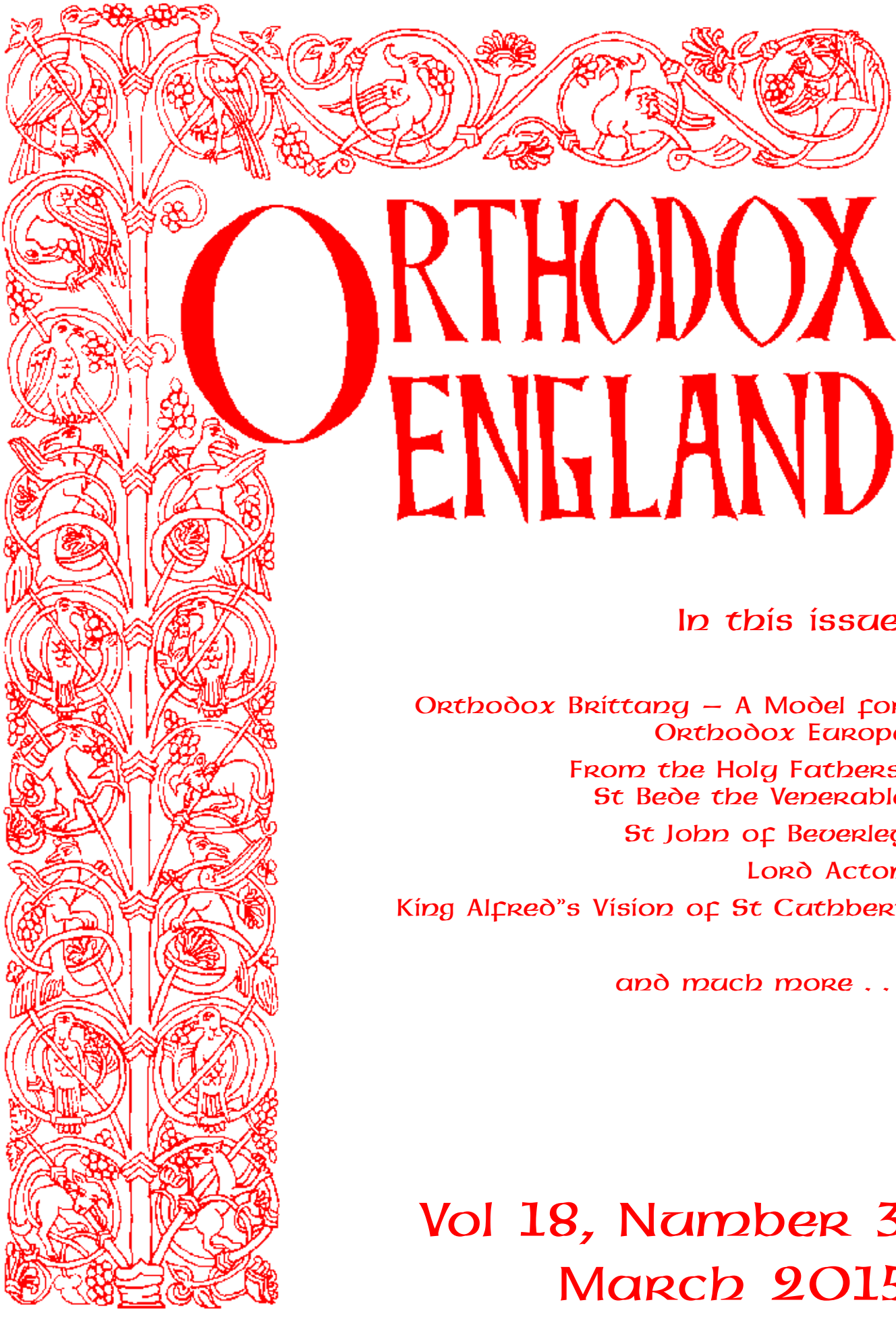

ORTHODOX ENGLAND

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Editorial: ORTHODOX BRITTANY – A MODEL FOR ORTHODOX EUROPE

FROM about the year 450 onwards, there began a wave of emigration of Romanized Britons, forced out of parts of Britain by Germanic settlers, the future Orthodox English, yet to be converted by Irish and Roman missionary. In this way, in the late fifth and early sixth centuries Gallo-Roman Armorica, abandoned by the Romans, was transformed into Brittany. Some of these emigrants sailed on even further, to Galicia and Asturia in Spain, which is why even today you can meet in those regions blond and blue-eyed 'Spanish' and red-haired 'Portuguese'.

As a result of this emigration Armorica came to be called Lesser Britain – in order to distinguish it from Great Britain, from the south-western regions of which the immigrants had come. This period was when the old civic Christianity of Roman Britain, preserved only in the west of Britain, had combined with monastic currents, coming from Egypt and Palestine via Gaul, to create a dynamic monastic Christianity. This Christianity profoundly shaped several regions, in particular what we now call Wales, Ireland (and through it Scotland, much of England and beyond), Cornwall and Brittany.

The new immigrants in the renamed Brittany founded a new Devon and a new Cornwall. In Brittany there are seven sixth-century founding saints: St Tudwal who founded Tréguier, St Paul Aurelian who founded Saint-Pol-de-Leon, St Brioc who founded Saint-Brieuc, St Malo who founded Saint-Malo, St Patern who founded Vannes, St Corentin who founded Cornouailles and St Samson who founded Dol. From them developed nine dioceses and a kingdom of 400 saints, with its own identity and language. Like Cornwall, nearly half of Breton villages are named after saints.

Later, Brittany would come into conflict with the descendants of the Franks who had taken over Gaul and eventually would take over Brittany itself, filioquizing it from the eleventh century on. In the nineteenth century, starting with the centralizing Republican tyranny of Napoleon, the French (Frankish) Establishment tried to eradicate even the Breton language – just as the British (Norman) Establishment tried to eradicate Welsh in Wales.

As a consequence, little of the old piety has survived in Brittany today, all the more since the onslaught of consumerism. However, the saints are still there, still praying, still calling modern Bretons back to their roots, just as the ancient saints of Europe call back Europeans everywhere. We believe that if the Faith is pure, if it is the Faith of the 400 Breton saints, then there is a future for Brittany, as indeed for all Europe if it listens to its ancient saints. As everywhere in Europe, the Orthodox Faith survives in vestiges and ruins, awaiting the Day of the Resurrection, the Great Awakening and Restoration to the fullness of the Orthodox Church.

From the Holy Fathers: St BEDE The VENERABLE: DAY NOW FOLLOWS NIGHT

FROM the creation of the world, time was divided so that day was followed by night. On this night of Easter, because of the mystery of the Lord's resurrection, this order of time was changed. He rose from the dead during the night and on the next day revealed His resurrection to His disciples.

Formerly it was fitting that night should follow day, for by their sin human beings had fallen away from the light of Paradise into the darkness and adversity of this age. But now day follows our night, for it is through faith in the resurrection that we are restored from the darkness of sin and the shadow of death into the light of life by Christ's grace.

St Bede – Homilies

Through His many appearances, the Lord wished to show that He is present in His divine nature everywhere in response to the desires of those who seek what is good. So He appeared at the tomb to those who mourned and He will be present with us in our sadness at His absence. He came to meet those on their way home from the

tomb so that they could proclaim the joy of His resurrection: He will surely also be present with us when we joyfully proclaim what we know to be true to our neighbours.

He revealed Himself in the breaking of bread to those who invited Him into their home, thinking Him to be a stranger: He will also be present with us when we generously give what we can to strangers and the poor. And He will certainly be with us when in the breaking of bread we share in His body, our living bread, with a pure and simple conscience.

St Bede – Homilies

O blessed night, which alone merited knowing the time and hour in which Christ rose from the dead. This is the night of which it stands written: 'Night shall be as bright as day', and 'The night has become the light of my joy'. The holiness of this night drives away wickedness and washes away sins; it restores innocence to the fallen and joy to those who mourn. It banishes hostility and restores peace, curbing pride. Therefore in this night of grace accept, O holy Father, this evening sacrifice of incense which Thy holy Church offers Thee by the hands of Her ministers ...

'Exultet' in the Hyde Liber Vitae

BRITAIN (400–450) AND ST GERMANUS OF AUXERRE

IN the first half of the fifth century the majority of the population of Britain were Celts and they spoke their own language, not a vulgar Latin, as in Gaul. Christianity was strongest in the towns and villas, but it seems clear that with the breakdown of Roman government and emigration it was greatly weakening even in those places. Linguists and students of place names and Latin inscriptions put forward three reasons for the obscurity about the collapse of Romano-British Christianity in this period.

Firstly, records were not transmitted because the educated, Latin-using class was disappearing. The Latin language of the official class in Roman Britain had never become the natural speech of the whole population: it had remained purer and more classical than the vulgar Latin of Gaul, as can be shown from such inscriptions as have survived; purer precisely because it was never popularized. The Latin used in the Christian liturgy, as in the Roman '*officinæ*' and military headquarters, as also in the towns and villas, was a social accomplishment.

Secondly, it is certain from place name evidence that, even in many parts of eastern Britain, where many Germanic mercenaries and their families, 'Saxons', had long ago settled among the abandoned Roman villas, giving rise to the term the 'Saxon Shore', stretching from what is now Norfolk to Portsmouth, there must have been many survivals of British-speaking people, who intermarried with the 'Saxons', that is, the early English. British numbers increased progressively across the Midlands into the west. These people did not speak a vulgar Latin, but the British language that was the parent of Welsh, Cornish and the Celtic language of Cumbria.

Thirdly, many British or Latin place names must have been transferred into early English, not in the first flush of the English settlement, but by bilingual Britons who had intermarried and learned the new language; the early English met very few people who spoke any sort of Latin during the course of their occupation of Britain. This reinforces other evidence that the Roman villas and churches were deserted before the more intense English settlement of Britain began, or, at least, before it had gone very far.

It was these villa owners and occupiers who would have been the most Latin-speaking at the outset of the settlement and later: as also, the most Christian. The Christian towns had been deserted even earlier. The Latin-using official class, with the church, bishops and clergy, seems to have collapsed with the collapse of towns and villages. They led a precarious life when the villas were no longer used as residences, but still as centres of Christian worship; they led a fugitive life during the retreat westwards and across to Brittany.

In Gaul, the whole population spoke vulgar Latin and, when the Frankish elite came, bishops, clerics and notaries used it for business and administrative purposes. A new Latin language evolved and the Christian Church survived, whereas in Britain an unRomanized and unconverted peasantry adopted the language and pagan cults of the conquerors, at least where they settled thickly. These peasants were familiar with Latin place names and taught the English settlers some of them. Where they were the majority they

continued to speak British themselves, where not, they adopted Old English.

Only one language could be used as the language of the moots which held early English society together, arranging the communal ploughing and dealing with offences against unwritten folk custom: and the language of the mass of illiterate conquerors, Old English, prevailed. In the west and north-west, near the western end of Hadrian's Wall (as evidenced by both St Ninian and St Patrick who came from that region, St Patrick possibly from Ravenglass), the Church did survive, and among the clergy some measure of Latinity; but elsewhere the British speech of the de-Romanized (if they had ever been Romanized) peasantry became the sole alternative to early English.

In the west, the evidence of inscribed stones in Latin shows that the Church survived, but with Gallic support, especially in Wales. Their formulæ derive from the Christian inscriptions of fourth and fifth century Gaul. These inscriptions show that there must have been close contact between the Gaulish Church and Britain in the days of St Germanus of Auxerre († 448), though very few of the surviving stones are as early as this. Some inscriptions in the west, however, show Irish influence and indicate that Irish settlers in the western parts of Britain must have retained their own language at least as late as the seventh century.

Another piece of evidence explains our lack of detailed knowledge of Church history in Britain during this period: the speed of linguistic change of the British language during the years of early English settlement: between 400 and 600 all the words in the British language had become one or more syllables shorter, and the names of British heroes and saints almost completely perished. In Wales, after the sound changes that turned British into Welsh, heroic poetry survived in the collections attributed to Aneirin and Taliessin; the genealogies of kings and some knowledge of holy men who worked in the fifth and sixth centuries survived also.

In the first half of the fifth century, when direct Roman government fell, but British chieftains with Roman names still maintained some appearance of Roman civil life, the missions of St Germanus of Auxerre to Britain in 429 and in about 447 are well attested. The story of these missions occurs in the *Life of Germanus* by Constantius, priest of Lyons, who wrote probably in the year 480 or a little later. The *Life* commands respect as a historical document written not long after the events it describes, for Patiens became bishop a year before Germanus' death, and may have met him as he travelled from Auxerre to Ravenna in 448: indeed, he was unlikely to have commanded the writing of the *Life* unless he had some interest in the great bishop. Moreover, it was published in Auxerre for circulation in Germanus' own see.

The details of Germanus' career are interesting for the comparison of conditions in Gaul with those on the other side of the Channel. In both Gaul and Britain at the beginning of the fifth century the provincials were disturbed by invaders and orderly Roman government was breaking down: though disorder was far worse in Britain than in Gaul. In Gaul the civil service was still functioning, not in Britain.

Constantius relates that Germanus studied law in Rome and practised it at the law court of the prefect of the Gauls. He attained to the high office of '*dux*', which implied the military command of his province along the Channel coast, together with that of the fleet which, around AD400, was stationed in ports on both sides of the Channel. Having been a priest for some years, he was consecrated bishop in 418. He must have known something of the withdrawal of direct Roman government from Britain and the threat to the British Church from raiders from his duties along the Channel coast: but according to Constantius it was the spread of Pelagianism in Britain that caused his first journey to Britain in 429. A British embassy asked for his help, a Synod was held in Gaul, and at the command of Pope Celestine or the Synod itself, Bishops Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes were commissioned to bring such help. They started from St Germain des Vaux, some twenty miles west of Cherbourg, for Frankish advance had already made passage via Boulogne unsafe.

The bishops, according to Constantius, filled all Britain with the report of their preaching: they were daily hemmed in by crowds and preached 'not only in churches but at the crossroads, and in the fields and lanes'. The rather aristocratic supporters of Pelagianism at length came to meet them in rich robes for a formal debate, accompanied by a crowd of supporters. They opened the debate at some length, but the crowd applauded the arguments of the bishops, who refuted their preaching. This debate must have taken place in a town of some importance, for when it ended 'a man of tribune rank' requested the bishops to heal

his ten year-old daughter of her blindness: which they did. All regarded the miracle as a sign of the rightness of the bishops' doctrine. The bishops, having stamped out the heresy, 'sought blessed Alban the martyr', presumably at *Verulam*, now St Albans.

'Meanwhile, the Saxons and the Picts had joined forces to make war upon the Britons'. It is unlikely that the Saxon raids were made other than on the east coast of Britain: and it is known that the Picts had long before made deep raids into north Britain from beyond Hadrian's Wall. Defence against the Picts was an obligation on all the cities of Britain, not merely on the northern inhabitants of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland and Westmorland. That a hastily collected provincial force should have marched northwards from *Verulam* to wherever a joint force of Saxons and Picts had stationed themselves is no improbability: nor is the statement of Constantius that in these circumstances the provincials sought Germanus' help in any way surprising. He had been '*dux*' earlier, and '*dux*' at the time signified a military leader.

The Britons, in fear, had withdrawn to their camp when they sent this appeal for help to the apostolic leaders. They promised to come, and set out for the Britons' camp: their promise brought such comfort that 'it was as if Christ himself fought through the apostolic leaders'. The days of Lent arrived: there were daily instructions and many catechumens were baptised, indeed, a great part of the whole army. On the day of the Resurrection, a church was woven of leafy boughs, on the plan of a city church though actually set up in a camp in the countryside. The soldiers paraded still wet with the baptismal water and all hoped for help from heaven.

'Meanwhile the enemy expected an easy victory over this almost unarmed host, for they had learned of the camp and its appearance and practices by scouts'. When the Easter solemnity had been celebrated, and the army, largely newly baptized, began to prepare for Germanus promised to act as *dux* in the battle itself; he chose the advance troops, went round the outposts, and surveyed the valley, shut in by steep hills, where the enemy's advance was expected. And in this spot he himself, as leader of the vanguard, drew up his host.

The enemy approached: Germanus, standing by the legionary standard, ordered the Britons to answer his call with one voice, and when he judged the enemy near enough, the two bishops cried three times the Easter Alleluia. Then the enemy were smitten with terror and fled, and many were drowned in the river: the victory had been gained by faith and not by force. The bishops, having conquered 'both Pelagians and Saxons', through the intercession of Blessed Alban the Martyr, returned to Gaul.

The second visit of Germanus to Britain, perhaps as late as 447, was made in company with bishop Severus of Trier, and again in connection with the danger from Pelagianism. The bishops would apparently have landed at Southampton or Portsmouth, for in the intervening years the situation in south eastern Britain had deteriorated. There is reason to believe that the chieftain whom Germanus visited this time, called by Constantius 'Elafius' and described as 'the leading man (*primus*) of that region' was Elesa, named in the Welsh genealogies as the father of Cerdic of Wessex.

The ancestry of the Saxon kings of Wessex has long been suspected as the product of inter-marriage with the family of some Romano-British chieftain, for the name Cerdic reproduced the old Latin Caratacus in the vernacular; it is not impossible that in the western lands where the west Saxons later settled, Germanus should have approached Elafius, tribal king of the Belgic lands that stretched from the Isle of Wight to the Bristol Channel and centred in Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*). The 'region' may have included several civitates, for bishops as well as crowds of Britons greeted Germanus. Wessex, like Gloucestershire and Herefordshire (the Archenfield) must have been, like Wales, a relatively secure part of Roman Britain. Germanus' arrival was not made known to Elafius formally by messenger but by rumour.

Germanus first inquired about the protectors of the Pelagian error and condemned them. Immed-iately Elafius approached and desired him to heal his young son, who was so lame that walking 'was impossible'. The boy was healed, and Germanus returned to Gaul, taking with him those who spread heresy, so that western Britain was troubled with them no more, and 'was still orthodox in the faith to the day'. Constantius was writing (about 480).

Nothing is said by Constantius of any further travels of Germanus after his preaching in Wessex: yet a persistent Welsh tradition associates him with one or two of the earliest Welsh saints, as their master and teacher. Wessex adjoined Gloucestershire, Hereford and Glamorgan, all

lands of prosperous Roman villas, and it is not impossible that Germanus should have travelled through this area on his second visit, and encountered the future St Illtud and even (as one tradition asserts) himself founded the 'llan' or monastery of Llantwit Major; or, alternatively, taken Illtud back with him for training in his own monastery on the Yonne, opposite Auxerre: either would account for the tradition that St Illtud was 'a disciple of Germanus'. In any case, St Germanus' activities in Britain would account for any young man going from Britain to seek training with him in Gaul.

ST JOHN OF BEVERLEY

JOHN, surnamed of Beverley, was born at Harpham in East Yorkshire, a place which is still associated with him. He was himself singularly fortunate in his teachers – the Northumbrian Abbess, St Hilda of Whitby, and St Theodore of Tarsus, the distinguished Archbishop of Canterbury and friend of St Maximus the Confessor.

He was one of the seminarists at the famous school at Canterbury where Archbishop Theodore and his helper, the Berber Abbot Adrian, loved to gather together 'a crowd of disciples', and to teach them all that they themselves knew of sacred and of secular lore. Latin and Greek were taught with such thoroughness that many of the scholars became as well versed in those tongues as in their own. There, too, astronomy and arithmetic were taught, and the complicated rules for determining Easter were expounded. Nor were the lighter studies neglected – the art of poetry was part of the curriculum and so, too, was sacred music, according to the system of Gregory the Great.

With what enthusiasm does St Bede speak of those days when on the one side was the desire to learn, on the other the power to teach; when 'the minds of all men were bent upon the joys of the Heavenly Kingdom of which they had just heard'; nor, he adds emphatically, 'were there ever happier times since the English came into Britain'.

But of all the studies within his reach, the one for which John seemed to have the strongest natural bent was that of medicine. Constantly in later life we find him by sick beds or going out of his way to search for some case of more than common suffering to which he could minister, and years after he would recall some medical maxim which he had learnt front his master Theodore, as when he found fault with the practice of some of the Yorkshire nuns of bleeding a patient 'on the fourth day of the moon', because, as he said, 'I believe that Archbishop Theodore of blessed memory said that bleeding at that time was very dangerous'.

It was the Archbishop who bestowed on him his name of John. If part of John of Beverley's training was gained under a remarkable man, part of it was gained under a no less remarkable woman. The religious house of the Lady Hilda at Whitby was no mere nunnery, but a home of prayer, where men and women alike were prepared for their various duties and position in life. Her monastery in Whitby had the honour of furnishing the Church with five contemporary bishops, three of whom occupied at some time or other the see of York and are counted as saints – Bosa, John of Beverley and Wilfrid, the second of that name. The foundation of all at Whitby was the careful reading of the Scriptures.

Bishop John was specially famous in after days for his exposition of Holy Scripture, and in this bent of his mind we may see the fruit of those quiet days at Whitby, when the Abbess 'obliged those who were under her direction to attend so much to reading of the Holy Scriptures'. Half a century earlier the Lady Hilda had been at the court of her uncle St Edwin, and there from the lips of St Paulinus she had first heard the faith of Christ, which found in her so ready a response. To the first Bishop of York St Hilda owed the greatest blessing of her life, and now she was unconsciously repaying the debt by preparing another Bishop of York, no less holy and single-minded than his great predecessor.

We hear nothing more of the saint till, on the partition of St Wilfrid's extensive diocese in 687, he was chosen to be Bishop of Hexham. Though he was tireless in going about his diocese, and in performing the routine duties of his office, we hear more in his life's story of little individual deeds of kindness to friends and neighbours than of any powerful influence brought to bear upon the Church at large by public acts or utterances.

On the banks of the Tyne, almost opposite Hexham, sheltered by a green wooded mound, lay a peaceful burying-ground with its little chapel, dedicated to the Archangel Michael. To this quiet

spot Bishop John, year after year, loved to come with a few chosen companions, for though given to retirement he was always happiest when he had some of his pupils around him. Here he delighted to spend Lent, always marking the season by some unobtrusive act of charity. He would ask his disciples to seek out 'some poor person labouring under any grievous infirmity, or want, whom he might keep with him during those days'; and on one such occasion they brought him a lad who, in addition to certain repulsive bodily afflictions, was dumb.

With a tender patience the bishop devoted himself to this case. He first took care that the boy be provided with the food of which he was sorely in need, and then he set himself to the task of teaching the unpractised tongue to speak. Syllable after syllable was slowly formed under his careful direction, until at length the dumb spoke, and was able to 'express his private thoughts and will to others, which he could never do before'. The good bishop then handed over his patient to the care of a doctor, and in time the youth returned home perfectly restored to health, and with 'a ready utterance'. This anecdote, with not a few others, was told to St Bede by one of Bishop John's favourite pupils, a certain Berthun, who was with his master both at Hexham and afterwards at York and Beverley.

According to one authority St Bede was himself among the number of St John's pupils, but if so, it can only have been for a short time, for none of the stories that he delights to tell concerning him rest on his own authority, but were collected from those who had had the privilege of being intimate with him. St Bede clearly had a strong hero-worship for 'that holy man' and it must have been a deep satisfaction to him that it was by 'Bishop John' that he was ordained both deacon and priest.

In 705, when John had been in Hexham for eighteen years, he was translated to York. St Wilfrid was still living, and still, in theory, though not in fact, the sole bishop of the great undivided diocese of York. If any man could soften the bitterness of such a moment, it must have been the gentle Bishop John. He accepted the duties of his new office as a trust, and fulfilled them faithfully for thirteen years. John was emphatically one of those who laboured for peace, and St Wilfrid cannot have found it hard to bestow on him the kiss of peace or to concelebrate with him in that communion by which all the five bishops present at the Council of the Nidd sealed their reconciliation.

And so to York Bishop John went, and in the next thirteen years we catch many glimpses of him travelling about his diocese – visiting a monastery here, consecrating a church there, and everywhere endearing himself by his acts of kindness to the sick and sorrowing, and by his inexhaustible sympathy, bestowed as freely on the poor as to the rich, on the servant-boy as on the master.

We get a pleasant picture of him in his lighter moments from the narrative of another of his pupils, a certain Herebald, afterwards Abbot of Tynemouth, but at that time one of the younger clergy, in constant attendance on the bishop. It was a law of Bishop John's circumstances that he should travel about a great deal; it was no less a law of his nature that he should teach a great deal, and he managed to combine the two things by taking his pupils with him on those long riding journeys of his; and gladly enough the young men followed him, learning to read and sing and other arts, how and where they could in their intervals of leisure.

Now, it happened in the course of one such journey that they came to a plain and open road, so tempting for a gallop that the youths petitioned to be allowed to have a race. The bishop first forbade it, then somewhat reluctantly yielded, being prevailed on by the unanimous request of so many, – only he conditioned that Herebald should have no part in the race. But Herebald, who himself tells the story, was bent on showing off the powers of the fine horse which the bishop had given him. For a time he kept his post by his master's side, but the temptation was at length too strong for him, and joining the rest, he began to ride at full speed, hearing, but disregarding his bishop's call. Another moment and his horse had taken an unexpected leap, and the rider was lying stunned upon the ground, his head having struck a stone that lay under a shallow covering of turf.

For hours they dared not move him, but watched beside him as he lay there; but towards evening, when some signs of consciousness began to show themselves, they carried him home. They had no hopes of his recovery, as his injuries seemed beyond the reach of human skill. The good bishop spent the entire night alone in prayer. Very early in the morning he stood by the bedside and – so Herebald afterwards said – 'called me by my name, and as it were waking out of a heavy sleep, asked, "Whether I knew who it was that spoke to

me?' I opened my eyes and said, "I do; you are my beloved bishop." "Can you live?' he said. I answered, "I may, through your prayers, if it shall please our Lord".' The bishop would not let him speak more at that time, but took himself again to prayer on his behalf. When next he returned to him he was able to speak with more ease, and the bishop now called in the doctor and asked him do his part. So rapid was Herebald's recovery that by the next day he was able to mount his horse and ride out with his master to another place, while before long he was as well as ever again.

The busier life of his new diocese made Bishop John more careful than ever to secure certain periods of peace, and the little church of St Michael's, near his own house in York – a church which can probably be identified with the existing St Michael-le-Belfry – became his favourite place for secret prayer. But still he yearned for some place as quiet as the little graveyard-chapel of his Tyneside days, and in the course of his journeyings he came across a spot that captivated him.

It was 'a land of wild forests and waters', and in the midst of it stood a small church dedicated to St John the Theologian. The place in those days was called Inderawood, that is, 'in the wood of the people of Deira', but a little later was called 'Beverley', from the beavers that then abounded in the river. Inderawood, or, to use its modern name, Beverley, became the dearest spot in the world to Bishop John. He bought land there; he added to and beautified the church, and attached to it a double monastery – one portion for men, the other for women – and by large purchases of lands in other parts of Yorkshire, he richly endowed his new foundation. He chose one of his own clergy to be the abbot of this loved monastery, and when at the end of thirty-one years he determined to retire from active life, it was under the roof of this old friend and pupil that he came to spend the three remaining years of his life, while he resigned his diocese to yet another friend and pupil, that other St Wilfrid.

So, loved and tended to the last by those whom he had taught, the evening of his life was passed in the very circumstances that he would have chosen, and there at Beverley he reposed on 7 May 721. The popular voice proclaimed him as belonging to the great company of the saints and for seven centuries after his death his fame was continually on the increase. Beverley adopted him as her special patron, and King Athelstan and many another royalty, each in his turn came to worship at the shrine of St John of Beverley, and confer some new dignity upon the monastery that he had founded.

But it was in the reign of Henry V that Beverley attained its greatest glory. The battle of Agincourt was fought on October 25 1415, the feast of the translation of the relics of St John of Beverley to a more stately resting place than the porch in which they had at first been laid. King Henry not only remembered this, but attributed his victory to the intercession of the saint of Beverley. He and Queen Katherine travelled north to pay thanksgiving in the minster, and by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury, it was announced that henceforth 7 May, the anniversary of the bishop's repose, should be observed with special honour.

On the whole, the chief matter for surprise is that the memorials of so honoured a saint are not more in number. His greatest memorial unquestionably is Beverley itself, which has become so bound up with him that it is difficult to think of that church without also thinking of its founder, while this fourth occupant of the metropolitan see of York is known to history, not as John of York, but simply as John of Beverley. Town and minster alike are his monument; but strangely enough neither the minster nor any of the other churches in the town are dedicated to him. It will be remembered that when Bishop John first came to Inderawood, he found there a tiny church dedicated to St John the Theologian; and this original dedication was never changed.

Nevertheless, St John of Beverley still lives in the memory of his fellow-townsmen. He is credited with having presented to the town the fine stretch of commonland, over five hundred acres in extent, known as Westwood. The real donor seems to have been an archbishop of the fourteenth, not the eighth, century, but the gift is popularly ascribed to St John. Among other purposes, the common serves as a recreation ground, and to those who have in mind the story of the good bishop and his wilful young pupil so bent on horse-racing, it is quaint to hear a native of Beverley boasting of 'our race-course which was given us by St John of Beverley'.

Turning to the churches that bear his name, we find six in all – two of them of special interest. First, there is Harpham, which tradition claims as the saint's birthplace; but far more interesting than this is a little church on the wooded hill on the bank of the Tyne, nearly opposite Hexham. That little

church is the direct representative of the tiny chapel where thirteen hundred years ago Bishop John of Hexham would refresh his soul by communion with God. The chapel was dedicated in those days to St Michael the Archangel, but it has long had the name of the devout Englishman whose prayers have for all times hallowed that beautiful spot, and in the very name of the parish 'St John Lee', sometimes abbreviated still further into 'Lee' alone, we may recognise the shortened form of 'St John of Beverley', just as custom long ago shortened Paulinus to Paul or Etheldreda to Audrey.

The remaining ancient (now sometimes changed) dedications to Bishop John are to be found, two of them in Yorkshire – at Salton and Wressle – and two of them in Nottinghamshire – one in Whatton, and the other in Aslackton (otherwise called Scarrington). It will be seen that there is not a single dedication to St John of Beverley that does not have some personal connection with the saint. John was no traveller like St Wilfrid – that visit of his in early youth to St Theodore's school at Canterbury seems to have been the furthest limit of his wanderings – and the rest of his life was wholly spent in his native North, which he loved so well. And there, at Harpham, Lee, Beverley, and the rest, he is still remembered, and his spirit still seems to haunt the places where once he dwelled in bodily presence – the places where his numberless deeds of kindness were done, his prayers poured forth, his clergy prepared for this world and for that which is to come.

CONTACTS BETWEEN OLD ENGLAND AND GERMANY AND THE ORTHODOX WORLD IN THE EAST

DURING the late Old English period sources mention three Greeks who visited or came to live in England. The historian William of Malmesbury records the presence of a Greek monk, Constantine, at Malmesbury; the *Liber Eliensis* speaks of a Greek bishop who came to live in England at Ely during King Edgar's reign; and the *Life of Simeon the Hermit*, which gives a detailed account of his travels, shows him to have also come to preach in Britain *c*.983.

We know more about Englishmen going to the East, as pilgrims to Jerusalem or Constantinople. Archbishop Ealdred of York († 1062) did both, offered a gold chalice adorned with great skill to the tomb of Christ and, having met the Patriarch of Jerusalem, was offered gifts by him. Earl Swein went to Jerusalem in 1052 from Bruges, where his family was exiled, and died on his way back in Constantinople. We do not know which route the monk of Canterbury Æthelwine took in 1095, but he returned via Constantinople and Apulia.

Neither are we told exactly the route of another monk of Canterbury, Joseph, who followed in about 1090, but he also travelled *via* Constantinople. Other pilgrims such as the couple Ulf and Madselin in *c*.1066–8, also went to Jerusalem. From the historian Orderic Vitalis and Anna Comnena's Alexiad, we know that one category of Englishmen went to Constantinople to settle there after the Conqueror deprived them of their English possessions in the 1080s; they were admitted into the Roman Army from 1081 onwards, under Alexius I Comnenus, and from 1085 onwards served the Emperor in the most prestigious section of the Imperial Army, his personal guard known as the Varangian Guard.

The writer Goscelin mentions one such nobleman who emigrated to Constantinople, married a Greek woman and built a church dedicated to St Nicholas and St Augustine, having been brought up at St Augustine's in Canterbury; this church became the rallying-point of the English exile community in Constantinople. Many other such noblemen emigrated, according to Goscelin, who further speaks of a miracle by St Augustine of Canterbury in the 1070s, who saved a group of Greeks and Englishmen travelling from Constantinople to Venice by sea.

A Greek text, the Admonition to an Emperor, written by a certain Nikoulitza about 1080 mentions the Emperor's English officers, who fought the Normans at Dyrrachium in 1081 and who later were again seen helping the Emperor with an English 'fleet' stationed in the Bosphorus. The man in charge of this fleet seems to have been one Siward Barn, who had fought alongside Hereward the Wake and had had to leave England afterwards. He was a characteristic example of a wealthy and powerful member of the Old English aristocracy who had to flee to New Rome after the Norman Occupation.

The Old English also came to know Greek texts, devotions and iconography through the

intermediary of Italy and Germany. In both cases, Orthodox influences were at work, in Rome and the south of Italy in the first case, and in the Rhineland cities and Liege in the second case.

In Rome, pilgrims visited Greek churches, such as that of the *Schola Graeca*, the Greek community, Sta Maria in Cosmedin; and monastic churches served by Greek monks, respectively Sant' Anastasio alle Tre Fontane and Sant' Alessio, possibly even S. Valentino. There, they would have seen the Greek liturgy and monastic customs, especially at Sant' Alessio in the tenth century, possibly the most learned Roman community. Rome remained one of the main centres for the transmission of Greek Orthodox culture to the Latin world. Further south, not very far from Rome, other monastic communities either followed the Greek tradition, such as Grottaferrata, or had particularly close links with Greek traditions and favoured the presence of Greek monks and artists within their walls, the most famous example being Monte Cassino itself under the reign of Abbot Desiderius, later Pope Victor III. Further south again, Naples had always been a city of both Latin and Greek culture. The south Italian Greek impact on the Old English Church is to be found mostly in specific devotion and liturgical features. While the English probably became familiar with some of these features through Rome, they may have become aware of others through the German channel.

Greek devotion and art were particularly favoured between the arrival in Germany of Princess Theophano, to be married to Otto II in 972, and the death of Conrad II in 1039. The future Empress Theophano was directly responsible for the appointment of Greek south Italian churchmen, such as Gregory of Cassano, at her family's foundations of Burtscheld and Brauweiler, possibly for the markedly Greek features of the new imperial palace at Magdeburg, and for the education of her son Otto III. Gregory of Cassano, a monk from Calabria, who had lived as an exile in Rome since 969 and had built a monastery there with the help of Theophano, was invited to Germany in 996 and made Abbot of Burtscheid. He brought with him several disciples, a priest Andrew, a deacon Sabas, and a monk Sirius.

Otto III had been taught by another Greek tutor, John Philagathos, also from Calabria, Abbot of Nonantola in 982, Bishop of Placenza in 988, and a great favourite of Empress Theophano and the godfather of her son, on whom he exerted great influence; John was subsequently sent as an ambassador to Constantinople in 994–6 and in 997; he became the anti-pope John XVI. Otto's enthusiasm for Greek and south Italian monasticism is well attested in his veneration for St Nilus and St Romuald, the disciples of these two men being among his most highly prized spiritual counsellors.

Most contacts between Greek monasticism and this Germanic world were carried through the Imperial court, which could not but be otherwise than in close touch with the Rhineland cities, since these were great religious, cultural, and economic centres. The bishops of these cities were often close to the court, and related to the Emperors, such as the two tenth-century Archbishops Bruno of Cologne (925–65), who could speak Greek and possessed Greek artefacts, and Dietrich of Trier, brother and cousin of Otto I. Notker of Liege was a counsellor of Theophano; the Emperors were often at Liege and Poppo, Abbot of one of the greatest spiritual centres in Lotharingia, the Monastery of Stavelot, often advised Henry III.

Meanwhile, other churchmen at the court also became interested and patronized Greek devotion, for example, Bishop Notker of Liege, Bishop Willigis of Mainz and Bishop Gerard of Toul. Notker and Willigis went to Italy several times with Theophano. Notker gave hospitality to a Greek bishop, Leo, at Liege in about 1000, while Gerard, who had been on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, did the same for some Greek monks at Toul; and Archbishop Poppo of Trier, after his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1028, invited the monk Simeon of Mount Sinai to settle at Trier in a hermitage. In 1070, a group of Calabrian monks settled at Orval and another monk, Ursus, came to Sion with some relics of St James: a chapel was built and dedicated there by the Bishop of Toul, which was given to the monastery of St Mansuetus.

A little earlier in the century, John of Gorze, the reformer of Lotharingian monasticism, had travelled extensively in the south of Italy. He had been to Rome, Monte Cassino, Naples and Gargano, had read Sts Hilarion, Macarius and Pachomius, and been interested by aspects of Greek monasticism, which he introduced at Gorze and the monasteries reformed from it in Lotharingia and Germany.

Greek influence was at its strongest in Cologne under the reign of Archbishop Heribert, and there were several Calabrian monks there, for example, one Elias in 1021. Other German churchmen, such

as Adalbert of Prague, who had met St Nilus, had been to Jerusalem, Cassino, and St Saba's in Rome, were equally interested in the south Italian Church, and Adalbert attempted to live by it at Sant' Alessio in Rome. To these examples ought to be added the whole outlook of Otto III's reign and dreams of reconstruction of the Roman Empire, since he saw himself as the heir to both the Latin and Greek thrones, as well as Conrad II's Greek sympathies.

The Decline of England 7: EADWEARD III – part 2

By Eadmund

The Return of the Godwine Family

EADWEARD'S security now depended on the belligerent support of Earls Leofric and Siward: he had given Harold's earldom to Ælfgar, Leofric's son. Leofric and Godwine did not get on, and Leofric had serious disagreements with him over foreign policy. However the quarrel between the king and Godwine had not involved him directly, and whilst he was prepared to back the king out of loyalty, he was not prepared to involve the country in civil war. There was a great natural swing of sympathy in favour of the victims, all the stronger because Eadweard had shown no moderation or mercy. The arrogance of the French and the visit of William of Normandy can have done nothing to help the situation.

Meanwhile Godwin and his sons began to reanimate loyalty among his former thegns, put out propaganda for his support and buy the support of others with promises. Harold and Leofwine with nine ships, no doubt manned by Irish-Norse crews from Dublin, sailed up the Bristol Channel, landed at Porlock to gather supplies, beating off an army that opposed them, inflicting heavy losses, and then went on round Land's End and up the English Channel. Godwine, also with a fleet, slipped past the royal navy at Sandwich and landed at Dungeness in Kent, where he was warmly welcomed by folk from all parts of the region. Duke Odda and Ralf, who had been sent against them, were determined commanders and, calling out the land-army, moved their ships to attack, driving Godwine before them to Pevensea in East Sussex; but the campaign was interrupted by a westerly gale, which blew both fleets back up the Channel. Godwin returned to Bruges to refit, and the Englisc fleet, clearly in some disarray, began to disperse.

Godwin, encouraged by this news, sailed again, this time direct to the Isle of Wight, which he ravaged, and late in August 1053 joined forces with Harold. Godwine knew that they could recruit supporters unmolested and was constantly restraining his more bellicose followers. He had no intention of fighting an unnecessary campaign, but he achieved his aims without spilling unnecessary blood only because he was prepared to fight and everyone knew it. They sailed up the Channel, collecting or impressing ships and hostages from all the ports from Pevensey to Sandwich, so that by the time they rounded the North Foreland they had forces sufficient for a campaign. Ralph and Odda were probably on the watch, but they had to retreat as the invaders advanced.

Godwine reached Southwark and, while waiting for the tide to turn, negotiated with the Londoners for a safe passage, which was granted. Still keeping to the south bank, he moved his forces within the city defences and came face to face with the royal army and navy. Godwine then demanded the restoration of everything of which he and his family had been deprived. Eadweard refused, whereupon Godwine swung his leading ships across the river, so as to encircle the royal fleet. It was a similar situation as in the previous year, but this time Godwine had the advantage. Stigand was once again prominent as an intermediary. Eadweard realized that his men would not fight, and that he would be forced to offer terms, and he became mad with anger. He was now forced to exchange hostages with his father-in-law and the French favourites of the king took to flight, among them Archbishop Robert, Bishops Ulf of Dorchester and William of London. They fought their way out of the East Gate and escaped abroad.

On the following day, 15 September, Godwine and Harold went ashore with a suitable escort to attend a meeting of the council, where Godwine was allowed to declare his and his sons' innocence of all the charges that had been brought against them. They were formally inlawed, restored to the royal favour, and given back everything of which they had been deprived. The Frenchmen, who had caused all the trouble, bringing false charges and

perverting the course of justice, were outlawed. Thus Godwine recovered Wessex, Harold East Anglia, and the queen her position at court. It is not known whether provision was made for Swegn, but a month or two later news arrived that he had died at Constantinople on the way back from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, made walking on bare feet, to seek remission for his sins.

Godwine, unlike Eadweard, did not push his victory too hard – he wanted to recover his losses and punish his personal enemies, but he also wanted to work again with the king. Eadweard was allowed to keep the Frenchman who had been loyal to him, and William bishop of London was summoned back because no one had any quarrel with him. Earl Ralf, who had commanded the fleet against Godwine, was unmolested and Odda remained an earl until his death in 1056. Once he had recovered from his anger and shame at his discomfiture, Eadweard may have felt some relief at being released from the dangerous policy to which Robert of Jumièges had committed him. He certainly never made any attempt to undo the settlements, and probably realized that he had behaved irrationally and foolishly.

The Kingdom Settled Once Again

The expulsions, far from weakening the kingdom, allowed a new unity of purpose, and a firmer attitude to the Welsh and Scottish princes. The Witan in Gloucester at Christmas 1053 decided that Rhys, the brother of Gryffydd ap Rhydderch should be assassinated because of his depredations, and the head of the victim was brought to Eadweard on 5 January. Malcolm Canmore had been living as an exile at Eadweard's court, and in 1054 Eadweard ordered Earl Siward to invade Scotland and place him on the throne. Subsequently Malcolm killed Macbeth[1] in battle in August 1057.

The Englisc court began to acquire once again a sophisticated, cosmopolitan character reminiscent of the reign of Æthelstan. For Easter 1053 the court moved to Winchester, and while Godwine was dining with the king on Monday 12 April he suffered a stroke, and lay speechless until the Thursday, when he died. Godwine was very popular in Winchester, and all men felt that they had lost a father and mourned him greatly. Their only consolation was that Eadweard gave Wessex to Harold, which allowed him to restore East Anglia to Ælfgar, Leofric's son. In this he probably had little choice, and it still gave him a chance of getting his own way by having a fairly even distribution of power between the three great families, and playing on their rivalry.

In 1055 Siward of Northumbria, and in 1059 Leofric of Mercia and Ralf of Mantes also died. Through the influence of Eadgyth and Harold, their brother Tostig was appointed to succeed Siward. He had secured the hand of Judith, half-sister of the count of Flanders in 1051, and was in line for an important earldom. His distinguished Danish ancestry through his mother and his even more distinguished marriage made him particularly suited to rule there, and his personal qualities fitted him for the office. He and Harold were very much alike, but whereas Harold was more easygoing and had a more open character, Tostig was more inflexible, ruthless in pursuit of evildoers, always kept his word and never changed his purpose. He ruled Northumbria firmly (or harshly according to one's point of view), and although he was eventually to be expelled, it was as a result of discreditable intrigues at court. However his appointment upset the balance of power, and Edward could now only recover freedom of action by exploiting dissension between the Godwine children, and in fact it is difficult to see much discord between them.

It is true that Harold and Tostig had always enjoyed rivalry, and it is possible that Tostig both envied his elder brother's advantages and disapproved of his way of life – Harold was a womaniser and sometimes foul-mouthed. However the brothers co-operated in 1063, and there is good evidence that there was no disagreement between them before 1065.

At the same council where Tostig received Northumbria, earl Ælfgar was charged with treason and outlawed. Part of his earldom was taken away and given to Gyrth, the next Godwinesson approaching manhood. When Earl Ralf died, Ælfgar, who had been reinstated in East Anglia, was allowed to succeed his father in Mercia, and Gyrth took over the whole of East Anglia. The next younger brother, Leofwine, was given a new earldom created out of the south-eastern shires, and Harold took Ralf's earldom in compensation.

During the period 1053–1065 William of Normandy campaigned almost every year against one or more of his neighbours and sometimes against his overlord, the king of France. He was careful to dispose of anyone who might be a rival to his succession claims to the kingship of England.

Also at this time some favoured bishops built up ecclesiastical empires. Ealdred administered three dioceses: Worcester, Hereford and Wiltshire in addition to the abbey of Winchcombe. Stigand did even better, and linked his dioceses of Winchester and Canterbury by putting his own men into the bishoprics that separated them, as well as administering several abbeys. There were obviously reasons for this pluralism – maybe the bishops had an un-avowed or even unconscious desire to emulate the great earls, but it may have been mere administrative convenience[2]. Occasionally it could even have had a reformative purpose, to secure more efficient government and to prevent wastage of monastic estates. However there was, during the latter part of the reign, much local improvement in the Englisc church. Leofric of Exeter, William of London and Giso of Wells reorganized their cathedral chapters. Archbishops Cynesige and Ealdred remodelled and enriched their four great minsters. Earl Harold founded a church at Waltham, although as it was collegiate (i.e. with secular clergy, not monks) it did not meet with the approval of the monastic chroniclers. Even in some of the monasteries the tone of the chapters was much improved. However, although he had appointed the bishops, none of this was principally ascribable to Eadweard.

Problems on the Borders

For some time the Welsh had been making raids into Englisc territory. Eadweard took a lively interest in Welsh affairs, and often held his court at Gloucester. Although the chief attraction was the hunting to be had in the Forest of Dean, nevertheless he had strengthened the defences along Offa's dyke. When Earl Ælfgar had been banished for treason, he returned from Ireland to Wales with eighteen ships, made an alliance with Gruffydd, and led their combined forces against the city of Hereford, and the new cathedral had been looted and burned, captives sold into slavery, and the whole city and part of the county were ravaged. Harold was put in command of an army, and advanced a short distance into Wales but found no enemy to fight. He refortified Hereford, and it was decided that Ælfgar should make peace with the king. However, when Ælfgar succeeded to Mercia, he seems never to have abandoned his alliance with Gruffydd, and gave him his daughter in marriage.

In 1047 Harald Hardrada, recently returned from Constantinople, had succeeded to the kingdom of Norway, and in 1058 his son Magnus made a raid for booty, fortuitously assisting Ælfgar's return, and the unexpected combination of dangers forced Eadweard and his advisors to temporise and buy the enemy off. It is evident that there was a détente, with Earl Harold on the watch from Hereford and Earl Ælfgar behaving more responsibly. Bishop Ealdred set off for Jerusalem. Earl Harold also may have travelled to Rome, and in 1061, Tostig, Countess Judith, Gyrth, Ealdred and other Englisc nobles and clerks visited Rome. Earl Ælfgar must have died at about this time, although we are ignorant of his fate, but his disappearance seems to have upset things. Eadwine, Ælfgar's elder son, was appointed earl in his place, although he was only a teenager. Gruffydd, undeterred by that fact that the new earl was his brother-in-law, regarded the death of his ally as bringing the peace to an end, and raided Mercia again. At Eadweard's Christmas court, held as usual at Gloucester, Harold was dispatched with a cavalry force to surprise Gruffydd at Rhuddlan on the river Clwyd in North Wales with the intention of killing him, but Gruffydd was warned just in time, and escaped by ship, leaving Harold to burn his hall and return to report failure.

In the spring a more elaborate campaign was planned, and Harold sailed with a fleet from Bristol to ravage the Welsh coastline and prevent Gruffydd escaping by sea, while Tostig invaded North Wales, presumably from Chester. This time the brothers had spectacular success. Although Gruffydd escaped their clutches, they received the submission of most of the Welsh nobles and when they continued to ravage there was a general surrender and renunciation of Gruffydd. The brothers did not pursue him in the wilds of Snowdonia, but left the kill to the Welsh. Gruffydd was slain by his own men, and his head and the ornaments of his ship were brought to Harold, who then delivered them to Eadweard. North Wales was divided between Gruffydd's two half brothers, Bleddynn and Rhiwallon. Harold administered their oaths, confirmed by hostages, that they would be faithful vassals of king Eadweard, perform military service for him on land and sea, and pay all the customs that had ever been due from Wales. In Deheubarth two new men emerged as leaders, and in Morgannwg, Cadwgan ap Meurig, the son of the former leader, rose to power. Wales had once again fallen to pieces. Harold's efficiently won achievement and ruthlessness made a great impression that echoed through history well beyond the Norman Conquest.

Moves to Secure the Succession

King Eadweard had come to realize that he could not have a son, or at least not from Eadgyth, and as he had decided that his marriage should continue, in 1054 it was decided to bring to England an ætheling whom most of the nobles and bishops would accept on the king's death. As Bishop Ealdred of Worcester led the search, the impetus probably came from those whose loyalty was attached primarily to the Englisc royal dynasty, but Eadweard must have been in agreement. Ealdred travelled to Germany 'on the king's business,' leaving England in July 1054, and was received with honour at Köln by Archbishop Herman and the Emperor Henry III. Ealdred conveyed Eadweard's request that messengers should be sent to Hungary to bring back his half-nephew and namesake, the son of Eadmund Ironside (the younger brother Eadmund had already died). Eadweard had married Agatha, a daughter of the emperor Henry II's brother, and had three children by her: Margaret, Christina, and Eadgar the ætheling.

The political situation in Hungary was somewhat unstable, and Eadweard, who can have had no memory of his father, or of his homeland, probably spoke no English. He was somewhat unwilling to leave, but the death of the Emperor on 5 October 1056 and the resultant worsening of the political situation may have finally persuaded him. In 1057 he arrived in England with his family, but died in London and was buried at St Paul's before he had even seen the King. This was a misfortune indeed, for his only son was still a child. It is possible, however, that Eadweard, who adopted his great-nephew as his ward, considered that the problem of the succession was solved. After all, he had only to live another decade for the boy to be old enough to be taken seriously and to press his claim. For a man approaching death, the question of who would succeed him cannot have been one on which he wished to dwell, and his attitude was probably that God would provide.

We now come to the notorious journey of Harold to Normandy to carry Eadweard's promise of the throne to William. Although this event has even been depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry, its precise significance is open to a great deal of doubt. The account of William of Poitiers, on which it is largely based, is so biased in favour of the Normans[3], and so inaccurate in detail that it cannot be accepted. He claims that the purpose of the embassy was to increase Eadweard's honour, but the appointment as his heir of a bastard count would hardly do that. It is not clear how any oaths taken by Harold would outweigh the efficacy of the oaths that the chronicler maintains were taken in 1051: more efficacious would have been hostages: for example the Duke would have wanted to have Eadgar the ætheling and a son of each of the earls of England in his power; but according to William of Poitiers the Duke actually allowed Harold to take one of the two hostages that he already had back from him to England. Ideally, if Eadweard had been serious about the gift of England, William should have been conducted there and if not actually crowned in Eadweard's lifetime, at least have been put in possession of some key places. William of Poitiers paints a picture of a politically naïve duke wronged by a criminally ambitious earl from 'perfidious Albion'. This story just will not stand enquiry and the truth is now so obscure that it can never be known. It is just as likely that Harold's visit was entirely unconnected with the succession, that no one had any suspicion that the King's life was almost at its end, and that Harold simply swore to observe the long standing treaty of amity between the king and the duke, and in return was granted the release of his nephew. This would accord most nearly with the Englisc point of view. The propagandist William of Poitiers simply twisted innocent facts to put William in the best possible light, and Harold was made his scapegoat.

The Northumbrian Rebellion

The final event of Eadweard's reign was the Northumbrian rebellion, which was against Tostig rather than the king, but this was no help to him. On 3 October 1065 a large number of Northumbrian thegns marched on York, killed as many of the earl's huscarls and servants as they could find, and plundered its armoury and treasury. They then outlawed Tostig, sent for Morkere, recognized him as their new earl, and under his leadership marched south to Northampton, killing Tostig's men and plundering his lands as they went. From Northampton at least part of the insurgent force pushed on to Oxford. They were protesting to a West Saxon king against the misrule of a West Saxon earl. He was said to have used the law to deprive his enemies of life and land, to have despoiled churches and to have taxed the whole of Northumbria heavily and unjustly. Florence of Worcester even names Gamel son of Orm and Ulf son of Dolfin, whom he alleges were killed in Tostig's chamber at York whilst under safe-conduct,

and Gospatric, whom Queen Edith, for love of her brother, also is supposed to have had killed by treachery at the royal court. Although these men were Northumbrian aristocracy, maybe descendants of Earl Waltheof I, it is significant that the Northumbrians did not choose Waltheof, Earl Siward's son, as their leader, but instead selected Morkere, who had no obvious connection with Anglo-Scandinavian society.

At court some men accused Tostig, of being himself responsible for the disaster by his misgovernment. Tostig countered by accusing Harold of having instigated the rebellion: an accusation that Harold denied on oath. The Witan eventually decided to negotiate with the rebels, and Harold had talks with them at Northampton and later at Oxford. The rebels utterly refused to have Tostig back, and asked that Eadweard should recognise Morkere as their earl. Eadweard refused to do so until they laid down their arms. The rebel response was: 'either dismiss Tostig or we will make war on you'.

When these negotiations failed, Eadweard summoned the army, but no troops appeared. Some blamed the lateness of the season and unsuitable weather, but all shrank from civil war. The king was furious, and called down God's vengeance on those who neglected their duty and withheld their service, but to no avail. Tostig, who was Eadgyth's favourite brother, went into exile, and Eadgyth wept bitterly.

Why could Tostig do nothing for himself? Probably because he only had a small escort with him while he hunted with Eadweard in Wiltshire. His huscarls had been slain at York and Lincoln by the rebels, and the northern thegns were in arms against him. A more important question is where were the armies of his brothers? Was Harold playing an underhand game? Harold certainly did his best for Tostig in the negotiations, but in the end he refused to champion a lost cause. He declined to fall with Tostig, and shrank from a suicidal civil conflict. At worst he was calculating and selfish, aware that the elimination of Tostig would remove one more obstacle between him and the throne, but most men probably thought him wise. Tostig, however, never forgave his 'treachery.'

The King Reposes

The king's grief was so extreme that he became ill, and it is possible that he suffered the first of a

The English Earldoms in 1065

series of strokes. Even if Harold were entirely innocent of evil intent regarding Tostig's banishment, and from what we know of him this could well be the case, he must nevertheless have brought his ambition into the open at this point, and started counting his friends. Eadgar the ætheling was no more than fourteen years old, and had as yet been given no earldom, nor even any large estates.

The 1065 Christmas celebrations were not held at Gloucester, as the king could not hunt, and his new abbey church at Westminster was to be consecrated. The usual heterogeneous assembly convened – they were by no means all Godwine's men. It is noteworthy that William of Normandy was not there, and if he was really the heir designate his absence needs explaining. Eadweard's condition worsened on Christmas Eve, when he may have suffered another stroke, although he recovered sufficiently to go through the Christmas Day festivities. On Boxing Day he had to retire to his chamber, and on Wednesday 28 December, the feast of the Holy Innocents, the new church at Westminster was consecrated in his absence. A week later, after periods of unconsciousness with spells of delirium, he reposed. Shortly before he died he became so restless that the watchers in his chamber tried to rouse him, and succeeded in doing so. The Queen was there, sitting on the floor warming his feet in her lap. Earl Harold, Robert fitzWimarch and Stigand,

The King's deathbed from the Bayeux Tapestry

Archbishop of Canterbury were also present. Eadweard ordered his household to be assembled, and then recounted a vision that he had just had, saying that God had cursed the kingdom, and a year and a day after his death would deliver it into the hands of the Enemy. This 'vision' is a little too close to the events of 1066 to be accepted without question: it was only written down after the Conquest. However we may accept that Eadweard related a dream prophesying woe. Stigand, who knew him as well as anyone, apparently discounted it as delirious raving due to sickness and senility.

While his servants wept and the queen cried unceasingly, Eadweard spoke his last words and made his final will[4]. He commended his soul to God, and hoped that He would repay Eadgyth for her dutiful and loving service. Offering his hand to Harold, he said: 'I commend this woman and all my kingdom to your protection', and commended to Harold all his foreign vassals and servants, and asked that Harold should either take them into his service or grant them safe-conduct. On 4 of 5 January – probably on the Wednesday night between the two, the king died. Almost all sources, including William of Poitiers, record that Eadweard bequeathed the throne of England to Harold, and no one suggests that he was out of his mind when he did so. He was buried in Westminster Abbey on Thursday 6 January, the feast of the Epiphany[5]. Then Harold, with the consent of the Witan, was crowned on the same day and in the same church by Ealdred, Bishop of York, who was a close friend[6].

Conclusion

As a person, Eadweard was not particularly attractive, and no anecdote shows him in a particularly favourable light. There is no evidence from his recorded behaviour that he was remarkable for any of the princely virtues: courage, magnanimity, generosity, love of justice, mercy: none that he possessed such humdrum qualities as patience, industry, or good will. There is nothing to suggest that he was outstandingly religious or an enlightened patron of the church[7]. It is clear that especially in his later years he lived a respectable life, and did not run after women. In old age he developed an aura of goodness, but he was not a holy imbecile. In short, he was not a man of great distinction, and as a king would not stand comparison with Eadgar, Ælfred or Æthelstan. He had no policy other than that of remaining on the

throne. His ordering of the execution of Rhys of South Wales, which may seem bloodthirsty today, must be set against the mores of his time. He did not have, as William of Normandy did, castles full of political prisoners, many of whom never emerged to see the light of day. By these standards he was milde[8].

As far as miracles attributed to Eadweard during his lifetime are concerned, they are all unsubstantiated and lack circumstantial detail. Even by the more credulous standards of the time they were not impressive. The only ones for the period immediately after his death are those provided by Osbert of Clare, which are similarly fanciful.

Further Reading

Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, Yale University Press, 1997.
Sir Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford.
N. J Higham, *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England*, Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1997

Notes

1 However Macbeth was not the monster depicted by William Shakespeare, any more than Eadweard was the saint. Whatever his literary merits, Shakespeare was definitely not a reliable historian.
2 There is evidence that the northern Archdiocese of York had been so impoverished by Viking depredations that it was essential that its Archbishop should have some other diocese to provide enough revenue to maintain it.
3 He was actually writing a panegyric of Duke William, and his theme was that William had never fought an unjust war!
4 At this time the *verba novissima*, the will declared on the deathbed, was the basic, usual and completely valid method of disposing of goods and property. Writings were merely evidential.
5 Theophany, as it is known in the Eastern Rite.
6 The reason for this was that there was some doubt about the legitimacy of Stigand's appointment to Canterbury, and Harold was guarding himself against any suggestion that his coronation was invalid – a suggestion which was made, nevertheless on the Bayeux Tapestry, which says that he was crowned by Stigand – a simple untruth.
7 Eadgyth in fact outdid him in charitable deeds and benevolence to the church.
8 Milde – the Englisc word for 'merciful.'

Orthodoxy Shines Through Western Myths (17)
THE CRUSADES

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

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

In the following article, the next in a series taken from various works of secular scholarship, we have selected extracts from a historian. These are from *The Crusades* by the well-known French-language scholar Zoe Oldenbourg, published in London in 1966 and again in 1998. These extracts seem to illustrate abundantly the post-Orthodox deformations of Western culture, which began with the spread of the new *filioque* culture behind the Papacy. The Crusades were simply the result of the pressure of barbarianism ('feudalism') on Christianity and their fatal mixing, producing an inherently secular form of Christianity.

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:

The Inherent Barbaric Aggressiveness of the New, Post Mid-Eleventh Century Western Religion (pp. 76–77)

The deep, irreconcilable difference between the traditions of Rome and Byzantium (*sic*) lay in the attitude of both to murder, or to war. This was something which emerged from the Crusades and it was more than a detail, more than just a matter of emphasis. Both were Christian, and both made war as a matter of course, celebrated their triumphs, prayed to God to grant them victory, and charged into battle carrying crosses and banners bearing the images of the saints. But for the Greeks no war, however 'holy,' could ever be anything but a sin, something concerning men alone. It was a venial and even a necessary sin, but a sin all the same, and sufficiently serious for a soldier of any kind, however just the war in which he was fighting, to be excluded from participating in the sacraments for at least some time as a penance. Bloodshed of any kind – even when the blood belonged to God's enemies – could on no account be looked on as virtuous. Like the good thief on Calvary, the most that any hero who fell fighting the Turks could hope for was a pardon *in extremis*, if he had the time to confess.

In theory things were exactly the same in the West: Christian doctrine was explicit on such matters. However, from the middle of the eleventh century onward the popes had begun granting special indulgences to soldiers who were going to fight the Moors in Spain or placing themselves directly in the service of the Church, so that murder, under its noble name of war, had long enjoyed a strong prejudice in its favour. The secular ruling class was a military class and consequently its intellectual and ethical values were military values, a state of affairs against which the Church struggled in vain. Despite constant threats of excommunication, God's truce and God's peace were observed only by a small minority of knights, and understandably the Church could not condemn those who were fighting to defend her. She could only encourage the Spanish Christians in their efforts to win back their lands from the Moslems. Although the Emperor, the temporal head of the Byzantine (*sic*) Church, was also the head of the army, the Church herself, while granting her blessing to those waging a 'just' war, remained on one side, faithful in principle to her horror of all bloodshed. The Greeks would have been appalled to see their archbishop mounted on a battle charger, a helmet on his head and a sword in his hand, but we know the Latins, at least the knights, were by no means dismayed by such a sight.

The fundamental difference lay in the coexistence in the Western mind of two quite separate ideals, the warrior and the Christian. Byzantium never seems to have been affected by any such ambivalence: it was too blatantly paradoxical for the logical Greek mind to accept.

The Cultural Superiority of the East (pp. 474–475)

The library of the Banu Ammar in particular, the greatest in Syria for the quality as well as the quantity of the books which were kept there, was scattered and destroyed. This was a treasure whose value the Crusading soldiers were completely incapable of appreciating.

The soldiers plundered and their leaders set them an example, while as we have seen, the representatives of the Church had no scruples about robbing their Eastern colleagues. The True Cross, the most revered relic of all, which was to play such a mighty part in the life of the kingdom up to the fall of Jerusalem itself, had been seized by threats and force from its original owners, the Greek monks of the Holy Sepulchre. It is not to be deduced from this that every city was systematically plundered and all the inhabitants deprived of their property; there were not enough Crusaders to do this and they had nothing to gain by it. The capture of Jerusalem and Caesarea remain fearful exceptions. Other cities in fact suffered no more from the Crusades than any city was bound to suffer in time of war and at a period when the soldiery was naturally brutal, but where the greater number of the inhabitants took no part in the war and were content to bow their heads and wait for the storm to pass.

Occasionally, when a city was taken by storm, there was street fighting in which the civilian population was not spared, and women especially, since they were regarded as part of the justly acquired spoils of war. But even in these cases most of the people escaped, and after a few days life returned pretty much to normal. Although impoverished by war, by plunder, and by the departure, voluntary or otherwise, of a part of their population, those Eastern cities occupied by the Crusaders remained busy, wealthy centres of

commerce, industry, and craftsmanship considerably more intense than that of Western cities, and the Latin colonists -French or Italian – formed only a minority of their population.

There was a fairly striking contrast between any Western city, even the capital of a kingdom, and an Eastern city such as, for example, Antioch (to say nothing of Constantinople or Baghdad). This was not merely a difference between two kinds of civilization; it was an unquestionable superiority of culture and living standards, a superiority which, on an intellectual and moral level, the Westerners were unable to appreciate. (This was not out of natural boorishness, but simply because they did not understand the language.) On the level of technical achievements, refinement of manners, and the outward comforts of life, they realized it very well and – understandably adapted very quickly.

This adaptation took place all the more quickly in that the contrast between the two civilizations was much less great than it would be today. Both were the heirs, directly or indirectly, of Greco-Roman and later of Byzantine (*sic*) civilization, and the Eastern and Western civilizations were still united by fairly close ties of kinship. It must not be forgotten that buildings for religious or military use in Syria and Palestine were frequently the work of Greek architects, while early Romanesque churches in France, Germany, and Italy were completely Byzantine in inspiration. Moorish influences penetrated through Spain into southern and central France, while in southern Italy and Sicily, Greek and Arab traditions existed side by side. The sacred art of Europe was still almost entirely derived from the Byzantine (*sic*) and its decorative art strongly influenced by the Moslem East, and by Persia in particular ...

In this, the Latins can be compared to people in the so-called underdeveloped countries today, who envy Western technological superiority without any conception of its moral superiority, and very often seeing only the technical side of a civilization whose spiritual content escapes them.

The New Arrogance of the Westerners (pp 548–549)

The Franks behaved like soldiers who despise civilians on principle even when they treat them well. The bishops and clergy of the Crusading army were not soldiers, although some of them, beginning with the legate Adhemar, had not been above taking part in battles in person and all regarded themselves as members of God's army – an army which was not remotely spiritual or symbolical – and this affected their attitude toward the Eastern clergy. Just as the Frankish barons despised the Greeks and Syrians for their supposed softness, so the Crusading clergy seem to have blamed their Syrian colleagues for their lack of aggression. They treated them as though they had been somehow shamed because they had borne the infidel yoke for so long, and tended to regard simply as cowardice what the Orientals considered their heroic patience.

It should not be forgotten that the Oriental clergy, obeying a tradition a thousand years old (which until the Crusades had also been that of the great majority of Western clergy), was strictly pacifist and peace-loving. They might go so far as to pray for a Christian victory, and even to absolve the crime of murder if committed with pure intentions and in defence of the faith or native land, but it was their duty to hate bloodshed. (In this connection, it is appropriate to recall the tragic dialogue between Prince Gabriel and the Jacobite Bishop of Melitene: 'Have mercy, O Prince, there is killing outside [the city], let there not be killing within!' 'And you,' replied Gabriel, 'would you then deliver the city up to the Turks?') A Christian prelate might legitimately prefer the domination of the infidel to a war, even a victorious one, if it involved a great loss of human life. The Western Church had not lost this quite natural and altogether religious horror of murder, but it was less strong in the West than in the East, and it seems likely that among the prelates and priests with the Crusade it had practically ceased to exist. God in person had granted victory to their side, and a priest might take up arms without sullying himself when even the saints and angels descended from heaven to fight at the side of Christ's soldiers. It. was natural for them instinctively to despise the meek, resigned clerics who refused to take part in the fight and used their sacerdotal duty as an excuse, and who, for centuries, had paid the infidel the honour due to masters imposed by God. This had certainly been the attitude of the primitive Church, but it had not been current in the West for a long time ... .

It can therefore be said that as far as the local Christians were concerned the Crusades were first a source of suffering and then a great disillusionment. The suffering was to continue just as the wars did. In regions bordering on Moslem states,

the life of Christians became unendurable, and in Moslem cities, difficult. Many migrated to Frankish territory where, protected by the Crusading armies, they took the place of the Moslem citizens and peasants who had been killed or had left. In 1115 Baldwin I embarked somewhat belatedly on an actual propaganda campaign to encourage the greatest possible number of Christians to come from the Hauran and Transjordan to repopulate Jerusalem and its environs. The Franks had long realized that there could be no question of treating these natives as a conquered people. From 1101 onward, the local religious communities recovered some of their privileges, and the immigrants which the country so badly needed found themselves provided with houses and land and exempt from the tax they had formerly paid to the Moslems. The patriarchate, whether from greed or from a desire to encourage conversions to the Latin faith, did, however, make several attempts to impose a tax on Christians of other sects (*sic*), a tax from which Catholics were exempt.

The Waste of Life (pp. 552–553)

The Crusades were part of a general movement in the West, an expansion which was then only beginning but which, in the course of several hundred years, was to assume altogether unexpected proportions.

The Crusades can be treated to a process of 'demythification,' as it should perhaps be called, but nonetheless they form an integral part of the myth of the Christian, barbarian West, all-conquering, unashamedly militarist, adventurous, and accustomed to confusing heroism with prowess in battle ... The Crusades are known to have involved a fantastic waste of human life, and it is this angle which deserves to be considered now.

It is a notorious fact that the Crusades were responsible for an immense amount of bloodshed, and the appalling massacre of the people of Jerusalem is enough to discredit the Crusades as 'holy wars' forever. But 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. Next were the Hungarians, Serbs, and Greeks who lived in the regions through which the bands of Crusaders passed, and then the inhabitants of the district around Chrysopolis in Asia Minor, all of whom were Christians. These crimes were expiated to the full and more, and the Crusaders who indulged in this orgy of violence were nearly all exterminated like wild beasts, some in Hungary and others near Nicaea in Asia Minor. 'When the bodies of all the warriors who had been slain, which lay all around, were brought together they made, I will not call it a great heap nor yet a mound, nor even a hill, but as it were a high mountain of considerable size.' The 'high mountain' may only have existed in Anna Comnena's imagination, but the dead numbered more than twenty thousand and not all of them were murderers; there were many women, children, old men, and sick among them, and their numbers, in Europe as well as in Asia, were far greater than those of their victims.

The regular armies, from Lorraine, Normandy, Provence, and France, who set out along the road to Asia Minor in 1096 were lucky enough to distinguish themselves by great victories and to reach Jerusalem. But contemporary accounts, with their endless recital of the misfortunes which befell the armies one after another, might have been written to discourage volunteers who were anxious to imitate the Crusaders' exploits. The holy war made many more martyrs than it did conquering heroes.

Perhaps a Million Dead only on the Western Side (p. 584)

Even the sketchiest historical handbooks make a point of observing that the Crusades were a stabilizing factor for the European nations because they decimated and impoverished the nobility and also contributed to the concentration of power in the hands of the Church and of the heads of state. The disappearance of several hundred thousands of the poor – possibly over a million in all if we include all the pilgrim bands – does not seem to have affected the life of the countries from which these people had set out. On the other hand, the Crusades did bring the Latin West a revival of prosperity through the increase of trade, but this was not, or was only indirectly, due to the Crusaders themselves. Despite initial successes, the Crusades were a failure on a military level, responsible for an appalling waste of human life, even counting the lives of Crusaders alone; and however profitable they were in the long run, the benefit belonged chiefly to the commercial republics.

Based as they were on murder and expropriation, the Crusades can hardly be called a very Christian undertaking ...

Consequences of the Crusades: The Growth of Western Nationalism, Arrogance and the Dishonesty of its Popaganda (p. 585)

Indirectly, but quite clearly, the Crusades acted as a catalyst on the national pride of the Western peoples, and united in a fight for the same cause, these peoples learned to know one another better and also to hate one another. They learned even more to hate their great ally and rival, the Empire of Byzantium (*sic*). Any deep sense of national pride finds a need to seek something more than glory and prosperity for its native land, and to go beyond the idea of the nation itself. In this light, the Crusading impulse was one factor in the creation of Western nationalism.

If, as we have seen, the life of people in the West does not seem to have been deeply affected by the tragedy of the Crusades (except perhaps, briefly, in 1190), the feeling of Latin superiority, of the inalienable and implicit right of Catholic peoples to rule the world, was working its way secretly into their minds by means of these distant and apparently gratuitous wars which gave Latin chivalry possession of the Holy Sepulchre for almost a century.

Clearly, the second and only too easily foreseeable stage in this adventure was the conquest of Constantinople, which at the time was also regarded as a glory for the West. Here, nationalism took over from whatever religious motives might have been left in the Crusading movement. It should not be forgotten that in 1203 some of the Crusader knights were honest enough to admit that this deflection from the original object of the Crusade was a scandal (as even Innocent III himself agreed). Simon of Montfort and his companions left the Crusading army and went directly to the Holy Land, but the majority of the chivalry, far from following their example, blamed them severely, and the accounts of Villehardouin and Robert of Clary amply demonstrate that the whole idea of the holy war had given way at the time to a crude and selfish nationalism. The result was that while the Crusaders of 1204 remained God's soldiers and continued to wear the cross on their garments, they cheerfully transferred their holy detestation of the infidel to other Christians, who had a reputation for perfidy and were at any rate schismatics. A not very different state of things occurred in Languedoc.

Later, when there had been no talk of Crusades for a long time, Western wars of conquest were still to be dominated by this same spirit of dishonesty.

LORD ACTON

JOHN Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton (1834–1902), also known as Sir John Dalberg-Acton, is best known simply as Lord Acton. Called 'one of the most deeply learned men of his time', he was a unique Anglo-Franco-German Liberal historian and political thinker of the second half of the nineteenth century. His influence was enormous all over Europe and in the USA and has lasted until today. He is perhaps most famous for his often misquoted maxim: 'Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely'.

Lord Acton's grandfather belonged to a branch of his family which had moved to France and later Italy. His eldest son, Richard, had married a French aristocrat of ancient German origin and her son, the future Lord Acton, was born in Naples. However, he was educated in England under the future Cardinal Wiseman and then in Edinburgh. Then moving to Munich, Acton lived in the house of Johann Joseph Ignaz von Döllinger, the brilliant academic theologian and founder of the Old Catholic Church. Döllinger inspired in Acton a profound love of historical research and they became lifelong friends.

Acton mastered all the main European languages and began at an early age to build a huge historical library of 60,000 volumes – which he read and many of which he annotated. In politics, he was always an ardent Liberal. He spent much time in the main intellectual centres of Europe and the USA and numbered among his friends many of the foremost intellectuals and historians of the age. In 1856, aged 22, he was attached to a mission to Moscow as a British representative at the coronation of Alexander II.

In 1859 he settled at his country house in Shropshire. He became an MP that same year and became a devoted admirer and adherent of the Liberal Prime Minister Gladstone. In turn, Gladstone was greatly influenced by Acton. However, Acton was not an active MP, and his parliamentary career ended in 1865. At this time Acton took a great interest in America, considering its Federal structure a guarantee of freedom.

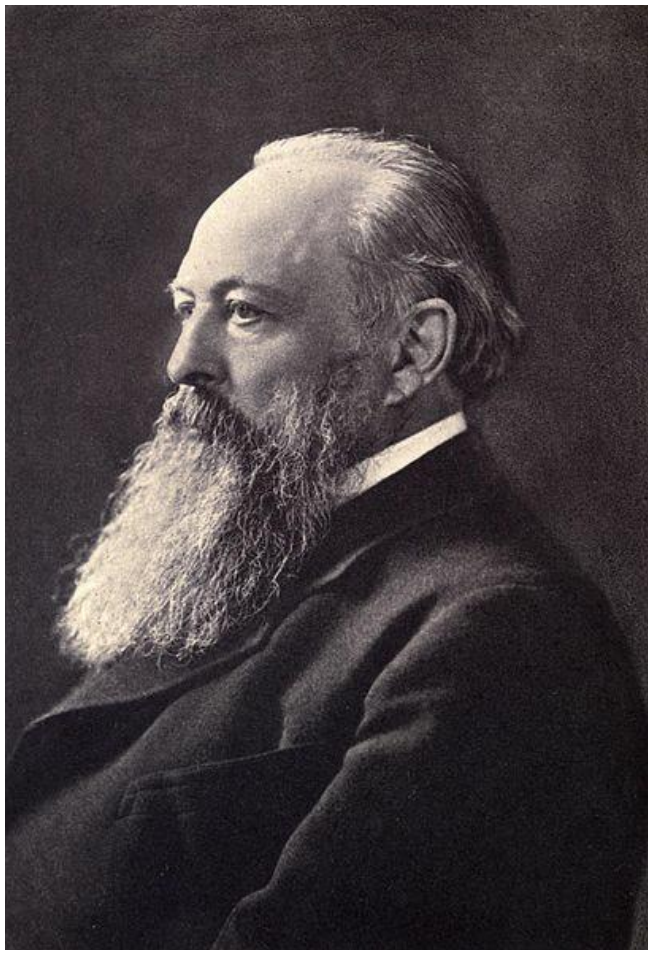
Therefore, during the American Civil War his sympathies were entirely with the Confederacy for its defence of State rights against a centralized government which he considered would become tyrannical, which indeed it did. The Northern cause, he thought, represented the same centralizing, nationalistic tendencies he so disapproved of in Prussia, joined with the messianic style of democracy that derived from the French Revolution.

Meanwhile, in 1859 Acton had become the editor of the Roman Catholic monthly paper *The Rambler* on Newman's retirement. In 1862 he merged this periodical into the *Home and Foreign Review*. His contributions at once showed his remarkable historical knowledge. Although a sincere Roman Catholic, yet he was a Liberal and therefore his whole spirit as a historian was hostile to absolutist papist pretensions.

His independence of thought and liberalism brought him into conflict with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. In August 1862, Cardinal Wiseman publicly censured the Review. After Döllinger's appeal in 1864 for a less hostile attitude towards historical criticism, the Pope declared that the opinions of Catholic writers were subject to the authority of Rome. Acton felt that he had to stop the publication of his monthly periodical. He continued, however, to contribute articles to other journals and lectured on historical subjects.

In 1865 Acton married Countess Marie Anna Ludmilla Euphrosina von Arco auf Valley (1841–1923), daughter of the Bavarian Count Maximilian von Arco auf Valley, by whom he had six children. In 1869 he became the first Baron Acton. In 1870, with his mentor Döllinger, Acton opposed moves to promulgate papal infallibility at the First Vatican Council, going to Rome to lobby against it. Despite his failure and the promulgation Acton did not become an Old Catholic, like Döllinger, but remained faithful to Roman Catholicism. It was precisely in this context of anti-papism that Acton made his most famous remark in a letter dated April 1887: 'Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely'.

In 1874, when the Protestant Gladstone published his pamphlet on *The Vatican Decrees*, Acton wrote a series of letters to The Times, illustrating Gladstone's main theme by numerous historical examples of papal inconsistency, a bitter pill for the papist party. However, Acton disagreed with Gladstone's conclusions. Although Acton's letters led to a storm in the English Roman Catholic



Lord Acton

world, the Vatican decided to leave him alone to avoid even greater scandal. After 1879 Acton spent his time in London, Cannes and Tegernsee in Bavaria. Between 1872 and 1889 he was awarded honorary degrees from Munich, Cambridge and Oxford. Acton's reputation for learning had gradually spread abroad, largely through the influence of Gladstone, who found him a valuable political adviser.

In 1895 Acton was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, where he had been denied a place of study as a young man because he was Catholic. His lecture on *The Study of History*, displaying vast learning, made a great impression in the University and the new professor's influence on historical study was considerable. He delivered two important courses of lectures on the French Revolution and on Modern History, but it was in private that the effects of his teaching were felt most. The Cambridge Modern History was planned under his editorship. In 1901 Lord Acton fell ill and on 19 June 1902 he died in Tegernsee.

Of course, Acton shared many of the prejudices of his time which came from his cultural

conditioning. However, as an incredibly diligent Victorian scholar he was one of the most learned and cosmopolitan Western Europeans of his age. That made him in many ways a man ahead of his time, especially in insular Britain. It is regrettable that his ornate and verbose Latinate style of writing puts off many today. Nevertheless, it can be said that he was the best and most educated that Western Europe then had to offer.

From an Orthodox viewpoint, Lord Acton is of interest, because, although fundamentally English, he was a profound Confederate European, an anti-papist Catholic, who was very close to the great Old Catholic Döllinger, and also admired aspects of the Russian Orthodox Faith, which he knew of from his visit to Russia for the coronation of Alexander II in 1856. He wrote then: 'People chant beautifully, the congregation is very fervent, incessantly crossing themselves ... The priests are very good-looking and venerable ... the outside of the churches is very imposing ...'. These words, written by perhaps the most learned man in Western Europe of his age, display the attractiveness of the Church of God even to those who come from another civilization.

Questions & Answers

What do you think of Nicholas Zernov's book *The Sunset Years* which is about 'English Orthodoxy'?

M. O., London

Nicholas was my godfather, but we had very different experiences of life, as he came from a privileged class and I came from an ordinary background. Although it must be over 30 years since I last saw that book, I remember that, for me, it contained very little about specifically the English or Orthodoxy, rather it seemed to be about a mixture of High Anglicanism and a liberal, compromised Orthodoxy of the Parisian style. And, to tell you the truth, that was very much Nicholas, who had a very partial and particular vision of reality.

To me that book now seems to express a lack of vision and a lack of knowledge, not just of England and the English (outside High Anglicanism, which today is dying on its feet), but a lack of knowledge of Western Europe in general, of which England is a part. It all now seems like a relic of the past, a sociological snapshot of a certain narrow type of convert Orthodoxy in the 1970s, now marginal and dying out.

I think Nicholas lacked a sense of Providence, he did not understand that everything would change and the quiet, academic life of North Oxford dreams that he lived in had little to do with reality and the future, both national and international. Today for example, most of the English people whom I receive into the Church have never been baptized, know nothing about Anglicanism, which to them is as foreign a country as it was to me in the 1970s. Therefore Orthodoxy is not foreign to them, because they come to the Church without any heterodox baggage.

Frankly, I see far more hope now than in the late 20th century past, when mainly Anglicans came to the Church with their cultural prejudices, agendas, baggage, demands for adaptations and 'reforms', because they simply could not adapt to real Orthodoxy. They ended up inventing various, tiny, marginal and quite sectarian Orthodox cliques, what are in reality, largely Establishment clubs of ex-Anglican vicars and their followers. Those who come from nowhere want the real thing, without bourgeois, Establishment compromises. Times have moved on.

In early England, there were double monasteries, where monks and nuns lived in the same monastery. Were they a uniquely English phenomenon?

T. C., Bristol

I knew that the custom had come from Gaul and that they existed there and in England, and not at all in Ireland. However, I did a little research for you and, according to the academic Mayr-Harting (*The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, pp 151–52), it seems that they actually originated in Egypt – from where they were adopted into Gaul, where monks lived in one part

of a monastery and their sisters lived in another. However, it is clear that they did not last long and they were banned by Canon XX of the Seventh Universal Council because of obvious and inevitable abuses. In England the only recorded abuse was at Coldingham, as described by the Venerable Bede. In any case, in England they died out, as far as I can see, in the eighth century.

Who is the Orthodox patron-saint of astronauts?

A. B., Ipswich

In the Russian Church it is St John of the Ladder.

What is basically wrong with Parisian theology?

W. L., USA

Parisian philosophy (it is not theology) is a spiritual illness. Philosophically, much of it is based on symbolism which means inner emptiness, a lack of faith. It is all to do with intellectuals 'discovering' what every granny always knew and developing it into a personality cult of personal infallibility beneath the cloak of fancy words. In other words it is vanity disguised by Greek. You can see it is vanity because they get terribly angry whenever they are contradicted. This is because they are pompous and self-important. That is why it is a spiritual illness. They are alpha egos surrounded by beta egos in all sociological contexts, whether in Paris, USA, England, Thessaloniki or wherever.

How is the Orthodox ideal regarding marital relations lived out today in terms of penance for violations of the norms established according to piety? In other words, how is economia applied where akrivia is concerned here and what areas are not subject to economia? For example, the rule of abstaining from relations during the Great Fast may be unreasonable for some or many today, while all, regardless of season, are expected to abstain from the use of contraception, and abortion is absolutely forbidden.

J. D., California

Before I answer, a word of warning: The vast majority of Orthodox have never heard of marital abstention. Go into the normal parishes and you will see this. This is a convert thing as some converts get involved in maximalism and idealism (= fantasy). They take on all kinds of monastic piety (and make it into pietism, even starting to dress as long-haired monks and nuns in long, black skirts), go in for all kinds of strictness, including the non-use of contraception, fasting to the letter, becoming judgemental about the mass of Orthodox who do not do these things, go in for all kinds of sexual puritanism (all to do with their Protestant backgrounds, nothing to do with Orthodoxy), read the *Philokalia* etc ... And then what happens? They lapse and sometimes commit all sorts of sexual sins in lapsing. I have seen it literally hundreds of times over the last 40 years in various countries.

I am describing reality to you. Why does all this exist? Because such converts want to run before they can walk and so they always fall. Those who are at the letter A should not be trying the letter Z. This is pride.

Proper fasting only comes with years of experience. Only then, in later life, should marital abstinence be tried, and only, as the apostle says, by mutual consent. I have seen several foolish women-converts and two male converts (including a convert priest) ruin their marriages by imposing this. I blame them for it. They are completely out of sync with cradle Orthodox, who know the Tradition and therefore know about human nature and reality, without pietistic illusions.

What I am saying is that there is only one absolute no-no, that is, abortion. All the rest depends on the spiritual level of the people involved. And sadly, there are few nowadays who can live without contraception and with marital abstinence. The spiritual level just is not there. You can only build spiritual life on reality, never on fantasy – as so often happens. It is the same with the prayer of the heart. If you try it before you are ready for it, you will fall into pride and so spiritual misfortune. Again this is a spiritual disease, involving uniform dressing as hippies or all in black, and I have seen this fall dozens of times as well.

As it says in the Social Concept of the ROC of 2000, there is no real problem with contraception, even though it is obviously a compromise with the modern but still real world and not the ideal. 99.9% of Orthodox use contraception (including old calendarists!). That is a fact. Go round the parishes – most couples have only two children. You don't have to ask questions to see it. Contraception is not just common, it is the norm and has been for decades. I have even heard one bishop (Greek) telling his priest to use contraception – because the parish refused to house his growing family.

The practice is this: If you both agree and if you are both already keeping the food fast, try it. Wednesdays and Fridays to start with, then we will see. Most couples under 60 cannot take it for more than a week or two. I do not speak about this issue because there are frigid women who want to use it as a self-justifying weapon against their husbands. It is dangerous ground to tread. As one elderly and wise Russian priest told me 30 years ago – in a marriage there are only two in the bed.

How do we understand Voltaire's saying that 'If God did not exist, people would have to invent Him'?

A. P., Felixstowe

You can interpret this in an atheist way: That people invent god, as a useful excuse or crutch for their weaknesses. But we can also interpret it in an Orthodox way: That since God exists, but people cannot face Him, the real God, they invent all sorts of idols to replace Him. Thus, people invent false, manmade gods, which justify them and their national or racial culture (Judaism/Islamism/Hinduism/Catholicism/Protestantism) or else they worship money (capitalism) or other -isms like environmentalism (ecology and tree-hugging, which is simply a revival of the old pagan nature-worship), or else everyday idols like their body (health and safety, sport and fitness, sun-worship, medicine and hypochondria), drink, shopping, football, TV etc.

Are we allowed to bring bananas for blessing at the Feast of the Transfiguration?

N. S., Romford

Yes is the short answer. It is true that in Greece, it is generally grapes that are brought and in Russia it is above all apples, which is why the feast there is known as 'The Apple Saviour' (the feast of the Saviour that is associated with apples). However, other fruit is also brought for blessing (cherries for example) and the prayer of blessing makes it clear that we are bringing for blessing any 'first fruits'. In the context of the modern world, that means any fruit that is ripe, and that therefore includes bananas.

How in your view has Orthodoxy changed in Britain over the last 40 years?

W. S., Colchester

40 years ago the Church here was dominated by immigrant groups (Russians and other Slavs from after 1917 and 1945 and Cypriots from between the 1950s to 1970s) and ethnic Establishment convert types. The latter were often retired, well-off Anglicans and ex-Anglican vicars with their 'hobby Orthodoxy', who had no time for ordinary English Orthodox who were not ex-Anglicans. Although the latter still very much exist, the post-1917 Russians are near extinct and the post-1945 generation has nearly died out also, meaning that the ghettos (let us be honest) of the Greek Church are in many places dying out. Today we have massive immigration from Eastern Europe that has taken place mainly over the last ten to fifteen years and a great variety among Orthodox, with far more parishes and places where the liturgy is, however irregularly, celebrated and in a number of languages, such as Romanian and Slavonic, or even Bulgarian and Georgian. In one word, things have changed – we now have immense diversity and both the Greek and Anglican Establishments have lost their strangling grip on reality, giving us freedom.

When did death for heresy become acceptable in Western Europe?

B. D., Norwich

I am not sure, but there were cases in Spain early on – but that was found to be wholly unacceptable. However, already in the eighth century Charlemagne practised 'baptism or death' among the Saxons. That was already more official. Then there were the Crusades. However, I looked up and found this quotation from Thomas Aquinas, whom Roman Catholicism calls an 'angelic teacher' and a 'saint'!

'Heresy is a sin which merits not only excommunication but also death, for it is worse to corrupt the Faith which is the life of the soul than to issue counterfeit coins which minister to the secular life. Since counterfeiters are justly killed by princes as enemies to the common good, so heretics also deserve the same punishment'. (*Summa Theologica* 2, 2 qu. xi, art 3).

KING ALFRED'S VISION OF ST CUTHBERT

Writing of King Alfred, William of Malmesbury records a vision which came to the King while he was in danger of his life in the early days of his reign. During his retreat at Athelney as he was one day in the house alone, his companions being at the river fishing, he tried to refresh his weary body with sleep. And behold! Cuthbert, once Bishop of Lindisfarne, addressed him while he was asleep in the following manner:

'I am Cuthbert: God has sent me to announce good fortune to you. Since England has largely paid the penalty for her crimes, through the worthiness of her native saints God now looks upon her with an eye of mercy. You too, so pitiably banished from your kingdom, shall shortly again be seated with honour on your throne; of which I give you this extraordinary token: your fishermen shall this day bring home a great quantity of large fish in baskets: which will be so much the more extraordinary because the river hard with ice at this time could warrant no such expectation, especially as the air dripping with cold rain mocks the skill of the fisherman. But when your fortune follows your wishes, you will act as becomes a King, if you show God, your Helper, and me, His messenger, fitting devotion.'