Lord's Incarnation and, as they saw the decisive moment of the Last Judgement before their very eyes be brought to examine their conscience with all due severity'.

Here St Bede's reference to the Incarnation in relation to iconography expresses the *non-filioque* Orthodox position: that icons of Christ were themselves assertions of the reality of His human nature.

The Decline of England 6: HAROLD I, HARDACNUT AND EADWEARD III

By Eadmund

Harold I

BY his mistress Ælfgifu, Cnut had a son, Harold, nicknamed 'Harefoot'. By his legitimate wife, Emma of Normandy, he had another son, Hardacnut. When he died at Shaftesbury on 12 November 1035, he had left no instructions, and Hardacnut immediately crossed the North Sea to make certain of the Danish succession, leaving his mother and his own supporters in the Englisc Witan[1] to defend his interests in England.

Only two of the ealdormen[2] who had been in power when Cnut took over remained on his death: Leofwine, who had been ealdorman of the Hwicce, and Leofric his son, whom Cnut made earl of Mercia. The other earls were all Cnut's men. Siward of Northumbria was a Danish warrior of a primitive type, but was successful in imposing the rudiments of public order upon Northumbria, that most unquiet of English provinces, and did not take much part in politics. At the end of Cnut's reign he had two chief advisers, Leofric, earl of Mercia and Godwine, earl of Wessex. Godwine had no ancestral claim to political influence, owed everything to Cnut and could be unscrupulous in action. He was a good father, loved and respected by most of his children. His friends praised his loyalty, gentleness, justice, bravery and caution and his eloquence. He was not particularly religious, but although his enemies have woven a legend emphasizing the shady qualities necessary for worldly triumph, his virtues outweighed his vices. His real crime was success.

Of the Witan, one party, headed by Queen Emma and Earl Godwine, was prepared to take the risk of electing Hardacnut in his absence. The other, led by Earl Leofric and supported by the seamen of London and nearly all the thegns[3] beyond the Thames, wished to postpone the decision until the situation in Denmark was clearer and proposed a regency under Harold Harefoot, with Emma living at Winchester with Hardacnut's huscarls[4] to maintain his interests there.

Alfred, the younger of the two remaining sons of Æthelræd II, left Normandy at this time and came to England to visit his mother at Winchester. Godwine had by now switched sides and joined Harold's party. He and other leading men thought that Ælfred's presence would complicate matters, and delay the settlement of the kingdom. Ælfred was arrested and his followers killed or dispersed. Then he was taken out of Godwine's personal custody, put on board a ship, savagely blinded and brought to Ely where he soon died of his injuries. Godwine, who had carried out the initial arrest and without whose consent Ælfred could not have been given to his tormentors, was held responsible for his death by Hardacnut, by the Norman court and by Eadweard, his surviving brother.

The proposal for a regency was eventually agreed upon at Oxford in 1036, but Harold immediately sent a force to Winchester and seized Cnut's treasury against the wishes of the Queen. It turned out that Hardacnut could not leave Denmark for three years, and by the time it was safe for him to do so it was too late. Before the end of 1037, Harold had been formally recognized as king of England, even though many of the clergy complained the he was the child of an irregular union, and Queen Emma was driven from the country to find a refuge in Flanders. Harold's mother, Ælfgifu was probably the real ruler of England for at least part of his reign, and his position became so strong that Hardacnut was compelled to collect an army adequate for a large-scale invasion before he could enforce his claim to the throne. In 1039 he arrived at Bruges, where Queen Emma was living under the protection of Baldwin, count of Flanders, but did not take any decisive action. Probably Harold was already suffering from the illness that killed him on 17 March 1040, and Hardacnut was simply biding his time. He was invited to England on Harold's death, and landed on 17 June 1040 with no less than sixty-two warships.

Hardacnut

He was not a good king, so it was no hardship that his reign only lasted for barely twenty-four months: in fact the chronicle dismisses him with the comment 'He did nothing worthy of a king as long as he ruled.' His first action was to have Harold's body exhumed and thrown into a swamp. Cnut had reduced the fleet to sixteen ships, and

Harold had retained it at that level. Hardacnut, with his mind on Denmark, insisted on retaining his mighty fleet, for which the Englisc were expected to pay a massive ship tax. However he regarded the sufferings of Ælfred as an injury done to one of his own kin, and prosecuted Earl Godwine and Lyfing, bishop of Worcester and Crediton, whom he held chiefly responsible. Godwine appeased him with the gift of a warship, and with magnates from almost the whole of England as his 'oath-helpers', swore that he had neither wished nor advised that the ætheling should be blinded.

Also, in 1041, Hardacnut invited Eadweard, his surviving half-brother, to come to England, where he adopted him as a member of his household. However, at a wedding-feast of one of his father's retainers on 8 June 1042, he collapsed 'as he stood at his drink', and subsequently died. Before he was buried Eadweard was elected king at London by popular acclamation and crowned at Winchester on Easter Day 1043.

Eadweard III

Eadweard III has been known as 'Edward the Confessor' since he was awarded that title by a Papal Bull sent to Abbot Laurence and the chapter of Westminster on 7 February 1161, but since Orthodox believers consider that at that date the pope was no longer a competent authority, we will describe him as Eadweard III. There is a current myth, lovingly supported by Norman propaganda, of a benevolent, white-haired old gentleman, already thinking of the next world, and at the mercy of his earls in this one: a myth which modern scholarship has at last exploded. It derives from his *Vita*[5], but although this document was almost contemporary, being started maybe a year before his death and completed in about 1067, where it appears, incongruously, at the end of the first chapter, just after the account of his coronation, the author probably never actually saw Eadweard. He describes him as exceptionally tall, well made, and unblemished royal figure, with milky white hair and beard, round pink face and thin white hands, the fingers so emaciated as to be translucent. This description seems completely conventional and was probably adapted from a description of St Audemer, one of the patron saints of St Bertin's monastery[6].

We may consider Eadweard to have been a normal, well set up and vigorous man, who liked hunting and was quite willing to take part in warfare: no other could have survived as a king in the eleventh century, and he was already older than most of his predecessors. However he had a deceptive mildness in his manner, which masked a deep vein of stubbornness and a long memory for slights. This could break out, as it had in his father and uncle, in sudden bursts of childish petulance and unreasoning prejudice.

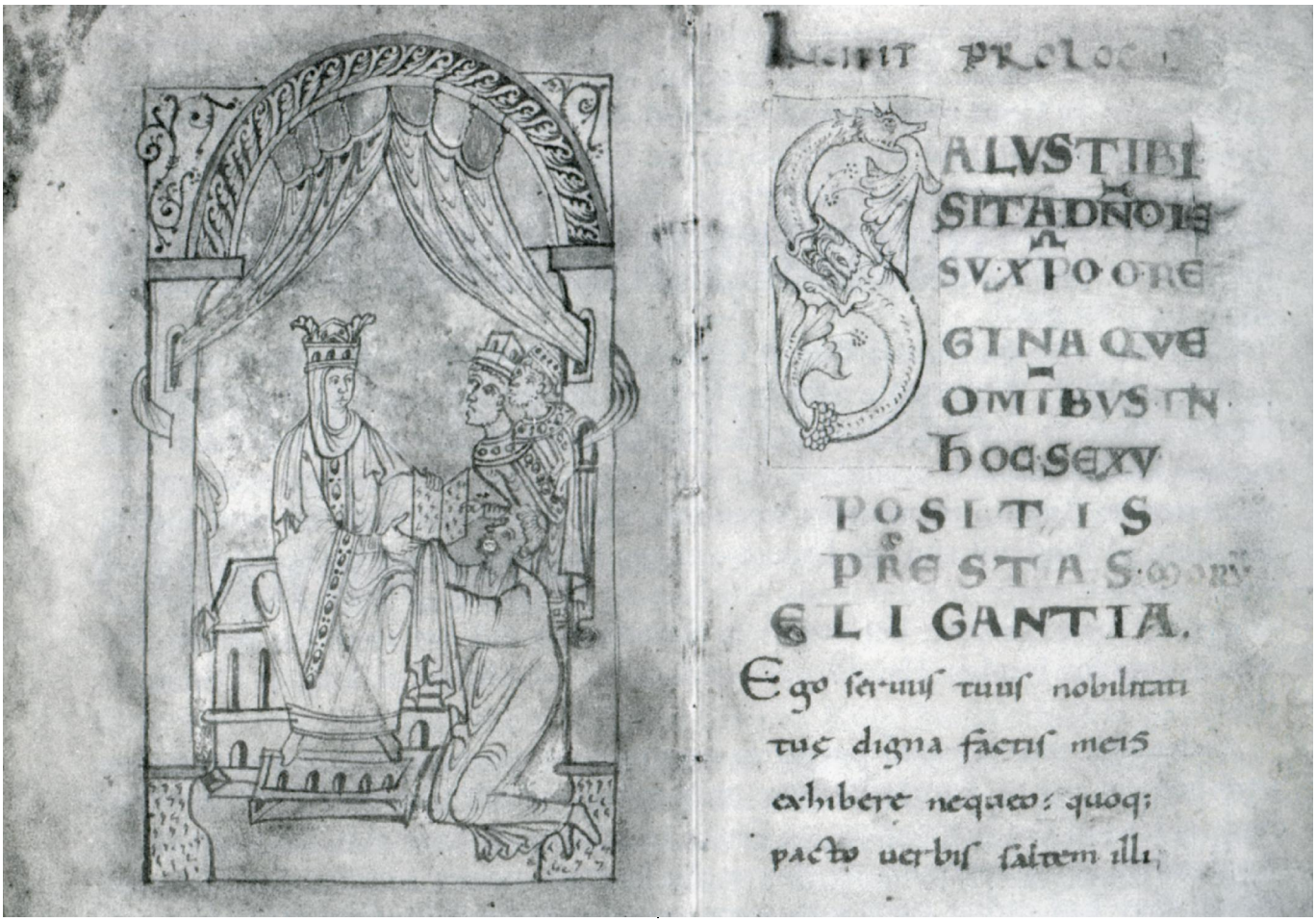
Eadweard III as portrayed at the beginning of the Bayeux 'Tapestry'

Until now, Eadweard had lived most of his life as a stranger in other folk's houses, and when he arrived in England he naturally felt that he had to feel his way, and find out who he could trust. However he found himself with his own palace and a supply of wealth that was greater than that of any of his subjects, although he had not been put on the throne to start a revolution, but to confirm the possessors in their honours.

Eadweard Clips His Mother's Wings

Insert picture: Frontispiece to Encomium Emmæ

When he started to assert his own wants and needs, the first person to feel his displeasure was his mother. Queen Emma, exiled for a time by her stepson, was now back in her erstwhile place and tried to use her power and influence, thinking that



Frontespiece of the *Encomium Emmæ*: Queen Emma, wife successively of Ætheræd and Cnut, shown seated receiving a copy of the *Encomium* watched by Harthacnut and Eadweard III

her son would submit to her patronage. After his coronation she seems to have appointed one of her confidants, Stigand, a royal clerk, to the bishopric of East Anglia. Edward had a number of grievances against her, and this was the last straw. On 16 November 1043 he rode with Earls Leofric, Godwin and Siward from Gloucester to Winchester where, accusing Emma of treason and doubtless obtaining the judgement of his court against her, he deprived her of all her lands and moveable property, and deposed Stigand and confiscated all his possessions. He did not add the extreme penalties of outlawry or exile however, and soon, after the lesson had had time to sink in, he relented, begged her pardon, restored her to her former dignity and returned her possessions. Stigand was restored to Elmham the following year, but the signal had been given that Eadweard was also going to assert his authority over the church.

Eccelesiastical Policy

It has often been asserted that Eadweard was liable to favour foreign, and especially Norman clerics over Englisc, but this is perhaps not strictly true. He certainly exercised his will (which may sometimes have meant the will of a party of courtiers acting in his name) in opposition to local interests. He could have been supported by men anxious to prevent the election of unworthy candidates through the influence of their kinsmen and friends. It is doubtful whether he ever had a religious policy as such, he was merely jealous of his rights in the church and whenever local interests opposed them, he exerted himself to prevail. As a result his church was in no way a disgrace, as represented by Norman propaganda, but even the bishops that he had chosen could not have been tempted to liken him to Eadgar.

There were rumours in 1044 that Magnus of Norway was about to invade the country. Magnus had taken over the throne of Denmark on Hardacnut's death, and until his own death in 1047 there was constant fear that he would attempt to make good his claim on England. Eadweard took command of the fleet of 35 ships based on Sandwich[7], and banished Gunnhildr, Cnut's niece, with her children. This was by no means the last time that Eadweard acted so de-

cisively in the national interest, and his court were probably impressed, as was Magnus, who never actually made good his threat.

Eadweard Takes a Wife

One aim of his backers must have been to get the new king married, and an heir produced, thus securing his dynasty. Edward's feelings cannot be discovered, but we may be certain that he could not be cajoled or browbeaten into marriage, if he had an antipathy to that state, or a strong dislike for the person who was offered to him. It had been common practice for the king to marry a girl of the local nobility, and Eadweard chose Eadgyth, the daughter of Godwine. She was a rising star at court, and Eadweard confirmed by his choice the fortunes of her father. She was, apparently, beautiful, religious and good, highly intelligent, and had been superbly educated by the nuns at Wilton (a famous seminary for royal and noble women). She wrote excellent prose and verse, was a great reader and could speak French, Danish and Irish. She was skilled in painting and needlework and had a keen interest in the decorative arts. She was modest, chaste, dignified and reserved, trustworthy, loyal and generous. The only disparity between her and Eadweard was her age – she was twenty-five or less and he had turned forty, but this was hardly a barrier. Women were quite independently minded amongst the Teutonic peoples, and were not considered mere chattels, but Eadgyth did not voice any objection to the match – indeed she probably considered it a great compliment to her and a fitting reward for her family. They were married on 23 January 1045 and everyone expected that an heir would soon be forthcoming[8].

The possibilities as to why no children actually arrived are endless. Although medical science was as advanced in England as anywhere, and more so than in many places, it was still in a fairly primitive state, and it is likely that even a minor obstruction could probably not be diagnosed or treated. However the marriage seemed quite normal to contemporary witnesses and there is no credible contemporary evidence that the king, through religious scruples, had not consummated it. His character is such that he was probably not above refusing to consummate it for other reasons, such as dislike for his wife's family, but as yet no rift had taken place between Godwin and he. It is hard to believe that a union that lasted for twenty-one years had been a complete nullity, and the theory that his childlessness was due to deliberate abstention from sexual relations lacks authority, plausibility and diagnostic value.

It is a fact that Queen Eadgyth, who had been witnessing royal charters, no longer appears as a witness after 1046, until she reappears in 1060. It may be that her childlessness destroyed the little interest that Eadweard had in her as a woman, and that he chose this method to wound her and through her his father-in-law, with whom he was beginning to disagree on foreign policy, and whose patronage he was maybe beginning to resent.

Swegn Godwinesson

Earl Godwine was embarrassed by the antics of his eldest and wildest son, Swegn, who was born about 1023. He was given an earldom in the southwest midlands, and in 1046 he had been carrying out a punitive expedition in south Wales. On his return he enticed or kidnapped Eadgifu, the abbess of Leominster (it is not clear from the evidence whether this was seduction or rape, and it is even possible that Eadgifu was his kinswoman). Even on the best interpretation, this was a serious crime and a sin, and he fled to Bruges and subsequently to Denmark, where his wild behaviour caused further affront, and he was forced to flee from there in the summer of 1049.

Meanwhile Eadweard, who was intelligent enough to read the international situation insofar as it affected England, had decided to support the Emperor against Flanders. He had summoned a large fleet to Sandwich in order to carry out a naval blockade. Earl Swegn slipped through this blockade with seven or eight ships and put into Bosham[9] harbour, whence he travelled overland to Sandwich in search of Eadweard's pardon, where he pinned his hopes on the intercession of his Danish cousin Earl Beorn. Earl Harold was implacably opposed to his elder brother's restoration, and Beorn either prevaricated or changed his mind. Eadweard then ordered Swegn out of the country and gave him four days to return to his ships. However news arrived that Gruffydd ap Rhydderch, king of the south Welsh, was raiding in the Forest of Dean, and Eadweard dispatched the Wessex squadron, a total of forty-four ships, under Godwin, Beorn and Tostig to go and meet the enemy and also keep an eye on Swegn.

The Wessex squadron had made little progress, being weather-bound at Pevensey when Swegn joined them and once more appealed to Beorn for help with the king. Without Harold's presence,

Beorn agreed, and clearly relied on their kinship, because he took only three men with him; but instead of riding east for Sandwich, Swegn got him on some pretext to travel west with him to Bosham. There he was overpowered and carried aboard Swegn's fleet which sailed further west as far as Dartmouth, where there must have been a further quarrel, because Beorn was murdered there and his body buried on shore.

This was an even worse crime. Harold had Beorn's body recovered and moved to Winchester, where he was buried with his uncle Cnut. Then King Eadweard and the whole army declared Swegn 'nithing', a term meaning 'utterly without honour'. Six of his ships deserted, and the men of Hastings captured two of them. They killed the crews, and took the ships to Eadweard, who was still at Sandwich. Swegn fled to Bruges with his two remaining ships, and was given asylum by Count Baldwin.

Swegn Godwinesson pardoned

Earl Leofric distrusted Danes and disliked foreign adventure. Godwine, through his wife and past history, took an active part in the Scandinavian world and wanted to involve Eadweard in it. However with Beorn dead the family had no particular interest in the Royal Navy, and Godwin, negotiating for Sweyn's return, would have wished to avoid awkwardness. Eadweard probably associated the auxiliary fleet with the house of Godwine and Scandinavian entanglements, and in Lent 1050 he dismissed nine of the fourteen ships which he had been retaining as a standing fleet, and offered only a year's contract to the remainder. But although he behaved as if he had gained a new freedom, and also gained popularity by remitting the tax that supported it, he had obviously forgotten how desirable it was to have a loyal squadron under his personal command. Even more extraordinarily he pardoned Earl Sweyn. Ealdred, the Bishop of Worcester, had come across him in Flanders on his way back from Leo IX's Easter council in Rome, and, being convinced that he was penitent, had brought him back to meet the king. The debauching of an abbess and the murder of a cousin were not inex-piable crimes, Godwine must have begged and even Harold must have acquiesced.

Another matter concerning the mid-Lent council was filling the places of Eadsige, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had died on 29 October 1050, and the Archbishop of York, Ælfric Puttoc, who had died on 22 January. The Canterbury monks wished to elect one of their own, Æthelric, a kinsman of Earl Godwine, whom they persuaded the Earl to support. The king, however, was not prepared to make any concession to the local interest, and appointed his own favourite, Robert of Jumièges, to the post. Similarly he appointed another royal clerk, Cynsige, to York. In these appointments, Eadweard had opposed local factions, refused advice proffered to him, and routed opposition, none of which was wrong, but was maybe ill-advised. Earl Godwin took the hardest knocks, and although still paying for Swegn's pardon and prepared to pay even more for his son's complete reinstatement, there was a limit to the demands he would meet. Moreover he disliked Robert intensely, and Robert, from his vantage point, thought that he could attack the earl. He accused Godwin of having usurped lands belonging to both the archiepiscopal and the monastic estate and repeated malicious stories to the king, including the incredible slander that Godwin had not only murdered Edward's brother, but was plotting to kill the king.

Finally the mid-Lent council put the finishing touches to a treaty with William of Normandy. This was probably connected with the dismissal of the fleet, for the treaty with William was probably used as an argument that a standing fleet was no longer necessary. Norman propaganda has it that Eadweard promised William the throne at this time, and that Godwine gave hostages to him; but these two claims are unlikely. Even if Eadweard had nominated him, William was a youthful count of little note, still in some danger himself, and Eadweard was still an active man. Diplomatic promises were cheap, and no one could have expected that a bequest drawn up in 1050 would ever be paid.

Visit of Eustace of Boulogne

Godwin's growing despair need not be put down solely to Eadweard's foreign policy. He was out of favour, not listened to, and was being harassed by Robert of Jumièges. By the end of the summer he had obviously taken all that he could stand. About the beginning of September, Eustace of Boulogne came on a visit to his brother-in-law's court, and then went home again. Whatever it was Eustace wanted, it was the affray in which he was involved at Dover that caused most trouble. His party required accommodation, and maybe because they suspected that Godwine had given

orders that they were not to be entertained, they put on their armour outside the town and tried to intimidate the burgesses. A citizen was killed and a fellow citizen killed one of the soldiers in revenge. Tempers flared and the count and his men slew a number of men and women with their swords, and trampled babies and children to death under their horse's hooves. But when they saw other townsfolk rushing up to join the fight, they fled, escaping only with difficulty and at the cost of seven dead. When Eustace reported the incident to the king, Eadweard accepted that Dover was to blame, and ordered Godwine to punish the town.

Godwine's men, with Swegn probably among them, were easily convinced that the arrogance of Eadweard's French friends had become unbearable, and likewise the French favourites were easily convinced that Godwine was seeking both their own and the king's destruction. Eadweard never completely surrendered to either group, and behaved more cautiously than the extremists desired. He summoned his council and army to Gloucester and each side made accusations while it mobilized, each exchange stimulating more military preparations. There was also a middle party, possibly led by Earl Leofric, trying to get a peaceful settlement. The only possible compromise was a legal trial, and it was decided that Godwine and his sons should be tried in a council summoned in London for 21 September. Hostages were mentioned, and it could have been at this time that Godwine and Swegn surrendered the son who was later to be held in Normandy. Their bitterness and growing despair is understandable – they had been tricked into dependence on the king's mercy, when they knew that Eadweard and some of his most trusted advisers were actuated solely by anger and malevolence, and they were unaware precisely what were the charges to which they had to answer.

While the king remained firm and inflexible, the position of the rebels crumbled. Some of their thegns deserted to the royal army. Eadweard outlawed Swegn out of hand, probably because he had forfeited his recent pardon by his behaviour. Godwin found himself on his manor of Southwark, apparently deserted by all but his family and a military escort. Eadweard made further demands of Godwin, requiring him and his sons to attend the council with only twelve men, and without safe-conduct or hostages.

Godwin Flees

Bishop Stigand, now promoted to the see of Winchester, was the intermediary, and when he crossed to Southwark to convey the king's final rejection of the earl's request for sureties he reported Eadweard's grimly jesting judgement that Godwine could have his peace and pardon if he could restore to him his brother Ælfred and all his companions. The bishop was in tears and Godwin knew that he could not win. He pushed away the table at which he had been standing, mounted his horse and fled. The family split into two parties: Godwine, his wife Gytha and their sons Swegn and Tostig, with Archbishop Robert in pursuit, rode to Bosham and embarked for Flanders. Harold and Leofwine took the road to Bristol, where Swegn had a ship prepared, and sailed for Ireland. Eadweard, triumphant, declared them all outlaws.

The Queen was sent to Wilton abbey with an imperial escort and royal honour. Robert, who wanted to destroy her family completely, and who feared the undoing of the revolution, wanted the king to divorce her, but Eadweard was following Robert's policies only so far as they suited him. It was the king who profited most by the fall of the house of Godwine, and in was in his interest to keep Eadgyth unharmed in case he was ever forced to make reparations to those whom he had ruined.

At this time William is said to have come over from Normandy. *If* he came (and there are arguments that he did not), he may have come to see Emma, his great-aunt, for she was close to death, and actually reposed in March 1052, being buried at Winchester with Cnut, her son Harthacnut and her nephew Earl Beorn. He may have come to see for himself what were the chances of his ever succeeding to the throne of England, but in this case he must have returned discouraged. Edward was about forty-seven, the age at which his father had died, but it must have been clear to all that he was going to live much longer, and he had fought his way out of tutelage and patronage, and given proof of his power and authority.

After having got rid of his father-in-law, his wife, and having been bereaved of his mother, Edward stood very much alone. In England he was supported by no close relations; but this freedom was clearly something that he had desired. When Earl Godwine sent to him to ask for peace and mercy and a lawful trial, both the count of Flanders and the king of France interceded on Godwine's behalf, but 'the malice of evil men had shut up the

merciful ears of the king.[10]' For a short time, the King was to have it all his own way.

(to be continued in the next issue)

1 Witan = The council of wise men, made up from ealdormen, bishops and thegns, who advised the king, and were responsible for the election of the new king.
2 Ealdorman = The officer in charge of a shire, similar to the later term Earl.
3 Thegn (pronounced Thane) = An officer of the Englisc state; a companion of the king: similar to the post-Conquest term 'knight'.
4 Huscarls = A Danish term, introduced by Cnut, for the personal bodyguard of the king or a wealthy nobleman.
5 *Vita Ædwardi Regis* (The Life of King Edward), trans. Frank Barlow 2nd edn., Oxford Mediæval Texts, 1992.
6 This myth has been given additional credit by works of fiction such as Charles Kingsley, *Hereward the Wake*, and Alfred Duggan, *The Cunning of the Dove*. The latter actually went so far as to represent Eadweard as a homosexual, something that would definitely not have been tolerated at the time.
7 Sandwich was the Portsmouth of its day, and provided a good anchorage for ships commanding the narrow seas. The harbour is still there and was developed during World War II, but subsequently fell back into obscurity.
8 If Eadgyth had conceived a son at once, the child would have been nineteen years old when Eadward died: quite old enough to succeed him.
9 Bosham in Sussex was an estate belonging to Earl Godwin, and was a convenient port for sailing across the channel.
10 *Vita Ædwardi Regis* (The Life of King Edward)

1095: THE FIRST HOLOCAUST

The suggestion has been made, specifically, that the endemic anti-Semitism[1] of the post-Gregorian age was a direct result of the crusade. There are at any rate very few incidents in the early Middle Ages to parallel the deplorable treatment of European Jewry after 1095. The most recent scholarship, indeed, notes that the new violence was 'inspired primarily by the ideas and ideals' basic to the spirit of the crusade.[2]

The earliest victims of the Crusades were the Jews of Metz, Mainz, Worms, Prague, and Speyer in 1096, more than a thousand men, women and children and possibly even several thousand'.[3]

The First Holocaust

The First Crusade of 1095 is clearly linked to the political and social situation in 11th-century Europe and the rise of a reform movement within the papacy. At that time, the reform-minded papacy came into conflict with the Holy Roman Emperors, resulting in the Investiture Controversy. Popes such as Gregory VII justified subsequent warfare against the Emperor's partisans in theological terms. It became acceptable for the Pope to utilize knights in the name of Catholicism, not only against political enemies of the Papacy, but also against Muslims. Arguably the papal-sponsored invasion of England in 1066 had already been a Crusade, as had the invasion of Sicily, led by Norman shock troops, before that. Thus, secularism in the form of barbarian aggression became an integral part of the newly-founded papal Catholicism.

At a local level, the preaching of the First Crusade ignited violence against the Jews, which some historians have called the 'First Holocaust'. At the end of 1095 and beginning of 1096, months before the departure of the official crusade in August, there were attacks on Jewish communities in France and Germany. In May 1096, Emicho of Floheim (or of Leiningen) attacked the Jews at Speyer and Worms. Other unofficial crusaders from Swabia, led by Hartmann of Dillingen, along with French, Anglo-Norman, Lotharingian and Flemish volunteers, led by Drogo of Nesle and William the Carpenter, as well as many greedy locals, joined Emicho in the destruction of the Jewish community of Mainz at the end of May. In Mainz, one Jewish woman killed her children rather than see them killed; the chief rabbi, committed suicide in anticipation of being killed. Emicho's company then went on to Cologne, and others continued on to Trier, Metz, and other cities.

Peter the Hermit, who launched the Crusade may have been involved in violence against the Jews, and an army led by a priest named Folkmar also attacked Jews further east in Bohemia. Many of the attackers seem to have wanted to force the Jews to convert, although they were also interested in robbing them. Physical violence against Jews was never part of the church hierarchy's official policy for crusading, and some bishops, especially the Archbishop of Cologne, did their best to protect the Jews. A decade before, the Bishop of Speyer had taken the step of providing the Jews of that city

with a guarded quarter and given their chief rabbis the control of judicial matters in the quarter.

Nevertheless, some also took money in return for their protection. The attacks may have originated in the belief that Jews and Muslims were equally enemies of Christ, and enemies were to be fought or converted to Christianity. Godfrey of Bouillon was rumoured to have extorted money from the Jews of Cologne and Mainz, and many of the Crusaders wondered why they should travel thousands of miles to fight non-believers when there were already non-believers closer to home. The attacks on the Jews were witnessed by Ekkehard of Aura and Albert of Aix; among the Jewish communities, the main contemporary witnesses were the Mainz Anonymous, Eliezer ben Nathan and Solomon bar Simson.

The Second Holocaust

We would never suggest that Roman Catholicism is to blame for the 5,000,000 + victims of the Jewish Second World War Holocaust, just as it is not to blame for the 30,000,000 + Slav victims of the Second World War Slav Holocaust (except in Serbia). After all, Nazi Germany had more Protestants than Catholics and we know that anti-Semitism was widespread among Protestants as well. This is hardly surprising, since both Roman Catholic and Protestant anti-Jewishness have common roots in pre-Reformation Catholicism.

Indeed, Luther (true, formerly a Catholic monk) expressed a view of the Jews no more flattering than that of the Vatican authorities against whom he rebelled. Christ, Luther wrote, viewed the Jews as 'poisonous, bitter, vengeful, deceitful snakes, assassins, and the Devil's children, who ... do harm secretly, because they dare not do it in the open'. In his 1543 essay '*On the Jews and Their Lies*', Luther branded the Jews a 'plague of disgusting vermin' who sought world domination. He urged that their books, synagogues, schools, and houses be burned.

Nor can all European anti-Jewishness be attributed directly to either variety of Western Christianity. Many of its nastiest, secularist foes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries professed a nasty brand of anti-Semitism. For example, Voltaire was not only an ardent anticlerical and opponent of Catholicism, but a sharp-tongued critic of the Jews, whom he described as 'an ignorant and barbarous people, who have combined the most sordid greed with the most detestable superstition'.

Moreover, it would be hard to find harsher views of the Jews in the nineteenth century than those expressed by some of the founders of the Socialist movement, not least Karl Marx himself. The bitter grandson of a rabbi, he likened Jewish capitalists to lice, feeding off the poor like filthy parasites. He wrote: 'Money is the jealous god of Israel before whom no other god may exist'. The Jew's god is only an illusory bill of exchange'. To take another example, the Socialist thinker Proudhon called for the abolition of the Jewish religion, saying: 'Not for nothing have the Christians called them deicides. The Jew is the enemy of mankind. That race must be sent back to Asia or exterminated'.

Thus, although Hitler was a nominal Roman Catholic, he would have been far more influenced by such anti-Jewish culture in which he lived than direct Roman Catholicism as such; some of its representatives defended the Jews. Yet the physical elimination of the Jews of Europe came at the end of a long road, and it was a road that Roman Catholicism did something to build, beginning in 1095 with the First Holocaust.[4]

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1. Anti-Semitism is an inaccurate term, since the Semites include the related peoples of the Jews and the Arabs; indeed anti-Israeli Arabs often accuse the Israeli State of 'anti-Semitism'. The term anti-Zionism cannot be used either, for there are many Torah Jews, often the most devout or Hassidic, who are strongly opposed to the Zionist secular Jews and see their Talmudic Israel as 'a heretic state'. Indeed, in 1948 their Chief Rabbi in Palestine prophesied that the founding of the State of Israel would bring 'endless rivers of blood'. The slogan of anti-Zionist Jews is 'Judaism rejects Zionism' and they see Zionism as the root cause of anti-Jewish sentiments, the origin of the pressure on the US government to attack Syria and Iran and also of the 'Judeo-Christian' culture myth. Most of these anti-Zionist Jews are united in the Neturei Karta movement, which can draw crowds of over 100,000 in Israel and the USA, even though participants have been killed, maimed and beaten. These manifestations go unreported in Zionist media. To avoid all further confusion, we shall use in this article the term 'Anti-Jewishness'.
2. p. 104 of *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy* by Aristeides Papadakis (St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1994), quoting p. 64 of R. Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade*, Berkeley, 1987.
3. Zoe Oldenbourg, *The Crusades*, p. 552, London 1966 and 1998.
4. See also *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* by R. I. Moore, 1987.

Orthodoxy Shines Through Western Myths (16): *THE CHRISTIAN EAST AND THE RISE OF THE PAPACY*: THE CHURCH AD1071–1453

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

It is different today, when the near-millennial crimes of the West are visible to all and nobody any longer listens to the voices of ecclesiastical institutions which moulded the last thousand years of Western history – they are clearly compromised. Interestingly, contemporary scholarship is an excellent source for Orthodox to understand what went wrong with the West. We can understand how, by renouncing the Orthodox Christian Faith in its anti-Trinitarian and anti-Christic *filioque* heresy, its former Church became a series of isms, Catholicism, Protestantism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Anglicanism etc, which have bred modern-day secularism and will eventually lead to the end of the world.

In the following article, the next in a series taken from various works of scholarship, we have, exceptionally, selected extracts from an Orthodox historian. These are from 'The Christian East and the rise of the Papacy: The Church ad1071-1453' by the well-known Greek scholar Aristeides Papadakis, published by the liberal, pro-Protestant SVS Press, 1994. These extracts, all taken uniquely from the first half of this book, seem to illustrate abundantly the post-Orthodox deformations of Western culture which began with the spread of the new filioque culture behind the Papacy.

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

pp.14–15. The eleventh-century turning point.

ACTUALLY, problems began to surface early in the century, before the launching of the Gregorian movement itself. While the 'mute schism' caused by the gaps in the commemoration diptychs mentioned earlier was not serious, the sudden decision to alter the common creed certainly was. The step was taken in 1014, when the *Filioque* formula was accepted by the Roman bishop for the first time. Until then the western patriarchate had in actual fact faithfully adhered to the previous decision of the Church universal expressly prohibiting any addition. If this interpolation of the text of the creed was unilateral and illegal for the Byzantine *(sic)* world, it was also theologically ill-advised. For it was then possible for the first time to identify within the creed itself a clear and unmistakable doctrinal difference between the Churches.

But the decisive change in the Roman Church was the unprecedented transformation of its legitimate primacy into monarchy. The theoreticians of the Gregorian movement were to devise a new ecclesiological model in which Rome was conceived legalistically and juridically as the head and mother of the Churches. Although this new papalism was to prove a source of strength for the West, in the East it was repeatedly denounced as an inadmissible retention, as unacceptable as the unauthorized formula of the *Filioque*. Quite simply, Byzantium *(sic)* was unwilling to exchange or surrender its traditional autonomy for Gregorian authoritarianism. Indeed, the autocratic basis of the new ecclesiology, in contrast with Eastern Christendom's *(sic)* traditional collegial and synodal structure, left little room for accommodation or compromise. The shrill demand of the Roman Church for submission was to become an invariable feature governing its relations with Byzantium *(sic)*. To put it otherwise, the theological and ecclesiological principles which had permitted sacramental communion to exist between the two sees until the eleventh century were seriously impaired during the second millennium. The gap

first became unbridgeable in the centuries covered by this volume. As one historian aptly emphasized thirty years ago, 'the eleventh century began with a flourishing empire in the East and a weakened and ineffectual papacy in the West. It ended with a supremely powerful papacy in the West and an empire struggling hard to reassert itself and its fallen fortunes in the East. Whatever one may think about the schism of 1054, whether it was the final act that rent the garment of Christ, or whether it was merely an unfortunate if symptomatic incident, it is significant that it occurred in the middle of that century'. Historically, certainly, the mounting hostility which gives the period 1071–1453 a certain recognizable unity, even uniformity, has its origins in the eleventh century, in the highly centralized papacy and its novel claims.

pp. 26–27. Old Rome – decadent but Orthodox through its past, politically powerless, but spiritually powerful.

Despite the impotence and notoriety of its bishops, Rome was still the mother Church of Western Christendom where Sts Peter and Paul had died. It had never ceased to be the goal of the European pilgrim, as the journeys of many pious lay people in this period again and again illustrate. In actual fact, pilgrimage to the tombs of the great apostles – *ad limina apostolorum* – remained the city's basic industry long after its economic importance had vanished. Remarkably, the operation of the papal chancery and the long tradition of papal administration also remained largely unaffected by the incompetence of Rome's bishops. The wheels of government continued to turn as usual – a fact of crucial importance to the papal reformers of the eleventh century. And yet, neither the survival of the papal secretariat nor the veneration of the city, as the great spiritual center of the West, were able to salvage the papacy's international standing. 'Men went to Rome', as one modern scholar maintains, 'not as the centre of ecclesiastical government but as a source of spiritual power' – as a popular center of pilgrimage, relics, and shrines. It was, at any rate, not until the reforming initiatives of the Gregorians that Europe would begin to take notice of the pope as *summus pontifex*, and of the revitalized papacy as an international spiritual and political power. Until then, the popes' fragile hold upon Western Christendom was largely imaginary.

pp. 33–35. The 'Reformers' are not Roman, but from the heart of Carolingia and the movement – and new age – begins in 1049.

The movement ... was at first little more than a talented band of Rhinelanders. It was not from Rome nor from Italy that the first reformer *(sic)* popes and their patrons came.

... The next imperial nominee, the emperor's own cousin, the forty-six year old Leo IX (1049–54), was far more successful. The transformation of the papacy into a forceful agency of renewal begins with his enthronement in 1049. He is the real founder of the so-called Gregorian reform and not Gregory VII for whom the movement is erroneously named. As one observer notes, 'he was a quieter and much less controversial character than Gregory VII, but nearly everything that we associate with the papacy in its most expansive period can be traced back to his initiative'. Long before Pope Gregory's own accession to the papal throne in 1073, to put it otherwise, the decisive developments which were to change the direction and character of the papacy had already been realized. The radical transformation of the papacy into a monarchy was in a genuine sense the work of this earlier charismatic pontiff. Even the spirit and tone of future papal dealings with the Eastern *(sic)* Church and Byzantium *(sic)* were determined in large part in his reign.

After all, to say it once more, the papacy until then (1049) really had no sense of itself as an international body with broad responsibilities for the world beyond the Alps, or for Christian Europe. As its confining history during the post-Carolingian age illustrates, Rome until then had rarely interfered outside Italy. By contrast, in 1049 it was being extolled as the undisputed center of Latin Christendom – the supreme divinely ordained authority of the Church universal. These simple facts explain the electrifying effect the papal strategy had on contemporaries. If anything, papal activism had forced Europe to take notice. The Church of Rome was unambiguously on the threshold of a new age.

pp. 37–8. Clericalism.

A monasticized priesthood, quite simply, was viewed by reformers everywhere as a crucial corrective to clerical involvement in the world. If successful, the strategy, it was hoped, would provide the clergy with that sense of solidarity and

corporate identity needed to distinguish them from the laity. In all essential respects, as one scholar has put it, the reforming initiatives of the popes were 'an attempt by men trained in the monastic discipline to remodel Church and society according to monastic ideals ... to train churchmen to think of themselves as a distinct 'order' with a life-style totally different from that of laymen'. Behind the campaign for celibacy, in sum, aside from the moral and canonical issues involved, was the desire to set all churchmen *(sic)* apart from and above the laity; the need to create a spiritual élite by the separation of the priest from the ordinary layman was an urgent priority. Doubtless, in the end, the Gregorian priesthood did achieve a certain *libertas* and even a sense of community, but only at the expense of a sharp opposition between itself and the rest of society.

The self-conscious monasticized clergy imposed on the Western Church by the Gregorian enthusiasts was ultimately alien both to Christian antiquity and the medieval Byzantine *(sic)* Church.

p. 45. Papalism ultimately leads to the secular State by reaction.

Theocratic monarchy was in any case stripped of its semi-ecclesiastical status. The divinely ordained popular duality of papacy and empire, dominant in the early Middle Ages, was simply declared an anachronism. This demotion or de-Christianization of the secular ruler was in the last analysis revolutionary. The old classroom cliché is no less true for being a cliché: as a result of the investiture quarrel the state was actually able to develop along more secular lines for the first time.

p. 50. How the term 'Vicar of Christ' came into being and the word 'Church' was corrupted.

It was then (in the twelfth century) for the first time that the label 'Vicar of Christ' (normally used of the emperor) was moved center stage as a replacement of sorts for the pope's inherited personal sanctity and mystical identification with Jesus' disciple. By the end of the century Innocent III was even ready to discard the old formula 'Vicar of St Peter' altogether for the more comprehensive 'Vicar of Christ'. As he was to emphasize, 'we are the successor of the prince of the apostles, but we are not his vicar nor the vicar of any man or apostle, but the vicar of Jesus Chris himself'. Parenthetically, in connection with this terminological evolution it is interesting to note that the word *ecclesia* was also to undergo a transformation of sorts at the same period. By then the word had come to be identified almost exclusively with 'churchman' or ecclesiastical government; it was quite common in fact to speak of ecclesiastical hierarchy or authority as the Church – to the exclusion of the laity. In other words, the meaning of the Biblical term *ecclesia*, embracing as it has always done the entire body of the faithful, was obscured or forgotten. 'Language like this is a sign of a very profound revolution in the way men thought about the Church. What is uppermost in their minds when they think of the Church is a juridical entity. One speaks of the 'body of the Church' as one does of any corporation, Looked at in terms of a juridical organization, the Church is seen essentially as a hierarchical, governmental structure'. It goes without saying that the clerical separatism enshrined in this definition of *ecclesia* is linked not only to a rising papalism but to a rising clericalism. Everywhere in the West by the twelfth century, in contrast with the more accessible monogamous clergy of Eastern Christendom, sacerdotal celibacy had become an enduring reality.

In all essential respects, the metamorphosis of the papacy into a highly centralized monarchy was to result in the transformation of the western episcopate as well. The excessive centralization of Latin Christendom under papal authority was indeed to leave very little room for an independent hierarchy. Papal intrusion in diocesan affairs (already evident under Leo IX) was to become commonplace by the end of the century.

p. 53. The 'Church' becomes a State.

This reaction to imperial tutelage was to result in 'the imperialization of the Church' itself.

p. 55. Not a Reform, but a Revolution.

Most of them ('the reformers') were in actual fact content to accept the promotion of the Roman primacy as an authentic restoration of the past. The new legal authority in the Church advanced with such breath-taking speed did not, for their part, constitute a serious breach in Christian historical continuity and tradition ... Ecclesiologically, at any rate, the rapid transformation of the Western Church in the eleventh century was a revolutionary development. Fundamentally, the term reform is 'a serious understatement, reflecting in part the desire

of the papal party itself – and of later Roman catholic historians – to play down the magnitude of the discontinuity between what had gone before and what came latter'.

p. 59. The Revolution justified by a revolutionary 'spirituality'.

That the arrival of so many new (monastic) orders constitutes an authentic revolution in the twelfth century is beyond doubt. It is not an exaggeration to argue that the new monasticism actually reshaped if not refashioned altogether the spirituality of the West.

p. 64–65. The new 'spirituality' does not hesitate to kill in the name of the new popes. This 'glorifies' Christ.

A standing militia of fighting monks was not only a product of the crusading age, but an expression of expanding and aggressive Latin Christendom, willing to endorse the profession of warfare as a Christian ideal.

As St Bernard was to stress in his propaganda piece *In Praise of the New Knighthood*, 'the knight of Christ need fear no sin in killing the foe, he is a minister of God for the punishment of the wicked. In the death of a pagan a Christian is glorified, because Christ is glorified'.

p. 70 and p. 82. The Schism is consummated by the First Crusade launched in 1095.

To describe the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem as the first example of western colonialism is by no means irrelevant or improper. European expansion into Palestine does prefigure all later colonial movements. And yet, it is also true that Rome's vigorous patronage and sponsorship of crusading is undeniable. Holy war, invariably financed by papally authorized funding, was to remain an ongoing papal institution down to the end of the Middle Ages. As such, it should not be treated only marginally as if standing on the edge of Church history. Besides, a causal relationship between Christian disunity and the crusade can be made, proving that its impact on Christian history was by no means trivial. Actually, a wealth of supporting documentary evidence reveals that schism in the Church was not yet interpreted by contemporaries as irreparable or conclusive until sometime after the launching of the movement by pope Urban II. In the end, the rise of Christian militarism and its more mindless excesses were to alter the course of Church history in a crucial way.

... The age of Gregory VII and Urban II 'saw the reversal of a thousand years of Christian tradition, when the Gregorian papacy accepted warfare without reservation as a meritorious activity, and the profession of arms as a Christian vocation so long as it was directed toward the extirpation of what is alien to Christianity both inside and outside Christian society'.

p. 99–100. Ancient Orthodox Ecclesiology versus the novelties of post-Schism Western Ecclesoiology.

Needless to say, the argument that Byzantine *(sic)* Christendom found western ecclesiastical colonialism in the Levant intolerable is not extravagant or misleading. Roman attempts to bring both Antioch and Jerusalem within the post-Gregorian papal orbit went against every ecclesiological principle known to the Byzantines *(sic)* since antiquity. To conceive of the Church as a centralized body controlled by a pivotal papal power was unacceptable ecclesiology. Even if Rome had been granted first place by conciliar decision. The Byzantines *(sic)* were in fact convinced that it was the common faith of all Christian Churches, their fellowship and respect for each other, and their inherent collegiality, that bound them together, and not the universal episcopacy advanced by Roman apologists. Given this understanding of ecclesial structure and unity, the papally sponsored changes introduced in the crusader states were unacceptable to the Orthodox. After all, once the Church of Jerusalem was latinized, western Christians actually became convinced that this Church alone was the *orientalis ecclesia*, as if the Orthodox Eastern patriarchates had never existed.

p. 104. The origins of Hitlerism. Anti-Semitism begins at the end of the eleventh century.

The suggestion has been made, specifically, that the endemic anti-Semitism of the post-Gregorian age was a direct result of the crusade. There are at any rate very few incidents in the early Middle Ages to parallel the deplorable treatment of European Jewry after 1095. The most recent scholarship, indeed, notes that the new violence was 'inspired primarily by the ideas and ideals' basic to the spirit of the crusade. And of course there is evidence that the violence was initiated

early in the spring of 1098, with the attack on the Rhenish Jewish settlements by the first crusade. Before long. most European Jewry was reduced to a sitting target; in contrast to the Muslims, so the logic ran, Jews were more visible as well as more accessible. But the theology of violence behind the crusades was also counterproductive in other ways. The longed-for destruction or conversion of Islam in particular, frequently emphasized in crusading propaganda, never materialized. (The Frankish colony in the East, as we have said, was never really a military threat to Islam.) On the contrary, Muslim strength and hostility were witness to a certain revival because of the religious fanaticism expressed westerners.

p. 105. 1054–1095. The Schism is sealed by the Crusades.

From the high ground of the Church historian, the most pernicious result of the crusades was its negative impact on Church unity. In the end, the crusade must be linked to schism. This is by no means an excessive assessment, if it is recalled that before 1095, in both East and West, Christians still believed in a single undivided Christendom, whereas afterwards very few did so. Clergymen in the eleventh century at any rate were unaware that 1054 had introduced any permanent breach in the ongoing rivalry of the Churches. As we have seen, the synod of 1089 did not cite 1054 in order to explain the deletion of the papal name from the diptychs. Nor did the pope himself mention it in his own complaint. Instead, he spoke openly of the need for harmony and refused to concentrate either on dogmatic differences or canonical problems. The policy of collaboration followed by the papal during the first crusade was inspired by similar sentiments. Then again, liturgical and disciplinary differences were not yet deemed permanent barriers to unity. Typically, moderate-minded clergymen on both sides urged their more extreme colleagues not to distort or misrepresent their opponents' faith. Standardization in both liturgy and discipline apparently regarded as unnecessary or at best secondary. To be short, the disruption of Christendom in 1095 was not yet reality.

As the twelfth century wound down, nevertheless, the ongoing competition, even tension, was replaced increasingly by hostility and misunderstanding. The blame for this progressive deterioration in East-West relations must be placed on the doorstep of the crusade, even if it was often shared by Norman military aggression and Venetian economic imperialism. Indeed, by the end of the century holy war had become (to borrow the verdict of one critic) little more than 'a long act of intolerance in the name of God, which is the sin against the Holy Spirit'. Anna Comnena's earlier view of the crusaders as pillaging hoodlums and illiterate barbarians had by then evolved into a general conviction.

p. 152. Differences in doctrine in the eleventh century, not customs, were responsible for the Schism

The new conceptual framework in which the papacy had managed to place itself by the end of the eleventh century was to cause incalculable damage to Christian unity. True, the liturgical and disciplinary details which had surfaced earlier during Cardinal Humbert's 1054 visit to Constantinople should not be ignored ... but this was never the heart of the problem ... the archbishop of Bulgaria, Theophylact of Ohrid, was to stress in no uncertain terms that the trivial liturgical and disciplinary divergences existing within Christendom were not a cause of schism. Slandering the legitimate customs of the Western Church, he was to emphasize to one of his most conservative correspondents, was possible only when one ignores Church history. 'Christian unity is threatened only by those practices which have a doctrinal implication'.

p. 154. The new Western Papal Supremacy (versus the old Western Orthodox primacy) was 'not catholic tradition'

Before analyzing the Byzantine *(sic)* understanding of the new Roman primacy, a brief synopsis of the issue as it was understood before 1100 is in order. In the first place, the East had no difficulty in explicitly recognizing Rome's presidency or primacy within the pentarchy of patriarchs. Its willingness to do so is well documented? It was assumed, however, that the government of the Church was vested jointly in all five patriarchs. No one bishop or patriachate – including the primary see in Christendom – possessed universal jurisdiction as an exclusive prerogative. Certainly primacy, though in principle never denied, was not understood or confused with doctrinal infallibility or absolute supremacy over all Churches and their hierarchy in toto orbe. As such, the right of any see to intervene directly in the internal affairs of another Church was alien to

the Christian East. Indeed, monarchical government was never part of Orthodox ecclesiology, canon law, or tradition. (It is safe to assume that this was also true in the West before the eleventh century; the special papal prerogatives listed in the *Dictatus papæ* represented, as we have seen, the particular bias of reformist policy; they did not reflect catholic tradition in its historical form.)

pp. 160–61. The Conciliarity of the Church versus the exclusivist peculiarity of Roman Catholicism

In the end, Nicetas was to note, all Christians make their profession of faith to the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church. Nowhere in the creed are they asked to confess Rome or its primacy as an absolute external power independent of the Church and its authority. To summarize, for Nicetas ecclesiastical unity was in the last analysis really internal in essence based on a shared faith; it can never be viewed as external.

According to Nicetas, the ecclesiology of communion and fraternity of the Orthodox, which was preventing them from following Rome blindly and submissively like slaves, was based on Scripture and not merely on history tradition. Quite simply, the power to bind and to loose mentioned in the New Testament had been granted during Christ's ministry to every disciple and not just to Peter alone. This was also to be the case after the resurrection at Pentecost, when the Spirit had descended on all the apostles indifferently. In sum, no one particular Church could limit the fullness of God's redeeming grace to itself, at the expense of the others. Insofar as all were essentially identical, the fullness of catholicity was present in all equally. In the event, the Petrine biblical texts, cherished by the Latins, were beside the point as arguments for Roman ecelesiology or superiority. The close logical relationship between the papal monarchy and the New Testament texts, assumed by Rome, was quite simply undocumented. For all bishops, as successors of apostles, claim the privilege and power granted to Peter. Differently put, the Saviour's words could not to be interpreted institutionally, legalistically, or territorially, as the foundation of the Roman Church, as if the Roman pontiffs were alone the exclusive heirs to Christ's commission. It is important to note parenthetically that a similar or at least kindred exegesis of the triad of Matt. 16:18, Luke 22:32 and John 21:15 was also common in the West before the reformers of the eleventh century chose to invest it with a peculiarly 'Roman' significance.

pp. 162–63 Unity is not guaranteed by obedience to a novel place, whether Rome or another

Nicetas had certainly put his finger on the radical novelties introduced and enforced in the West since the 1050s. In his assessment of the new reactivated papacy he was able to demonstrate that its monarchical pretensions and claims to universal episcopacy were ecclesiologically shaky. In stressing the collegial and conciliar principle of ecclesial structure, he was convinced he had expressed a permanent truth about the nature of the Church and its unity. For his part, it was absurd to claim that unity was alone guaranteed by obedience to Rome.

p. 163. Rome's novel beliefs anti-historical and anti-Biblical and its self-absorption blinds it to the Christian world

The belief that Rome should sit in judgment as 'the head, the universal and catholic mother of Churches everywhere in the world' was for the patriarch, at any rate, odd in the extreme, since the idea was conspicuously absent from the Gospel; nor had the ecumenical councils ever authorized such a doctrine. Rome had obviously conveniently forgotten that it was only one among several great sees within Christendom. On the other hand, if the reason for the papal claims were Peter's preaching and death in Rome, the pope was misinformed and mistaken. For all the Churches of God had received the same Gospel from the other disciples as well as from Peter.

p. 165. Primacy is purely a result of secular factors, where the Emperor lives, and is therefore transferable to other cities (Quoting Patriarch John X in *c.* 1199)

We declare that Peter was set by Christ before the other disciples, and in honor precedes the others and was exalted by such primacy. Although we believe the Church of Rome is first in rank and honour, as among sisters of equal honor, among the other Churches of God honoured with patriarchal rank, at no time whatsoever have we been taught that she is their mother or is comprehensive of them. Such primacy and honor have been allotted to her over the years not because Peter was made bishop in Rome by Christ

(surely this is not a tradition supported or handed down by Scripture) or because he died there, indeed, the first argument limits the honour granted the apostle, by confining to Rome alone, the man who was sent to circumcised Hebrews everywhere in the world; the second, is hardly a source of pride in Rome. Such honour has been granted to your Church because at the time it was exalted by an emperor and senate, neither of which is found there any longer.

pp. 166–67. The Roman supremacy base on an anti-historical fiction, not tradition, Esatern or Western

As we have seen the Byzantine *(sic)* indictment against Rome also had a strong historical component. A major reason why Orthodox writers were unsympathetic to the Roman restatement of primacy was precisely because it was so totally lacking in historical precedent. Granted that by the twelfth century, papal theorists had become experts in their ability to circumvent the inconvenient facts of history. And yet, the Byzantines *(sic)* were ever ready to hammer home the theme that the historical evidence was quite different. Although the Orthodox may not have known that Gregorian teaching was in part drawn from the forged decretals of pseudo-Isidore (850s), they were quite certain that it was not based on catholic tradition in either its historical or canonical form. On this score, significantly, modern scholarship agrees with the Byzantine *(sic)* analysis. As it happens, contemporary historians have repeatedly argued that the universal episcopacy claimed by the eleventh-century reformers would have been rejected by earlier papal incumbents as obscenely blasphemous (to borrow the phrase of a recent scholar). The title 'universal' which was advanced formally at the time was actually explicitly rejected by earlier papal giants such as Gregory I. To be brief, modern impartial scholarship is reasonably certain that the conventional conclusion which views the Gregorians as defenders of a consistently uniform tradition is largely fiction. 'The emergence of a papal monarchy from the eleventh century onwards cannot be represented as the realization of a homogeneous development, even within the relatively closed circle of the western, Latin, Church. It has indeed been suggested that the conviction that *papatus* (a new term constructed on the analogy of *episcopatus* in the eleventh century) actually represented a rank or an order higher than that of bishop, was a radical revision of Church structure and government. The discontinuity was there and to dismiss it would be a serious oversight.

p. 168. Western 'theology' becomes a rationalistic game of scholastic intellectuals, not the living fruit of the life in Christ. The old Western tradition is lost.

That this spectacular expansion in education affected theological study in various ways has already been implied. In the first place, henceforth all new ideas in theology were to come from these new institutions. Before long, the university of Paris, in point of fact, became the leading theological center in Europe. The setting of theology by 1200 had shifted permanently from the cloister to the classroom. The organized teaching and writing of theology which had until then been confined primarily to the monk and the monastery, was to be done in the new city schools by secular urban teachers or masters. The prominent part played by the monastery in the preservation, creation, and diffusion of culture in the West since the sixth century was lost. By the end of the twelfth century, quite simply, its leadership of learning had passed over to the new universities situated in the areas of greatest urban development ... By 1200, theology was simply no longer the preserve of the rural and remote monastery.

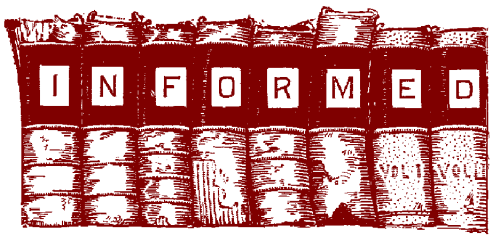
More fundamentally, by then theology was also no longer liturgical, contemplative or traditional. Henceforth it was to be shaped almost exclusively by deductive rational thought, or by the techniques learned from the study of dialectic.

p. 184. After their Schism the use of scholastic rationalism further distances Roman Catholicism from the Church Tradition of the fishermen of Galilee.

Needless to say, it follows from all the above that the change in methodology introduced in the West by scholasticism was to make theological exchange with the East rather difficult. Time and again the western complaint was to be that the Orthodox East was incapable of theologizing professionally or argumentatively. On the other hand, Byzantine *(sic)* churchmen could not understand how theology could be viewed as a rational discipline; listening to the logic-oriented Latin theologians in official debate (at Florence, for example) was for them often an incomprehensible, even loathsome exercise. In short, the fundamental

reorientation of western theology in the twelfth century, along with the papal Petrine claims, must be viewed as factors contributing to the disruption of Christendom. Both scholasticism and the Roman primacy, in a sense, changed the rules of the game and, as a consequence, destroyed the 'living continuity with the common past of the Church universal'. The synchronous development of Latin scholasticism and schism at any rate was not a purely historical accident.

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS



Two questions: I understand that Orthodox venerate the pre-1054 saints of the West, but to what extent can they really be called Orthodox? After all, they were not Eastern and, for example, they had never heard of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom. Secondly: Can early Western monks, after the time of St Benedict, be called Benedictines?

T. N., Cambridge

In short and simply: They were Orthodox because they were in communion with the Orthodox Church. In more detail:

1. The Church has only one origin – the day of Pentecost in Jerusalem, that is to say, in 'the East'. It has no second origin in 'the West'. It is Western ethnic pride to think so. Thus, up until the end of the second century, the main language of the Church in 'the West', whether in Rome or Lyon, was Greek. Everything that the West has which has remained the same as in the Orthodox Church today comes about because it has inherited it from the Orthodox past. Until people understand this basic fact, they will go on making errors like talking about 'the two lungs of the Church', 'East and West are complementary' or 'the separation of the Churches in 1054'. There is only one Church. It is the 'eastern' light of the Church that fell on the 'western' darkness, not the other way round.

Up until about 1054 (in some places not as late as this, in other places like southern Italy and perhaps Ireland and Scandinavia, well after 1054), all Christians in the so-called West were in communion with all Non-Nestorian and Non-Monophysite Christians in the so-called East, and vice versa. Thus all were Orthodox. It should also be noted that at the time the vast majority of Christians lived in the East, since Western Europe was very thinly populated. (I say 'so-called East' and 'so-called West' because there were many overlaps, with, for example a Latin monastery on Mt Athos, Greek monasteries in and near Rome and Viking ('Varangian') Orthodox in Kievan Russia etc).

Of course, it is true that in most of Western Europe, except in Italy and except for pilgrims who had been to Jerusalem etc, none knew the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom. But so what? We should not be looking at external rites, ritualism, we should be looking at the spirit in which Orthodox lived in East and West. It was essentially the same, as you can see from our series 'Orthodoxy Shines Through'. Similarly, there are people who have 'the Eastern rite'. the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, but who are profoundly anti-Orthodox – I speak of course of the Uniats.

2. Roman Catholic orders only appeared in about 1100. Until then all monks and nuns were monks and nuns and would never have called themselves Benedictines, since they had no need to distinguish themselves. But here I can do no better than quote Sister Benedicta Ward on p. 9 of her book *The Venerable Bede* (1990 and 1998):

> 'For books specifically about monastic affairs, it seems that Bede knew the Rule of St Benedict, though how far the daily conduct of his life was regulated by this text is by no means clear. There are several passages in his works which show a deep appreciation of the Rule of St Benedict, but it would be anachronistic to suppose that the monastery at Jarrow in any sense 'followed' St Benedict's Rule: the life of the brothers was lived in obedience to Christ through the guidance of the abbot, and while Benedict Biscop knew the Rule of St Benedict, he drew upon many other ancient rules as well as personal observation and advice gained during his travels for the organization of the life in his monasteries, all being modified and adapted to existing conditions in

Northumbria and among new Christians. The Rule of St Benedict was for Bede both more and less than has sometimes been claimed: it was not a "rule" in the sense of exclusive regulations for a code of behaviour, but it was, perhaps, a rule' in the sense of a greatly esteemed source of wisdom providing a norm for reference'.

What does 'to write an icon' mean?

S. L., London

It does not mean anything! It is a mistranslation, or rather literal translation, common among Non-Orthodox, usually Anglicans. The correct English phrase is 'to paint an icon'. By the way, the word 'icon' is spelled 'icon' in English, not 'ikon', which again is common among Anglicans trying to be 'mystical'! Other common, 'mystifying' mistranslations are 'to be under the omophor of' = 'to be in the diocese of', 'slave of God' = 'servant of God' and 'desert-dweller' = 'hermit'.

Were churches dedicated to the Holy Trinity in pre-Norman England?

A. M., Norwich

Yes, there was great devotion to the Holy Trinity at that time, not just in the sign of the cross, but also in services and daily prayers. There is actually a whole book on the subject called *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought* by the academic Barbara C. Raw (Cambridge, 2006).

I actually looked up dedications there to find some examples. There are: Winchester's New Minster which was dedicated in 903 to the Trinity, the Mother of God and the Apostle Peter; the chapel built by Edith at Wilton in about 984 was dedicated to the Trinity, the Archangel Gabriel and St Denis. Ethelric, Bishop of Dorchester (1016–34) had a church built at Ramsey in honour of the Trinity and Odda's Chapel at Deerhurst (still standing), dedicated in 1056, which contains an inscription stating that Earl Odda had the chapel built in honour of the Trinity and for the repose of the soul of his brother, Ælfric. Leofric of Mercia († 1057) and his wife Godgifu built a church in honour of the Trinity at Evesham. In addition to these new foundations, two major earlier foundations received additional dedications to the Trinity during the tenth century. Winchester's Old Minster, dedicated originally to Sts Peter and Paul had acquired an additional dedication to the Trinity by the time of Æthelstan, for it is referred to as the church of the Holy Trinity and Sts Peter and Paul, and also there was an extra dedication to the Holy Trinity at Canterbury Cathedral.

I understand that Orthodox do not have women-priests because Christ only chose men as apostles. But is there any other reason? And what do Orthodox think of women-priests in general?

E. J., Basildon

Scripture and Tradition (they are closely interconnected because both are inspired by the Holy Spirit) explain why the Orthodox Church does not have female clergy. However, the Orthodox Church does not believe that Anglicanism has a sacramental priesthood, which is why if Anglican clergy join the Orthodox Church and become Orthodox clergy, they must be ordained. Therefore, I can see no reason why Anglicanism cannot have female religious social workers, which is what lady vicars in fact are. And if you have lady vicars, you must have lady 'bishops', that is, heads of social work departments. That is only just and logical.

I think the whole question of the role of women in Protestant (or rather ex-Protestant) societies like the USA, Scandinavia, Holland, Germany, Switzerland and Britain, and that is where it is a problem, is all to do with the Protestant rejection of the veneration of the Mother of God. If in time Roman Catholicism rejected that veneration also, and partly it is doing so now under Vatican II Protestantisation, it too would introduce 'women-priests'.

What would you say of the ecumenical theory that the Eastern and Western Churches are 'the two lungs of the Church'?

B. K., Serbia

I had not heard these words for some years. Like most of failed ecumenism, it sounds very old-fashioned. I would say firstly that the Church is not a human body, but the Body of Christ, born in Jerusalem (the East), so parallels with a human body are inappropriate. Secondly, I would say that there is no such thing as 'Eastern' and 'Western' Churches. There is the Orthodox Church, which is to be found both in the East (wherever that is) and in the West. Our parish in Colchester is part of the Church in the West. The word 'Church' can only be used of the Orthodox Church; there is no Church outside her.

Generally speaking, you will never meet Truth at any ecumenical conferences, only politics and diplomacy with empty words and the ivory towers of academics, who are paid for saying the 'right' things. If you want to meet Truth, go to Orthodox monasteries and parishes.

A PRAYER ATTRIBUTED TO KING ALFRED

O Lord God Almighty, Shaper and Ruler of all Creation, we pray Thee for Thy great mercy that Thou mayest guide us better than we have done towards Thee. Guide us to Thy will and to the needs of our soul, better than we can ourselves. Make steadfast our mind towards Thy will and to our soul's needs. Strengthen us against the temptations of the devil and put far from us all lust and every unrighteousness, shielding us against our foes, seen and unseen. Teach us to do Thy will that we may inwardly love Thee before all things with a pure mind. For Thou art our Maker and Redeemer, our Help, our Comfort, our Trust, our Hope and praise and glory be to Thee now and ever and ever, and unto the ages of ages. Amen.