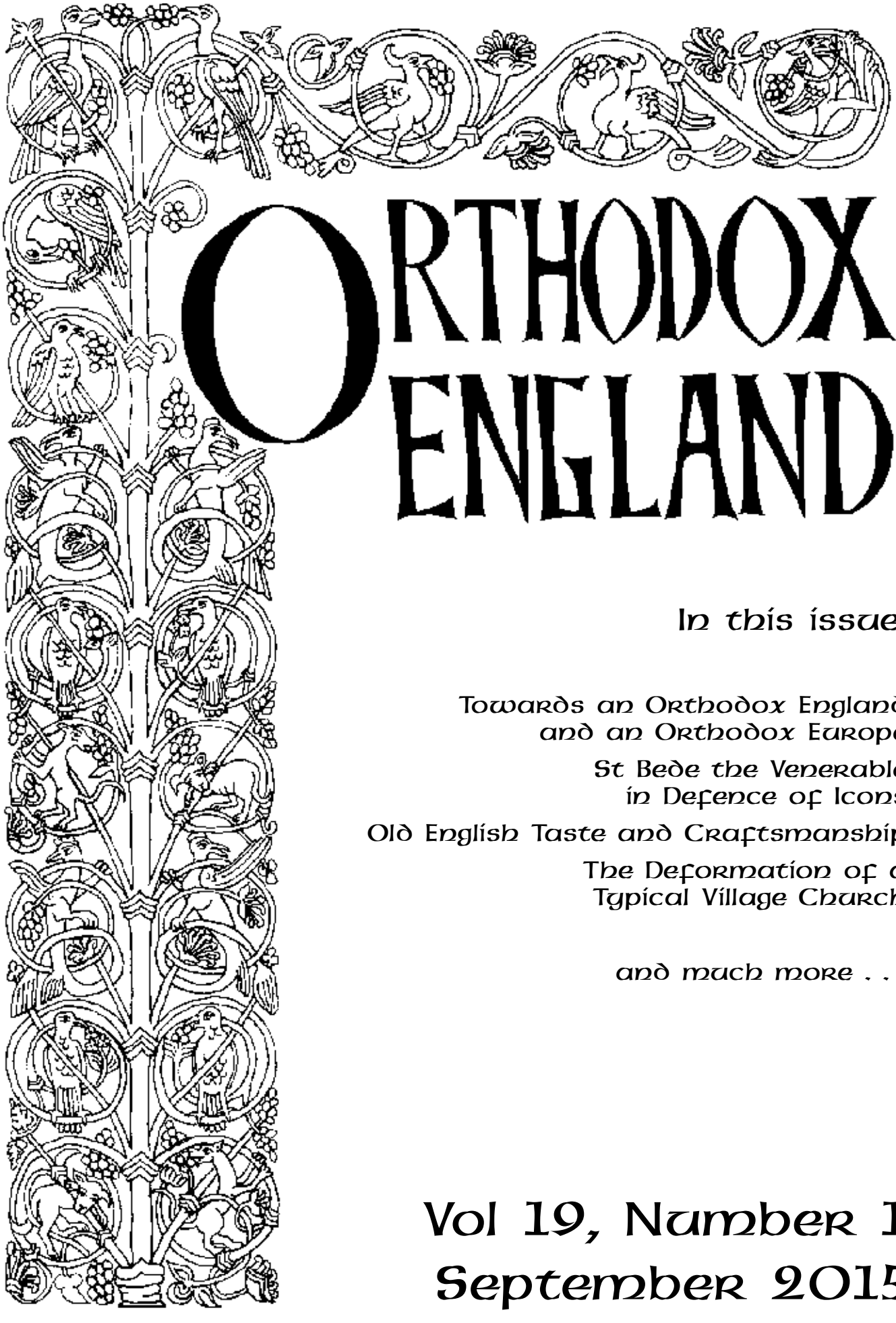

ORTHODOX ENGLAND

In this issue:

Vol 19, Number 1
September 2015

ORTHODOX ENGLAND VOL. 19 NO. 1
www.orthodoxengland.org.uk

A Quarterly Journal of English Orthodox Reading

September 2015

CONTENTS

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

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

Editorial: TOWARDS AN ORTHODOX ENGLAND AND AN ORTHODOX EUROPE

Forward to the German Edition of The Hallowing of England
and Orthodox Christianity and the Old English Church

A Childhood in England

IT was my innermost intuition from early years that the life around me did not correspond to the explanations provided for it. The understanding of reality offered me did not correspond to observable reality: it seemed to be only the self-justifying delusion of an élite. It appeared that the latter had kept our history from us, because we had to be kept from the truth. Instead they had given us propaganda for their cause. The only version of history and reality which they offered was their own, that of the victors who had written the books.

However, beneath, behind and beyond the distorted layers, at the roots, there was truth and another reality, the reality. Only this truth and reality would provide the lost knowledge, the key to understanding and explaining why what was being offered was false and hypocritical. Once the underlying truth could be discerned, that of St Edmund and all his holiness and that of King Alfred and all his righteousness, we could get both to the past origins and from there to the future destiny of England.

This innermost intuition was confirmed when I met Russian Orthodoxy, a process, not an event, which began when I was twelve years old. This was in turn confirmed when a little later I began to meet the Faith of other Local Orthodox Churches. There, I found the key to understanding my intuitive understanding of the existence of a 'White' England and so a 'White' Europe'. And so I understood then that a task had to be accomplished, the task of restoring the spiritual truths of First Millennium Europe, starting with the country that I knew best, England.

The Separation of England

The process of European separation from the fullness of the Christian Tradition, Orthodoxy, has, aptly been described by the historian Robert Bartlett in his *The Making of Europe*, as 'the Europeanization of Europe'. This process, founded on the distortions of pagan Rome and barbarian invaders, had already begun well before the Year 1000. Theologically, this process should rather be called 'Filioquization' than Europeanization. It came to England in a particular way, for England is a peripheral part of Western Europe, on an island, and it was therefore a peripheral part of the Church in Western Europe.

Filioquization did not come to England with the turning point of 1054, which date marked the end of an old process and the beginning of a new process taking place in the heart of Western Europe. It came to England in 1066, barbarically, violently, genocidally, with the largest land grab then known. Later, we would understand that this was itself only part of that long-term campaign of genocide and conquest, which had started in Sicily, would be extended from England to Wales, Scotland and Ireland, involving 'Crusades' in the Iberian Peninsula, the Holy Land, Constantinople and Eastern Europe, and eventually leading to world domination.

The two short books here presented show two different aspects of this consciousness of the Orthodoxy of England of the First Millennium. *Orthodox Christianity and the Old English Church*, first published in 1988, presents little-known elements of history at the beginning and the end of that period, elements of what we have lost. It revealed little-known research to a wider public, showing how parts of that Old England had ended in Constantinople and Kiev. *The Hallowing of England*, first published in 1994, presents a gazetteer or catalogue of surviving spiritual vestiges of that England. Having written these two books in France, I hoped that other European Orthodox writers would do the same for other parts of Western Europe, which they knew well.

Towards the Future

It is my profound conviction that if Western Europe is to retain its identity and survive against the onslaught of modern, atheist secularism, it is no good referring to other recent and compromised -isms, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, and their parts of Western European history. They already contain the seeds of modern, atheist secularism. It is no good either turning to Non-Christian ideologies or to newly-invented -isms, whether Mohammedanism, Buddhism or recently-invented sectarian and pseudo-scientific fantasies, for those are no essential part of European history.

The Truth of Europe is in Christ and in Christ alone. And to understand that, Europe must turn to the Church, away from her local nationalisms, Latin Catholicism and Germanic Protestantism, to the multinational Church of Christ, to Orthodoxy. Western Europe needs to rebalance itself, to reconstitute itself, by reintegrating and re-entering into communion with the Church, to which it had belonged in the First Millennium, and with whose history and heritage in England these two works deal.

O West, look East, to Jerusalem, to Constantinople, to Russia, if you wish to survive. By yourself in separation, you can do nothing – except dream and continue in your self-imposed isolation and frustration.

From the Holy Fathers: ST BEDE THE VENERABLE IN DEFENCE OF THE HOLY ICONS (*DE TEMPLO II* (CCSL 119A, 212–213)

AT this point it should be noted that there are some who believe that God's law forbids us, whether in a church or anywhere else, to carve or paint the figures of men or animals or the likeness of any other object, because it says in the Ten Commandments: 'Thou shalt not make unto thyself a graven thing, nor the likeness of any of those things that are in heaven above, or on the earth below, or in the waters under the earth'.

Now they would not think such things if they called to mind the works of Solomon, namely how he had palm trees, cherubim and various other figures carved in the Temple, and pomegranates and nets on its columns, and on this molten sea – which we are at present considering, twelve oxen and carvings that tell stories, and on the bottoms of the basins – as we shall read further on – lions and oxen, palms, axle-trees, wheels, cherubim and other sorts of images. Nor again would they think such things if they considered the works of Moses, who, at the Lord's command, first made the cherubim in the propitiatory and later the brazen serpent in the desert, at whose sight the people were saved from wild serpents' poison.

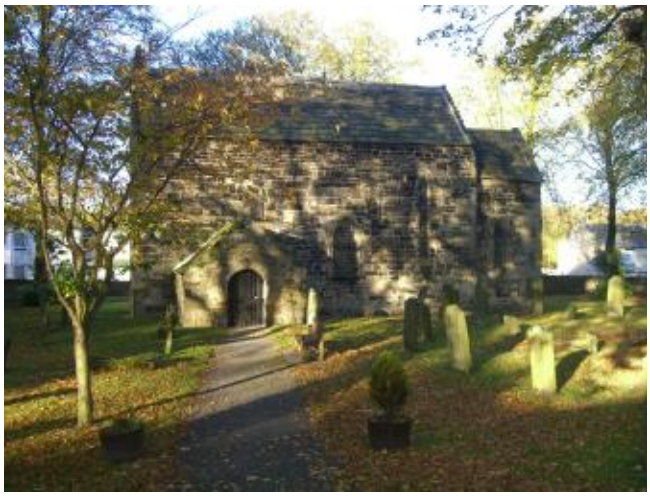
Now if it were permissible to lift up a brazen serpent on a piece of wood so that the Israelites who saw it might live, why should it not be permissible to use a painting to remind the faithful of the Exaltation of our Lord and Saviour on the Cross through which He conquered death? And the same for His other miracles and healings, through which He miraculously triumphed over the same author of death, all the more so since seeing them usually also creates a feeling of great compunction in the beholder and since they open up, as it were, a living reading of the Lord's story for those who cannot read?

The Greek word for *pictura* is indeed zoografia, that is, 'living writing'. If it were permissible to make twelve brazen oxen – arranged in groups of three to face the four corners of the earth – to bear the brazen laver placed above them, what is to forbid the painting of the twelve apostles who went out to teach all peoples, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and thus, as it were, to place living writing before the eyes of all? And again, if it were not contrary to that same law to make carvings that tell stories on the rim of the laver of ten cubits, why should it be considered contrary to the law to carve or to paint on pieces of wood the stories of the saints and martyrs of Christ who, by their observance of the Divine law, have earned the glory of an eternal reward?

OLD ENGLISH TASTE AND CRAFTSMANSHIP

We are indebted to information in C. R. Dodwell's *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective* (Manchester University Press, 1982) for the following article.

THE warm glow of gold gave a delicate tremulousness to the surface of Church artefacts as they caught and reflected at various angles the light or the gleam of wax lamps or candles. The interiors of Orthodox churches of our own times express a similar insistence on the reflective surfaces of precious metals. The modulations of light that intrigued the Old English can be experienced today by turning the leaf of an Old English manuscript, illuminated with gold,

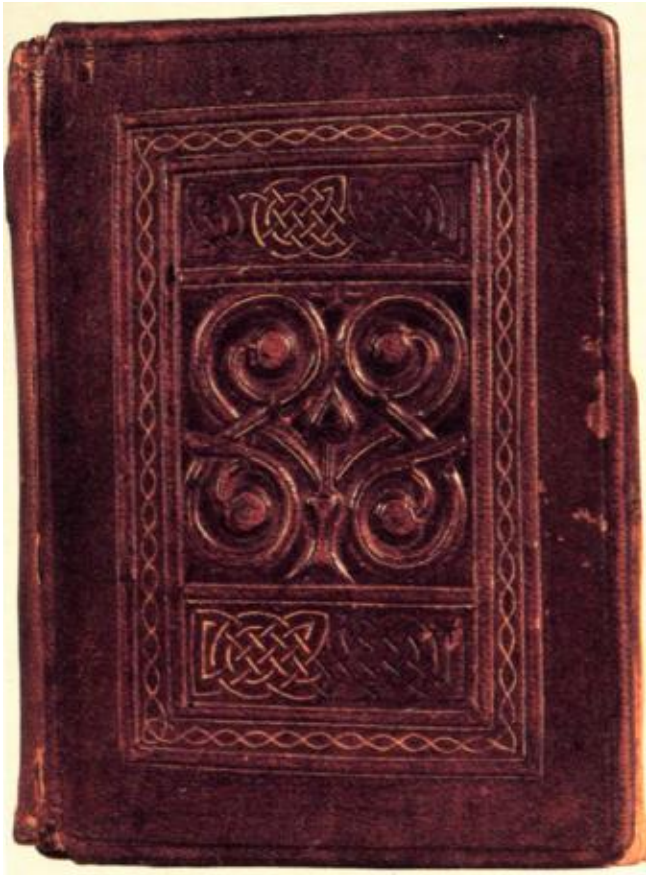


The Englisc (Anglo-Saxon) church at Escombe, County Durham

Part of the Stole of St Cuthbert, taken from his coffin

when the gold catches the light at various angles and gives effects of brightness and shadow. Such variability fascinated the Old English. Their key words were workmanship and craftsmanship of surface embellishment, adornment and decoration. Thus, the gold chalice presented by Archbishop Ealdred to the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1058 is praised by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as being 'a wonderful piece of workmanship'.

These sensibilities were lost to later periods of English history which limited their perceptions of colour to its hue – so that we now speak of the one in terms of the other and talk of blues, greens, reds and so on. But overlaying and even overriding these distinctions of the spectrum for the Old English were other modulations of brightness and shade. This is indicated in some of their colour-words which primarily express nuances of brightness – most particularly words which suggest the degree of brightness of materials in sunshine and of the subdued brightness of objects seen on a dull day. Such was the Old English interest in the glimmer, glitter, glisten, glow, glint, gleam, shine and shimmer (all Old English words) of surfaces and noted by today's art historians and linguists.



The original binding of St Cuthbert's copy of St John's Gospel

Folio 29 from The Lindisfarne Gospels.

This incredibly detailed and beautiful work was made with his own hands by Bishop Eadfrið of Lindisfarne, probably before he became bishop in 698, and was still but a senior member of the community. The fact that the letters and illumination are by the same hand is somewhat unusual.

The interlinear gloss in Englisc was added by Aldred some two and a half centuries later, and represents the earliest surviving translation of the Four Gospels into any form of the English language.

The Old English were not particularly concerned with grandeur. It could be extolled, but it is equally significant that the monastery of Wilton, rebuilt by Queen Edith, was described and even commended as being 'modestly planned'. Writers were normally interested in aspects other than vastness of' scale. Descriptions of the new eleventh-century foundations of Waltham and Coventry concentrated attention not on the size of the architecture but on the splendours of the objects and appointments within. William of Malmesbury's remark that the Old English were committed not to the largeness of buildings but to the nature of their contents is a just one. The main interest was not in the spacious but in the sumptuous. They wished to make their churches, as Eddius, in an apt quotation from the Psalms, said: 'all glorious within'. The focus of their taste was resplendence and this very much shaped attitudes towards their artists.

The interest of the Anglo-Saxons in resplendence means that much of our information about their artists is weighted in favour of those who worked in gold or gold-thread. 'The men of England', wrote even William the Conqueror 'are outstandingly skilful in all the arts'. He spoke of all the arts, but it was clearly those of the goldsmith that he had in mind, for it was on the Old English works of art in precious metals that he lavished his praise. In rising waves of approval he says that no-one could believe how beautiful they were, that they would delight the gaze of those already acquainted with the noblest of treasures, including those who had voyaged to Arabia and that the precious objects from England deserved to be honoured to the end of time. Turning his attention to the craftswomen of England, William writes that they are very, skilled with the needle and in weaving with gold. This was the aspect of English art that another Norman writer, Goscelin, emphasised most, though he too made his own fulsome tributes to the goldsmiths. He praised the English-women for their skill in gold embroidery, and comments on how they embellished the garments of the princes of the church and of the princes of the realm with gold-work and gems and with English pearls that shone like stars against the gold.

William of Poitiers claimed that Old English works of art in precious metals would be cherished even by 'the Byzantines', and, however rhetorical this remark may be, it is certainly true that the craftsmanship of Old English goldsmiths was highly regarded at the one centre of Latin Christendom competent to compare it with Greek workmanship – namely Montecassino. Montecassino, more than any other Western centre, made use of artists from the Orthodox East and its esteem for English goldsmiths is explicit in its chronicle and implicit in the patronage of one of its greatest abbots. If the workmanship of Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths was prized in Italy, it was valued as well in Ottonian Germany, for St Bernward, who was himself a craftsman, took an interest in Anglo-Saxon metalwork, as his biographer. Thangmar, tells us. Old English workmanship in precious metals was also much admired in France, where, paradoxically, its reputation was enhanced by the

Norman Conquest since this led to so many examples of it being sent to the Continent.

Though the Old English had a special interest in what we may call the sumptuous arts – that is in those that were rich and costly – they had a general respect for all crafts. This clearly emerges in their proverbs, one of which says that a man's craft enhances his honour. It is also evident in poetry, where Christ Himself is seen as the supreme Artist, 'the Craftsman and the King', as in the Orthodox baptismal service (prayer for tonsure).

At the post-Schism stage of English history, a certain condescension towards the manual skills sometimes infected some of the intelligentsia, and there is an element of patronage in the late mediæval remark that the Norman Osmund, who became Bishop of Salisbury in 1078, 'did not think it beneath his dignity to write, bind and illuminate books'. We may contrast with this the robust and reiterated advice of the great English Archbishop, Wulfstan, to the married clergy that they should acquire a manual skill not simply for the benefit of their bodies but also for the well-being of their souls. Before the Schism there was no feeling that the craftsman was inferior to the intellectual: no patronising of the gifts of the hands by those

St Cuthbert's Pectoral Cross

Above: St Ætheldrythe (Audrey) of Ely from the Æthelwold Benedictional. Ætheldrythe famously attributed a goitre on her neck from which she suffered in later life as a punishment from God for wearing too much jewellery in her younger days

Left: The Tassilo Chalice. Copper, gilt with silver plating and niello and glass inlay. Anglo-Carolingian 777–88. Inscribed +TASSILO DVX FORTIS+LIVTPIRC VIRGA REGALIS

endowed with gifts of the head. All such talents derived from the same God who 'variously distributes His gifts: to one virtues, to another crafts, to another ... a well ordered mind'.

However, there is no vanity here. Just as Orthodox icons are not signed (the modern Greek custom is anti-Orthodox), so the works of art of the Old English age were not signed. We know that the nuns of Barking, according to St Aldhelm, were very learned, like St Lioba in Germany († 780), and the nuns of Coldingham, according to St Bede, were expert weavers and embroideresses. Thus, only when a craftswoman like St Edith of Wilton was later canonized was her work as an artist working with gold thread, precious stones, calligraphy, painting and music mentioned. She embellished an alb which 'was embroidered with gold, jewels, pearls and little English pearls at the top ... Around the hem were golden figures of the apostles standing around the Lord, who was seated in their midst, while she prostrated herself in the role of the suppliant Mary, kissing the feet of the Lord'.

Similarly we only incidentally in a letter from St Boniface discover that St Eadburgh, abbess of Minster in Thanet, was, like many Old English nuns, a calligrapher of distinction. All in all, the information that we have about individual Old English artists is largely dependent on their connection to saintliness. Their artistry is, in other words, sacramental in nature. Another example is in the *Liber Eliensis*, which says that the patron saint of Ely, St Etheldreda, had been a highly talented embroideress and 'with her own hands' had made for St Cuthbert 'a stole and maniple ... of gold and precious stones' which, in the twelfth century was kept at Durham where it was displayed for veneration to the specially favoured.

Like St Dunstan, calligrapher, painter, musician and skilled metal-worker, the craftsman-Archbishop, St Ethelwold also worked with his hands. At Glastonbury it is said that he happily laboured every day in the monastic gardens growing fruit and vegetables for the refectory table, and, at Abingdon, he not only, exhorted his monks to join the workmen in their task of rebuilding but set an example himself. There can be no doubt that this leader of the Church was unafraid of physical toil. But we must make a clear distinction, as the Old English themselves did, between the hand prepared for simple labour and the hand that is 'learned, wise and powerful as befits a craftsman'. It is therefore understandable that so little is known of the ordinary monk-craftsman, who did not, as far as we know, attain holiness.

Where names of individual monk-craftsmen are given, as in the Lindisfarne Gospels where the entry tells us that the cover was embellished with gems, gold and silver-gilt by Billfrith the anchorite, the intention is not to draw attention to his skill but to invite intercession for his salvation. This is quite explicit in another entry of the Lindisfarne Gospels which asks God to remember those concerned with the making of the book: 'O Living God, be Thou mindful of Eadfrith, Ethelwald, Billfrith and Ealdred a sinner: these four have, with God's help, been engaged on this book'. Spiritual intercession for their future in eternity was the one reward for their work that the best type of monk might hope for in this world, and monastic writers like St Bede and monastic scribes, like Wigbald and Cuthbert, were certainly willing to ask for the prayers of their readers.

It was not then as artists, but as abbots, or bishops or particularly as saints that monks were most likely to commend themselves to the attention of the chroniclers who might then, incidentally, remark on their talents.

'By Christ's death, death was destroyed'. THE RESURRECTION AND THE REDEMPTION IN OLD ENGLISH THEOLOGY

We are indebted for parts of the below to points made in Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival *by Barbara C. Raw (Cambridge 2009).*

THE understanding of Christ's death in Old English Theology, as in all Patristic Theology, is expressed in four main points. Firstly, His death is not seen as an end in itself – what matters is Christ's passover from death to life. Secondly, there is an emphasis on Christ's two natures: He is

presented as God and king, Creator of the world and Victor over the devil and at the same time as the Son of Mary, suffering and dying on the cross. Thirdly, His death is seen in the context of the Redemption – it is a recapitulation of God's first Creation, a reversal of man's fall. Finally, the death and Resurrection of Christ are closely linked to the sacraments of the Church. Throughout, there is an emphasis on Christ's death as something which belongs to the present, to today, rather than to the past; and it is this which prompts a response from humanity, whether in the form of good works or of love and gratitude.

The link between Christ's death and Resurrection was very important in the Old English Church, since it was central to the way in which the Redemption was understood, just as it was in the early years of the Church, just as it is in the Orthodox Church today. The commemoration of Christ's Passion which dominated Holy Week in fourth-century Jerusalem and which led to the introduction of similar services in the Roman rite left intact the Scriptural emphasis on the Redemption as a new Passover. The Church celebrated Christ's entry to Jerusalem in the Palm Sunday procession, His institution of the Eucharist on Great Thursday and His death on the cross on Great Friday; in the late tenth century English monasteries added further commemorations of Christ's burial and of the visit of the women to the sepulchre early on Easter Morning.

Christ's death and Resurrection were seen as two aspects of a single event – God's salvation of man – not as separate events in history. When man relived Christ's Passion, seeing Him still hanging on the cross, he did so in the knowledge that Christ had already risen from the dead. The Church which mourned Christ's death on Great Friday recalled his Resurrection in an antiphon sung during the Veneration of the Cross: 'We adore Thy cross, O Lord, and we praise and glorify Thy holy Resurrection, because through the cross joy came into the whole world.' ('*Crucem tuam adoramus, Domine, et sanctam resurrectionem tuam laudamus et glorificamus; ecce enim propter crucem venit gaudium in universo mundo*' (*The Regularis Concordia* of St Dunstan, Symons p. 42)).

In the same way, the Church's celebration of Christ's Resurrection on Easter Day included a reference to His death in the words, 'Whom we recognize as God of majesty in his taking on of mortality, and confess as God and man in the glory of His divinity, who destroyed our death by dying and restored our life by rising'. ('*quem in susceptione mortalitatis Deum maiestatis agnoscimus, et in divinitatis gloria Deum et hominem confitemur, qui mortem, nostram moriendo destruxit et vitam, resurgendo reparavit*'. (*Missal of Robert of Jumieges*, Wilson, p. 102)). The recollection of Christ's Passion in daily services followed a similar pattern.

Here, three theological points are exemplified. First, Christ's death is subordinated to His Resurrection. Secondly, the institution of the Eucharist which preceded Christ's death historically is shown as dependent on His death. Thirdly, the Redemption is presented in relation to the coming Resurrection of the dead, not as an event from the past. Thus, what is remembered in Old English prayers is the transition from death to life, not the physical details of Christ's death. The significance of that transition is expressed through its relationship to the Creation of man and his fall: Christ, Who is the tree of life, has overcome the serpent's venom; God, the Creator of the world, has condescended to be born of Mary and to be nailed to the cross to save man from death. Man's response is to ask for pity, forgiveness and safe entry to heaven. No prayers are related in any way to the wounds in Christ's hands, feet or side. The memory is directed to the Person of Christ who is King, son of David, Redeemer, Master, Eternal Word of the Father. The Cross is praised as having been found worthy to carry Christ, the Redeemer of Israel. The main request of the prayers is that both Cross and Christ will free man from his sins and bring him safely to heaven.

The basis of this appeal is that Christ came to earth to suffer for man, that He, who is true life, defeated death on the Cross, so fulfilling the prophecies, that He offered Himself as a sacrifice to His Father. The emphasis, then, is on Christ the King and Son of God who freed man by His obedience and death. All is concerned with power, the power of Christ and the power of the Cross which derives from Him. The themes of the prayers added to the *Vespasian Psalter* are like this. There the Cross is praised and venerated because it is the banner of the victorious King and Redeemer, the means by which fallen man was reconciled to God. It is the refuge and help of a shipwrecked world, defending man against the attacks of the devil and leading him into paradise. Christ is adored because He was obedient to death and therefore glorified. He defeated the devil, tore up the accusation against man, bore his sins in His own body. He is the Good

Shepherd who will bring all men to heaven as He did the repentant thief.

This distinguishes the understanding of the Redemption in the Old English period, including even the late, pre-Conquest period, from that which developed after the Schism towards the end of the eleventh century under the influence of the Italian scholastic Anselm. For the pre-Schism English the significance of Christ's death was that it defeated death. That is why they constantly link Christ's death to His Resurrection. The poet of The Dream of the Rood completed his reference to Christ's death with references to His Resurrection, Ascension and future return as Judge. Ælfric speaks of Easter as the feast of Christ's passover from death to life and from suffering to glory (*Catholic Homilies I, XV and II, XV*). And Wulfstan describes Christ as showing his authority over both life and death, freeing man from eternal death and opening the way to eternal life. (*Homilies, Nos VI, VII and XIII*).

The author of the *Blickling Palm Sunday Homily* links the palm branches of the procession – the symbols of victory, as in the Orthodox troparion – to Hosea's prophecy of the slaying of death: 'They called this day the day of victory, the name denotes the victory by which the victorious Lord withstood the devil when He overcame that eternal death by His death, as He said Himself through the prophet. He said, 'O death, I am thy death and I will be thy sting in hell' (Hosea 13, 14). (*Blickling Homilies, No. VI*). Most importantly, Christ was believed to have saved man by His death and His Resurrection, not simply by His death. As Ælfric says in one of his Easter homilies: 'They kept that time at which they were freed from Pharaoh and left that land as an Easter for seven days, with great honour; so also, we Christians keep Christ's Resurrection as our Easter during these seven days because we are freed by His suffering and Resurrection' (*Catholic Homilies I, XXII*).

Before the eleventh-century Schism, when the Biblical, Patristic faith reigned supreme, the nature of the change in the relationship between man and God which resulted from Christ's death was defined in several different ways. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (2, 14–15) the Redemption is portrayed as a victory over the devil which freed those who had been imprisoned by him: 'Since all the children share the same blood and flesh, He too shared equally in it, so that by His death He could take away all the power of the devil, who had power over death, and set free all those who had been held in slavery all their lives by the fear of death'.

In speaking of Christ's death the emphasis was on His humility, His love for men and His willingness to suffer for them. The sermons of Wulfstan, in particular, show an awareness of the reality of the Incarnation, of Christ's decision to share man's weakness and His willing acceptance of all the hardships which man had to endure (*Homilies, Nos VI and VII*). Ælfric is more ambivalent. Sometimes he talks of Christ's death in terms of defeat of the devil, sometimes as a sacrifice to God. His first Palm Sunday homily contains a classic statement of the traditional image of the devil as a fish, swallowing the bait of Christ's humanity and being caught on the hook of his divinity, so characteristic of the Sunday Octoechos of the Orthodox Church:

> 'Then it happened to the cruel devil as it does to the greedy fish who sees the bait and does not see the hook concealed in the bait. Then he is greedy for the bait and swallows the hook with the bait. So it was with the devil. He saw the humanity in Christ and not the divinity. Then he urged the Jewish people to kill Him and then he felt the hook of Christ's divinity, through which he was choked to death and deprived of all mankind who believe in God' (*Catholic Homilies I, XIV*).

In such passages Christ's human nature is seen as a means of concealing His divinity and tricking the devil into over-reaching himself. But for Ælfric, as for the writers of the New Testament, this was only one of several ways of talking about the Redemption. One of his favourite symbols for Christ was the lamb offered to God before the Exodus and thereafter at the Passover feast, a parallel which inevitably leads him to describe Christ's death as a sacrifice to God. In his commentary on Christ's Baptism he talks of Christ as a sin-offering for the world, linking the lamb sacrificed in Exodus with John's words about Christ: 'Look, there is the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world'.

After the Schism, towards the end of the eleventh century, the emphasis on Christ's justice was attacked by Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109). For post-Schism Anselm, as for all Roman Catholicism, Redemption was brought about by Christ's death. As far as Anselm was concerned, the devil had no rights over man which God needed to

regard; he was merely a rebel against God. What mattered to the feudally-minded Anselm was 'God's rights', which he saw as having been damaged by Adam at the fall. In his *Cur Deus Homo*, completed in 1098, Anselm rejected the view that God needed to trick the devil.

Instead, he explained the need for the Incarnation in God's plan of Redemption in terms of 'reparation' to God, reflecting the feudal sociology of his age. The situation involved a paradox. Man needed to make amends to God for Adam's sin but was unable to do so since he already owed everything he had to God; the damage could be repaired only by one who owed God nothing, namely God himself. The problem therefore had to be resolved by a God-man who would have both the ability to make amends and the need to do so. This was the 'satisfaction theory': 'That heavenly city has to be completed by men, but this could not prevail unless the prescribed satisfaction was made, which could not be done except by God, and was not owed except by man. A God-man had to do it' (*Cur Deus Homo II.VI* (Schmitt II, 101).

Anselm's argument had in fact been anticipated by Goscelin of Saint Bertin (c. 1040–1099). In his *Liber confortatorius*, written some sixteen years before the completion of the *Cur Deus Homo*, he claimed that restitution had to be made to God by one who had no sin and could therefore pay the debt he did not owe. The satisfaction offered by Christ to God was interpreted by Anselm as His death; because of this emphasis on Christ's obedience 'unto death' (already expressed in Gethsemane). Christ's Resurrection has no part in Anselm's scheme of salvation, as for all classic Roman Catholicism. However, for the Old English as for all Orthodox, and as recently expressed by St Justin of Chelije, Christ's whole life was an offering to God; His death was only one part of that offering, to be completed by his Resurrection (Wulfstan, *Homilies No VI*).

For Anselm the crucial thing was Adam's sin against God for which God, portrayed feudally almost as the Old Testament God of wrath, was to demand reparation. Anselm's acute sense of human responsibility for the evil of sin was quite alien to churchmen like Ælfric. When pre-Schism Ælfric talks of man's sin in relation to Christ's death he sees it as something which man suffers rather than as some infinite offence against a satisfaction-seeking God, in the feudal style. In a long passage on the brazen serpent raised by Moses in the wilderness he compares men's sins to the deadly serpents of the desert and Christ's death on the cross to the image of the serpent which was the antidote to the poison:

> 'We behold Christ's death so that death, which sprang from the serpent that seduced Adam, may not harm us. Whose death do we behold? Life's death. Who is life except Christ, who said: I am the Resurrection and the Life; he who believes in me, though he is dead, yet he lives, and each of those who lives and believes in me shall never die. Christ is life and yet He was hung on the cross. He is true life and yet He died in His humanity, not in His divinity. By Christ's death, death was destroyed, for that dead life killed death and he (i.e. death) was destroyed in Christ's body' (*Catholic Homilies II, XIII*).

Writing less than 100 years apart, with a totally different attitude to sin, Ælfric's Orthodox attitude to Christ's sufferings is very different from that of the Roman Catholic Anselm. For Anselm, Christ's sufferings were essential for the 'expiation' or 'atonement' of man's sin. Like all the Church Fathers, Old English preachers, on the other hand, were amazed that Christ submitted to suffering. For them Christ's sufferings were a sign of his love or an example of humility, not a proof of the enormity of man's sin (Wulfstan, *Homilies Nos VII and XIII*; Ælfric *Nos XIII, XVI*; *Blickling Homilies No II*).

The most striking difference between the Redemption theology of late Orthodox England and that of the Roman Catholic Anselm concerns the relationship between Christ's human and divine natures. In the *Cur Deus homo* (Why the God-man?) and the *Meditatio Redemptionis Humanæ* (A Meditation on the Redemption of Man), Christ is seen as essentially human. In consequence there is a separation between the Son, who understands what will please his Father, and the Father, who is pleased by what is freely offered by the Son. True, Anselm does not deny Christ's divinity, but he does treat it as a means to an end – the end being to find a representative of the human race who is capable of making amends for Adam's sin. This fits his satisfaction theory.

Old English writers, on the other hand, never lose sight of Christ's divinity. The victorious God and the humiliated man ascends the Cross. The *filioque* theology that Anselm defended in his diatribe 'Against the Greeks' means that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, which means that the two natures of Christ must be separated, for the

Holy Spirit can surely not proceed from the human nature of Christ, only from His divine nature. Thus, the Antiphonary of Bangor reads: 'All-powerful, eternal God, who hast done great things for us, Thou didst ascend the Cross at the sixth hour and enlighten the shadows of the world; deign also to enlighten our hearts'. We are very far here from the Anselmian: 'A man hanging on the cross lifts eternal death pressing on the human race' (*Meditatio Redemptionis Humanæ*, Schmitt III, 84–5):

The Old English *Dream of the Rood* describes Christ as 'the young Saviour, Who was God Almighty' emphasising His dual nature rather than His divinity alone. It is God become man Who suffers for man's sake. The drawings and paintings of the Crucifixion in late Old English manuscripts depict Christ as the suffering God-man rather than the suffering man of Anselm's writings. Two of such drawings of the dead Christ include the king of the Jews text and four pictures show the dead Christ wearing a crown, one of the symbols of His divinity. Further evidence of the importance of Christ's divinity for late Old English artists comes from the numerous and varied representations of the Trinity in the art of the period. One of the most important links between the way in which Christ's dual nature is represented in art and literature, however, concerns His role as Creator of the world. In the art this idea is represented by the motifs of the book, the symbol of the Logos, and the sun and moon, in the literature the link between Creation and Redemption is normally expressed by describing the latter as a recapitulation of God's original Creation, a 'Re-Creation' or as a reversal of Adam's fall.

Thus, for Ælfric, Christ's death was a new Creation by God rather than an act of reparation by man. Man was created and redeemed by the same God: 'Almighty God created man on the sixth day when He, the Creator, had arranged created beings, and He rested on the seventh day, His work being finished, as He Himself wished. And afterwards, truly, the Creator, hanging on the cross on the sixth day, freed his handiwork, Adam's offspring, through His own death, and afterwards lay waiting in the grave on the seventh day, which you call the day of Saturn' (= Saturday) (*Catholic Homilies II, XIV*).

Ælfric here draws a strict parallel between God's works of Creation and Re-Creation, as does the Orthodox Church in the services of Holy Week. Man was created on the sixth day and was re-created on the sixth day through the Crucifixion. On the seventh day he rested and on the eighth day he is risen. 'God gave birth to Him by Whom all things were made and Mary brought forth Him by Whom all are saved.

Anselm's meditations are very different from those before the Schism. After the Schism all were distanced from Christ and His Church. For example, in Anselm's *Oratio ad Christum*, he laments his exile from the presence of the risen Christ and his inability to share in Christ's life on earth except at a distance and through the contemplative and meditative imagination. (There is no need for contemplation and meditation in the Church, where the Holy Spirit is directly present). The detailed and emotional recall of Christ's sufferings and of Mary's grief in this prayer are utterly different in word and in spirit from the art and literature of late Old England. A comparison with Ælfric's second Palm Sunday homily (*Catholic Homilies II, XIV*), which recalls each detail of Christ's Passion separately and in chronological order as Anselm's prayer does, shows how far-reaching the changes of filioquisation, which took place during the eleventh century, were.

Where Anselm saw human suffering which he could enter into, Ælfric saw symbolism. Thus, the red robe in which Pilate's soldiers dressed Christ was a symbol of His death; the crown of thorns symbolized man's sins. Christ was stripped and reclothed as a sign that he would lay down his life and take it up again. The bitter drink was a symbol of the bitterness of death, and the seamless robe a sign of the unity of the Church. The two thieves crucified with Christ represented the Jews and the Gentiles. The Church was born from Christ's side just as Eve was created from that of Adam. The new tomb in which Christ's body was placed resembled Mary's womb (Catholic Homilies II, XIV). Such symbolism is also in Old English Crucifixion images, which also differ from the images in Anselm's prayer to Christ. The difference from Anselm is largely a matter of chronology. The eleventh century was the age when the West went from Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism in just a few decades and this transformation is also reflected in the mixture of suffering and triumphal images of Christ in the art of the age.

The Decline of England 9: AFTER SENLAC

By Eadmund

Hige sceal þe heardra, heorte þe cenre,
mod sceal þe mara, þe ure mægen lytlað.
Her lið ure ealdor eall forheawen,
god on greote; a mæg gnornian
se ðe nu fram þis wigplegan wendan þenceð.
Ic eom frod feores: fram ic ne wille,
ac ic me be healfe minum hlaforde
be swa leofan menn licgan þence.[1]

From the Englisc poem now known as The Battle of Maldon

THUS the huscarls and the aristocracy of England laid down their lives for their country. This was the last time that men fought on around their dead king, taking vengeance for his death. Harold was, after all, the last Englisc king, and a foreigner could never inspire the same devotion. Harold's mistress, Eadgyth, was called to the battlefield to identify Harold, as his body was so mutilated that nobody else could recognize him, hacked to pieces amidst the pile of corpses under which he lay. When it was at last identified, it was brought to William's camp. Gytha, his mother, offered its weight in gold for the body, but William refused to allow her to have it, doubtless fearing the development of a cult of Harold the Martyr, and instead gave it to William Malet, ordering him to bury it on the sea shore. A later tradition has it that he relented, and the body was translated to Harold's own foundation at Waltham, where there is still a tomb bearing his name.

William's movements and subsequent terror campaign

William withdrew to Hastings, and waited there to receive the Englisc surrender. It was not forthcoming. The Englisc were not beaten yet; but who was to lead them? The fact was that most of the Engliscmen of any note had been killed on the battlefield; but it took time for the enormity of the defeat to sink in. The spirit of London was unbroken and there were ships that could still disrupt William's communications with Normandy. Archbishop Ealdred of York, Harold's friend and mentor, and Archbishop Stigand tried to rally support around Eadgar the Ætheling, the child who had been passed over for his youth, but was the last male of Cerdic's line. Earls Eadwine and Morkere at first joined this group.

William quickly grew tired of waiting for the Englisc to come to him, and began a rampage through Kent, murdering many the inhabitants of Romney as a punishment for their resistance to some of his followers, killed in a chance encounter, and taking Dover and Canterbury almost unopposed. He was moving towards London, but he wanted to give the Londoners an example of Norman frightfulness to intimidate them before he got there. Harold had known that this was what William would do, and that was why he had been so eager to keep him penned up in the Hastings peninsula, where the damage that he could do was at least limited. He very nearly succeeded, and England was now reaping the rewards of his failure.

From Dover, after eight days spent on improving the fortifications, William moved to Canterbury, and remained in that area for about a month, where, in spite of a sudden illness, he was able to open negotiations for the surrender of other important places, and soon after he left he received an offer for the submission of Winchester from Eadgyth, Edweard III's widow, who was holding the city in dower.

William Reaches London

Eadgar the Ætheling's men within London bided their time, offering no resistance until William approached the southern end of London Bridge, but the sortie that they attempted against him was beaten back, albeit with heavy loss, by his advanced guard. It was evident, however, that the bridge could not be stormed, and he turned away, burning Southwark and then moving eastwards, reducing the surrounding country to a wasteland of murdered men, women and children and burned-out farms. The precise track of his army can be traced from the *Domesday Book* by the decrease in value of the manors that lay in his path. He eventually returned to the Thames at Wallingford, where he sent his army across the river to encamp on the Oxfordshire bank. His encirclement of London by a field of devastation was not yet half

complete, but the rate and terrifying thoroughness of his progress had its desired effect of daunting the Ætheling's party, and at Wallingford, Archbishop Stigand, its leading member, came in to William and swore him fealty.

William continues his terror campaign

From Wallingford the army continued its advance along the line of the Icknield way. Stigand's defection had shown that the Ætheling's party was beginning to collapse, and William soon learned that it had decided to surrender. He met a delegation of Englisc leaders at Berkhamstead, where he received an oath of fealty, secured by hostages from Eadgar himself, Edwin and Morkere, Archbishop Ealdred of York, Wulfstan Bishop of Worcester, Walter Bishop of Hereford and the leading men of London. The 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' records that to the Englishmen it seemed folly that they had not submitted before. William promised to be a good lord to them, but in fact did nothing to restrain his troops, who continued to sack and burn the whole countryside along the twenty-five miles of road between Berkhamstead and the city. There is some confusion as to what happened in London itself, and there are suggestions that there was a party in the city who wished to continue the struggle, but there can be little doubt, after William's exhibition of just how appallingly his army could behave, that most Londoners were anxious for him to take control of the situation and bring this terrible devastation to an end.

William takes London, and is Crowned

While the city and the surrounding lands began to pull themselves together and assess the terrible damage not only to the people but to crops, which promised near starvation in the months ahead for those who had survived the barbarity of the Norman troops, preparations began to go ahead for the coronation, which was to happen on Christmas Day. William had wished to postpone the ceremony until his wife could be crowned beside him, but his men wanted him to assume the rank that he had finally secured at Berkhamsted before resistance could begin to coagulate. Whatever the propagandists might say, and however the tale of history might be perverted to suggest otherwise, William had come to power only by right of victory in battle, and they wanted the folk of London to acknowledge that they were truly beaten. The question as to whether the assembled people acknowledged William to be their lord was put in English by Archbishop Ealdred, and in French by Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances. The mounted guard outside the abbey, misunderstood the answering acclamation, and thought that the crowd within had turned on the king-elect. In a panic they set light to the surrounding buildings, so that even William's coronation and solemn anointing was surrounded by a ring of fire, death and panic: a grim omen for the future.

Archbishop Ealdred had done all that he could. He had crowned his friend Harold, in order that his coronation might be secure. When Harold had been tragically martyred with all his companions[2] on the field of Sandlake, he had stood by his successor Eadgar the Ætheling, but this had only led to further martyrdom and indescribable suffering. By participating in the coronation of William, he was merely bowing to the inevitable. Doubtless his actions were accompanied by prayer and a sincere hope that William, although a foreigner, might prove to be a reasonable monarch, just as Cnut had been before him. However he could not be aware that although the Church that William brought with him was to all outward appearance the same as that of his own country in which he had been nourished and brought up, it was now a simulacrum – a church that had lost contact with the Holy Spirit and now contained within it the seeds of evil. Pope Leo IX had fallen into temptation in 1054 and seized the forbidden fruits of pride and temporal power. Christ the ever-living God no longer led the Western Church: the Pope himself had taken over, altered its creed, adding the *filioque* by which the influence of the Holy Spirit was lost, and which would henceforth pervert its doctrines and practices. Gradually the rot would filter down until it affected every part of the whole. Rome now spoke with a forked tongue, and the Normans replied in like manner. Although the heart of England was still sound, and various traditions and Orthodox practices were to be continued even to the present day, its future was destined to be one of spiritual decline, although the darkness was not unrelieved gloom and occasionally showed spots of brightness. As we continue through this turmoil and sadness, please remember what England once was, and please do not lose the vision of her acme under Æthelstan and Eadgar. Although we shall see the Archbishop's throne, once graced by Augustine and Dunstan, disgraced by Lanfranc and Anselm and later defiled by insignificant peculators, the light that once streamed from it has not entirely

gone out, and glimmers and patches of it yet appear on the canvas that we are now going to examine.

Further Measures to overawe the Englisc

Now indelibly sealed into the list of Englisc Kings, William continued to impose various measures that showed that England was and would remain a conquered country. The first of these was the building of a castle, later to become known as 'The Tower of London', for the coercion of the Londoners.

Ælfred the Great, in his wisdom, had devised a system of fortified burhs for the defence of Wessex against the Vikings. Most of the major towns in England were already provided with walls, built by the Romans, and this policy was extended, until most of the towns in Wessex were protected by a ditch and earthen ramparts. This was done in a precise relation to the population of the town, and the inhabitants then had to provide the men necessary to defend them. This system worked well, for national defence, but it was entirely different to the Norman castle, which was built with the object of overawing the town, and providing a secure refuge for members of an occupying army who could, if necessary, summon reinforcements from the next nearest castle. Thus a whole area could be pacified and controlled by a small number of troops quartered in a number of strategically placed castles. Many folk nowadays like to visit these castles, now tidily preserved for us by so-called 'English Heritage' (in this instance Norman Heritage!); but many of the visitors have little idea of their original purpose and fondly imagine them to be friendly places instead of the engines of a foreign tyranny and domination.

Many castles started off as a simple, prefabricated barricade, rather like a roll of spile-fencing, which would be erected on a small, artificially raised mound, known as a *motte*. If the castle was to become a permanent feature, this wooden structure was replaced over time by a keep, built in stone, and later surrounded by a bailey, with a further substantial wall around it. The Tower of London now stands where the first, simple castle was erected: Dover castle is another good example of Norman construction. A legend has grown up that if the ravens, which at one time were attracted to the Tower of London by the blood and carrion to be found there, ever leave, England will fall. I would say rather that it is the Norman tyranny that has bound us since 1066 that will fall, and it is ironical that the ravens have to be kept in the Tower by the expedient of clipping their wings and artificially feeding them. The Church was soon to follow this Norman way, with the replacement of strong and beautiful Englisc buildings with massive, crude, spiritually crushing and dominating cathedrals that showed the Norman church to be dominating and crushing and no longer sympathetic to the Englisc spirit. While the Tower of London was building, William stayed at Barking, where he received homage from many Englisc noblemen who had not been involved in Sandlake fight, among them Copsi, Tostig's associate, whom he sent to Northumbria as earl. From Barking he set out on a progress, during which he raised other elementary castles and garrisoned them strongly. In the meantime he imposed a heavy tax (the first of many) on the country as a whole. He had already taken large sums from those who had shown amicability to his enemies, in redemption of their estates, which were otherwise confiscated, like those of all the men who had fallen at Sandlake.

A Postscript – Gavelkind

By the end of March, six months after his landing, the Bastard had subdued England and was so far the master of it that he could pay an overdue visit to Normandy. There is, however, an interesting postscript to this account, which gives some relief to its unrelieved gloom. This involves the institution of *Gavelkind*, a unique system of landholding found only in Kent. Karl Wittwer, a friend of mine who sadly passed on a few years ago after a valiant fight against cancer, made a study of this in 1998, and what follows is taken from his introduction.

> 'In 1067, the newly-crowned William I took steps to secure the frontiers of his still-uneasy kingdom. An urgent objective in this programme was the reconstruction of Dover, earlier looted and burned by his Normans.
>
> 'Tradition (as first recorded by Thomas Sprot of St Augustine's Abbey in the thirteenth century) recounts that William, advancing along Watling Street to a place near Swanscombe, there found himself confronted by a vast body of armed men: the Host of Kent. Under green branches, the equivalent of a flag of truce, they offered the King a choice: that he safeguard for them their ancient Laws and Privileges, and so earn their loyalty, or else face immediate battle, "and that most deadly."

'William, an experienced and wily tactician, clearly decided that on this occasion, the odds were not in his favour. He acquiesced to the Kentings' demands, accepted their fealty and hostages, and rode on to Dover. Unconquered Kent (*Cantia Invicta*) became a part of his kingdom. Notionally, it lay under the Law of Wessex – but with important differences. For in Kent, Gavelkind (*gafolgecynd*) prevailed, and was to remain until its eventual suppression in 1926, the Common Law of Kent.

'The exact origins of Gavelkind, an ancient law whereby land was held by virtue of paying rent or tribute (*gafol*), and not by military service, are lost in the distant past. Although it has similarities with other Old English land-holding systems, it appears to have taken distinctive form in Kent and the 'Jutish' lands even before the Norman Conquest.

'Gafol seems to have been originally due to the King alone. In an age where coinage was unknown and bullion uncommon, it was almost certainly first paid in the form of a food-render (*feorm*). As the King progressed from royal vill to royal vill, and from Lathe to Lathe of the Kingdom, each local kindred would be expected either to entertain him, or to supply an adequate quantity of food for consumption by the royal household. With this went certain other customary services, for example offering the King an escort through the territory, providing lodgings for royal servants, or supplying the physical assistance necessary to move the accoutrements of the household from place to place.

'Although all of this was *gafol*, "tribute", it was seen neither as servile work, nor as implying any servitude on the part of those who rendered it. As all such payment and/or service was originally owed to – and presented to – the King in person, the *gafol* payer was thereby guaranteed a personal access to his King, and all the benefits thereby arising. As such, it contrasted sharply with the tributes demanded of subject peoples, normally rendered up as cattle on the hoof, which had to be handed over without the benefit of such royal contact.

'The coming of Christianity saw the development of *boc-land* – land granted by charter – originally to the new Church and its magnates, afterward to secular lords as well. In its earliest form, this seems to be simply a redirecting of *gafol* for the lands in question from the King to the recipient of the charter, though there was the option to retain a defined portion of the *feorm* for royal use. In later years, the development of coinage allowed *gafol* to be paid in money rather than in kind, though there was still a requirement to offer the traditional services and attend upon one's lord. Such services, however, tended to be lighter in Kent than elsewhere, notwithstanding the best efforts of landholders and wily prelates to extend them.

'Originally unwritten, customary law, the traditional practice of ages, Gavelkind seems to have been committed to writing only during the reign of Edward I *(sic)*. Several early manuscripts survive, notably two from Canterbury, another from Queenborough, and one held at Lincoln's Inn. Other "ancient rolls" seem to have been available to William Lambarde when he published his Perambulation of Kent in 1575.'

The county of Kent still retains the motto *Invicta* beneath its badge of a white horse rampant. Although this may seem like an unwarranted diversion into local history, and the history of my own county to boot, it is an interesting fact that the folk of Kent managed to hold on to at least some of their Englisc customs until nearly half way through the last century! However this occurred, and although contemporary historical evidence to suggest that the supposed encounter at Swanscombe ever took place is absent, the existence of Gavelkind until recent times gives it credence.

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1 Courage shall grow keener, clearer the will,
the heart fiercer, as our force faileth.
Here our lord lies levelled in the dust,
the man all marred: he shall mourn to the end
who thinks to wend off from this war-play now.
Though I am white with winters I will not away,
for I think to lodge me alongside my dear one,
Lay me down by my lord's right hand.

Translation of the passage from The Battle of Maldon *by Michael Alexander*

2 'Companions' is the only word that the modern English language has to translate the Englisc word 'gesithas', but in reality it means a great deal more than that. The gesith was totally dedicated to his Lord, being bound to offer him all his achievements and his life, and if necessary to avenge him after his death.

Orthodoxy Shines Through Western Myths (19)
HIGH KING OF HEAVEN

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

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

In the following article, the next in a series taken from various works of scholarship, we have selected extracts from a historian of spirituality. These are from *The High King of Heaven: Aspects of Early English Spirituality* by the well-known Christian scholar Sister Benedicta Ward, published by Mowbray in 1999. These extracts seem to illustrate abundantly the underlying Orthodoxy of early English culture which began before the new *filioque* culture of the eleventh century. But let the learned author speak:

On the role of St Gregory the Great (p. 6)

WITH such an 'apostle' as Gregory, the Christianity received by the Anglo-Saxons *(sic)* was essentially marked by compassion, patience and love. It was brought as a free gift, not enforced, and had careful regard for the people to whom it was offered. The spirituality of the English was shaped by the spirit of the Gregorian mission undertaken by monks sent into exile from their home for love of them. Already among the pagan Anglo-Saxons there were ideas and ideals that would be absorbed into the new Christian teaching: a longing for hope, love of journeys, a sense of com-munity, of life in the kin-group, a fundamental love of ones lord as one's greatest friend, an instinct for splendour and a feeling for the precariousness of life were all part of the Germanic world: Christianity gave this basis a wider view from the Church of the fathers, an understanding of suffering which is victory, a love of individuals which is tender, compassion for the poor and a love of learning, linking the new converts with the early Church and the voice of the Gospel.

Church and State (p. 7)

The alliance of the king and the missionaries (of St Augustine) which followed was to form a pattern for free co-operation between Church and State, and since the missionaries were also monks this established also the distinctive, Anglo-Saxon *(sic)* situation of monastic bishops in their minsters. The respect with which the missionaries were treated and the long-drawn-out consultation between Æthelberht and his men were reflected later in the mission of his companion Paulinus to Northumbria, as was the presence of an educated and Christian queen, as a silent strength to the newcomers and a reassurance to their pagan husbands. The promise of salvation, a new kingdom, a wider life were all promises of hope, very much in line with the Anglo-Saxon understanding of the gospel, the Word of God, as good news, introducing them into new dimensions of life.

The English and the Irish at One (p. 15)

The golden age of Northumbria in the seventh and eighth centuries, one of the most amazing flowerings of culture known, was based on a Northumbria filled with Irish and with Roman missionaries, and in other kingdoms the contacts between them were also both basic and pivotal. It is a false dichotomy to see English and Irish in opposition in these early centuries. The true pic-

ture is of a pagan culture, that of the Anglo-Saxons *(sic)*, in touch with Christian culture in two ways, namely from Rome through Gaul, and from Rome through Ireland. The attitude of Bede to the Irish in his own times, especially in what he had to say about Irish monks in England and in Ireland, can be seen as typical of his day. It is an area where there is so little information, especially about the Irish, that consideration of Bede's works here is vital.

The Resurrection is Central for the Early English (pp. 17–19, 43 and 46–47)

For the first Anglo-Saxon *(sic)* Christians, Easter was the central point of the year, the moment when by baptism they entered into the new life in Christ about which they had heard from the missionaries sent from Rome and from Ireland. It was not to them an arbitrary date but the pivot of the whole of the cosmos, the central moment when reality was revealed in the face of Jesus Christ. Here evangelical doctrine, corporate liturgy and inner devotion were united, and in this unity they discovered also their oneness with the Church in other times and places. That the missionaries who preached the Gospel to them should differ about the date on which this Paschal mystery should be celebrated was both confusing and scandalous; where external practice was not something separate from internal faith, the implications of such division were in no way trivial ...

Again and again in Bede's commentaries on the Scriptures, which he sent to priests throughout England to help them in their preaching, the centrality of the resurrection of Christ was discussed, not only in his commentaries on the Gospels but also in his work on the Old Testament. In his history of the English nation as a race new-born into Christ, Bede placed at the centre a chapter which gives an account of the discussion at the Council of Whitby in 664 of the differing dates at which Easter was celebrated by the Christians of the new Roman and the old Roman-Irish traditions ...

Easter, the moment of attention to the passion and resurrection of Christ, was not just a feast on its own that could be celebrated at whim. On it hung the whole of the Christian year, with Lent and Pentecost around it. It was also, as for Edwin of Northumbria, one of the rare moments for the entry of new members into the Church by baptism in which they personally, after instruction, put on the living and dying of the Lord Jesus. Nor was the date of the death and resurrection of Jesus arbitrary: it was a historical fact in time, and because of it all time was changed into a new configuration. Tradition had linked the date into the ebb and flow of the universe, of all creation, and it is not surprising to find that one of Bede's most intense passages on the calculation of Easter occurs in his commentary on the account of the creation of the world in Genesis. In his first book on the calculation of time, he linked the calculation of the date of Easter with the created world in detail: the *pasch*, he says, is celebrated 'when the equinox is passed, that the shadow of death may be vanquished by the true light ... in the first month of the year, which is called the month of New Fruits, so that the joy of a new life may be celebrated ... at the turn of the moon. To show how the glory of the mind is turned from earthly things to heavenly ones ... on the Lord's Day, when the light shows the triumph of Christ and our own resurrection.'

... As has been said, the date of Easter was of practical importance for the first Anglo-Saxon (sic) Christians, but more than that, the observance of Easter was to do with theology. Easter, the moment of attention to the passion and resurrection of Christ, was not just a feast on its own that could be celebrated at whim. On it hung the whole of the Christian year, with Lent beforehand, Pentecost afterwards and all the Sundays of the year linked into it. Nor was the date of the death and resurrection of Jesus arbitrary: it was a historical fact in time, and because of it all time was changed into a new configuration. Tradition had linked the date into the ebb and flow of the universe, of all creation, and with this deep sense of the centrality of Easter, it is no surprise to find that when Bede preached he explored the mystery of this feast with a personal intensity, bringing all his enormous learning and his skill as a preacher to bear on the expression of truths deeply felt and firmly held as the very source of life itself. Bede collected together fifty of his own homilies, and of these eighteen are connected with Easter.

... Time was cancelled in this liturgical moment, when the English gathered in their churches. What was ordained within creation was now revealed as fulfilled in them; but it was never just a moment of vision – it was presented as liturgy meant to lead listeners into the holiness of life which issues from this moment of resurrection, indicating the path into glory opening at their feet each day thereafter.

The death and resurrection of Christ was central, then, to the corporate prayer of English

Christians in the seventh century. On the edge of the Christian world, they went straight to the centre of the mystery of love, seeing through the pages of the 'holy white scriptures' the joy of a whole redeemed created order, drawn through man into the love, peace and unity of Christ. It was no use seeking another door, or delaying men by controversy about the way in. The stones of the archway should be firmly established and agreed upon so that they need no longer be regarded. Here was the secret door through which the soul could pass and go in and out and find pasture. This ability to walk with saints and angels in the light of Easter resurrection extended to the world of nature as well. Nature was on the whole menacing to pagans, but the Easter celebration was the centre of love and of delight in restored creation.

... The importance of Easter for the English found a different and more tender outlet later in a tenth-century poem, *The Descent into Hell*, where the poet expressed exactly the sense of expectation, wonder and joy that our predecessors felt at the moment of Easter:

For in the dawning there came a throng of angels; the rapture of those hosts surrounded the Saviour's tomb. The earthly vault was open; the Prince's corpse received the breath of life; the ground shook and hell's inhabitants rejoiced. The young man awoke dauntless from the earth; the mighty majesty arose victorious and wise.

The Importance of the Psalter (pp. 80–81)

Alcuin (735–804) recommended the psalter earnestly as the basis of intimate prayer, carrying its use into another mode of self-awareness:

If any oppressive sorrow has come upon you, either by an injury brought on by others, or by a besetting fault, or by an overwhelming domestic loss, if you grieve for any reason at all, do not murmur against one another or place the blame on God, but rather pray with psalms to the Lord lest the sadness of the world which is death swallow you up; drive the destructive sickness of grief from your heart by the frequent sweetness of the psalms.

There was in Alcuin a more interior interest in the person praying and his needs, and not only expressions of fear but also of love and praise. The words of the psalms were to him the perfect expression of human praise, wonder, love and delight as well as sorrow, repentance and at times revolt and protest, though with a strong sense also of the external form of the psalms:

In the psalms if you look carefully you will find an intimacy of prayer such as you could never discover by yourself. In the psalms you will find an intimate confession of your sins, and a perfect supplication for divine mercy. In the psalms you will find an intimate thanksgiving for all that befalls you. In the psalms you confess your weakness and misery and thereby call down God's mercy upon you. You will find every virtue in the psalms if you are worthy of God's mercy in deigning to reveal to you their secrets.

The psalms were not a limitation but a freedom; they were a preparation for receiving the word of God in ways beyond human emotions and needs:

When the voice of psalmody acts through the intention of the heart, then a way to the heart is prepared for Almighty God, so that He may fill the innermost mind with the mysteries of prophecy or with the grace of compunction, as it is written. 'Whoso offers me praise, he honoureth me; and I will show him the way of salvation of God'. So in the sacrifice of divine praise we are shown the way to Jesus, because when through the psalms the heart is filled with compunction, a way is made by which we come to Jesus. Certainly it is appropriate that when all things are recollected in the mind it cleanses itself and breathes praise of God in the spirit, so that the heavens may be revealed to it.

The psalter was for Alcuin also a summary of the revelation and prophecy contained in the rest of Scripture, it was the whole Bible compressed into one text, a pantechnicon for the Christian for the whole journey of life:

In the psalter to the end of your life you have material for reading, scrutinizing and teaching; in it you find the prophets, the evangelists, the apostles and all the divine books spiritually and intellectually treated and described and the first and second coming of the Lord in prophecy. You will find both the incarnation and the passion, resurrection and ascension of the Lord and all the power of the divine words in the psalms if you peruse them with the intent of the mind and you will come by the grace of God to the marrow of intellectual understanding.

Outside as well as inside the monasteries such use was made of the psalter. Bede had made a selection of single verses from each psalm which he formed into an abbreviated psalter, which could easily be known by heart by anyone. This way of using extracts from the psalms for the basis of compunction in prayer had a central place in the

articulation of devotion in England, from the seventh century to the eleventh ...

The Cross. Two Examples, St Bede and St Alfred (pp. 96–101)

the Cross was not something that made them (the early English) feel better, nicer, more comfortable, more victorious, more reconciled to tragedy, better able to cope with life and death; it was rather the centre of the fire in which they were to be changed. How far they had understood this was a question that was asked many times. The recommendation of Gregory the Great that externals could be kept if transfigured by inner holiness was too often reversed into the more comfortable ways of keeping charms and magic, where the external objects were held to have power, power at first to be exercised by the controlling person, but soon dominating and restricting life into a narrow selfishness ... This understanding of disaster as victory and not defeat seemed so vital to two Englishmen that both attributed the decline of Christianity and the desolation of their country to a failure to grasp that very point. I would like to discuss the comments of both these men, Bede and Alfred the Great, and also to investigate why it was that both turned for a remedy to the teaching of Gregory the Great. I have deliberately chosen Alfred the Great, a king and a married man, along with a simple monk who never held any position of power, to underline the fact that the way of the Cross is common to all and not for any special group.

In the last years of Bede's life he became deeply concerned about the state of contemporary English Christians and made this the subject of earnest discussion with his former pupil Egbert, then Archbishop of York, whom he visited in 733. The next year, too ill to travel again, Bede instead wrote to Egbert, warning him about the dangers surrounding him and suggesting remedies. He was not concerned about any open return to paganism, but he wrote most sternly about the dangers of a half-baked Christianity, of simply adding on Christian externals to an already comfortable life. There were three sides to this. The poor were neglected, the clergy were both greedy and irresponsible, and the freedom to establish monastic centres was being flagrantly misused as an excuse for wide-scale tax-evasion ...

In fact, he concludes, there are those who claim the name of Christian but without the Cross:

There are those who are known to go through the wide gate that leads to destruction and the broad way through their whole lifetime and trouble not to withstand or resist for the sake of heavenly reward their desires of body or mind in the smallest matters ...

Bede felt that Christianity had been misunderstood as a comforting kind of religion, and Christ as a god of victories, and that therefore the Cross was being seen as a threat and a terror, and not as the very place of redemption, and he warned his colleagues most earnestly against allowing this building on sand to go any further ...

If monastic life especially did not have at its centre the reality of the Cross, it became a source of corruption within the whole of Christian life, and Bede saw that it not only would but should vanish from the earth ...

... At the end of the eighth century in England the Cross was applied without palliative and those who had thought Christianity comfortable or consoling found their mistake. Alcuin lamented the sack of Lindisfarne by the Vikings, as a judgement of God on a liberalized Christianity ...

... by 878 Alfred of Wessex was a fugitive king in a land ravaged by 'the heathen men'; the situation was changed by the miracle of the battle of Edington, fought against impossible odds but under the protection of St Mary and St Cuthbert. Alfred's victory and the baptism of Guthrum marked a turning point in the affairs of Christian England. When Alfred looked back over those times he saw that the power of the Cross had crushed rather than sustained those looking for an easy return to peace ...

... Learning, he (Alfred) says, declined and 'we were Christians in name alone and very few of us possessed Christian virtues'. Everything, he says, was 'ransacked and burned', but before that, any real understanding of the Christian Gospel had faded out, the ransacking and burning could then be seen not as the hand of God against a gainsaying people but more deeply as the result of culpable lethargy. Genuine contact with the person of Jesus and the reality of the Cross through the Scriptures had disappeared through a lack of energy in acquiring the Latin learning that was a gateway to the Scriptures ...

... It is clear that Alfred regarded the proper task of the Christian leader as attention to the twofold love of God for himself and for others, as described by Gregory, and this was not an ornamental

option. It was a vital part of the defence of the realm. For Alfred as for Bede, there was only one way for the English to survive at all, and that was to accept the cross of Christ as the place of resurrection; in other words, having received the Word of the Gospel in the first place, they were committed to living, it out to the full: otherwise, they were not just pagans again, but apostates, and therefore all that led to life would lead automatically to death.

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

What is the Orthodox view of capital punishment?

R. M., London

I am not sure that there is a single view, but here are some general considerations, as follows:

In absolute terms, if we follow the Commandment 'Thou shalt not kill', we must be against capital punishment. However, we live in this world, and we often have to prefer the lesser evil. Armed forces, the police force, the prison system are all lesser evils, necessary in our fallen world. None of us, however idealistic, would think of doing without these lesser evils; they are here to protect us. Therefore we have to have a more subtle approach.

We should avoid extreme attitudes. For example, there is a sort of secular humanism which is 'namby-pamby'; everyone is good, 'evil does not exist', let us 'be nice' and mollycoddle sadistic criminals. This is unrealistic because it does not recognise the Fall, human sin, the human capacity for evil. At the other extreme, we find the 'hanging and shooting' brigade, who seem to want vengeance for anything. We do not want vengeance, for as merciful Christians we admit the possibility of repentance, something that capital punishment and secular humanism both deny. But we must have a system of imprisonment, firstly because we have a sense of justice and retribution, secondly, because we need deterrence, and thirdly, because the public has to be protected by the authorities from murderers etc.

The Church does not take life, but protects it, but also protects social stability. This is why the Church blesses the police and armed forces, firstly so that they may protect the majority against the minority, secondly so that they themselves may not commit great evils. Thus before the Russian Revolution the authorities attempted to protect society against terrorists – the greater evil. The State has a duty of care, to protect the innocent and the weak, children especially. The State exists in order to lessen the presence of evil, it must protect victims from criminals.

In the 19th century in Russia, many serious criminals were sent to Siberia for hard labour rather than giving them the death sentence. It seems to me that penance and suffering (hard labour in a severe climate) may indeed be a better solution than either capital punishment or locking people up for decades. But, in any case, the public must be protected.

Many people advocate the death sentence. But I wonder how many of them would actually be able to carry it out? As regards the form of death sentence, it seems to me that firing squads – certainly not electric chairs – may be the least barbaric, or anyway, the most instant.

What do you think of the 'eucharistic ecclesiology' of the school of Afanasiev?

C. L., USA

I think such a theory of ecclesiology (which is what it really is) is only of passing interest. It is merely a sociological reflection of the very abnormal, mid-20th century conditions in which Paris Russian émigrés lived, i.e. disincarnation from the State, lay domination, without a normal episcopal presence and so without episcopal ecclesiology, and without monastic life and so without monastic and ascetic ecclesiology.

At best, such a philosophy is one-sided, but at worst, in the hands of the Protestantizing, like the late Fr Alexander Schmemann, it very rapidly becomes mere Protestant congregationalism. For him the centre of the Church is the eucharist. This is very one-sided, because there is no eucharist

without repentance. This Protestantism is why this philosophy was influential at the protestantizing Second Vatican Council. This is also reflected in the protestantizing, French-language liturgical books put out by the Paris Jurisdiction. It is notable that the ever-memorable Fr John Romanidis rejected such a philosophy, after being influenced by it in his youth, and that most of those who still talk about it are now very elderly.

It also explains why spirituality-less modernism (like its ancestor Protestantism) rapidly descends into either boring secularism and/or boring moralism. (Which is why many modernists, though deeply secular, are also moralists).

I used to know Fr Nikolai's wife, Matushka Afanasieva, in Paris. She was very different from her husband, very down to earth. I preferred her real theology by far!

Do you have an Orthodox substitute for the name Iris?

I. K., Sweden

I would suggest either Irina or else Raisa.

What is the difference between a genius and a saint?

P. A., Norfolk

As far as I can say, geniuses are egomaniacs, whereas saints give themselves selflessly.

When did the stigmata first appear? Is it true that Orthodox saints never have the stigmata?

W. T., Oxford

The stigmata are quite unknown inside the Church and are a psychic phenomenon linked uniquely with Catholicism. Indeed the first known example occurred in c. 1060 in Italy. This was recorded by Bishop ('Saint') Peter Damian (1007–72), one of the leading inventors of Catholicism. They occurred to a monk called Dominic of the Breastplate, who was renowned for flogging himself – yet another anti-Orthodox practice.

Why do you think many educated Europeans are attracted to Buddhism nowadays?

M. A., Woodbridge

We live in an irreligious and anti-religious age. But without religion educated people at least still seek some form of morality, some kind of moral system. For many Buddhism, which is not a religion, but an ethical system, which in theory leads to self-perfection, is the solution. In other words, an allegiance to Buddhism is a sort of ethical atheism, giving emotional comfort and intellectual self-justification.

Why do many Anglicans have to become Catholics before they are ready to join the Orthodox Church?

R. P., London

The late Fr Barnabas (Burton) first explained this to me forty years ago and since I have no direct experience of either Anglicanism or Catholicism, I can only repeat his words, which mirrored his personal pilgrimage to the Church. He said that since Anglicans were further away from the Church than even Catholics, who still have a sense of the Church, however deformed, a hierarchy, the sacraments, the Mother of God, the communion of the saints, Anglicans therefore had to return to their roots in Catholicism before they could be ready to understand Orthodoxy. Interestingly, the notorious ecumenist Archbishop Athenagoras (Kokkinakis), said the same, that Protestants had to become Catholics before they would be able to understand the Church.

Is the name Vivian an Orthodox name?

V. R., York

Yes, it is the name of one of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (9/22 March).

Where are we in the Book of Revelation?

T. S., USA

You should ask a wiser man than me. Very hesitantly, I would suggest at Chapter 8.

Who was worse from an Orthodox viewpoint, Hitler or Stalin?

C. R, London

Although Stalin was awful, this is an easy question to answer, it is Hitler. This is because in just five years between early 1940 and 1945 he caused the deaths of more or less 50 million Europeans and others. And if he had not been stopped by the Soviet Union, he would have continued and slaughtered a hundred million others or more. This is because he was a Teutonic racist and wanted to eliminate all Slavs, Jews, Gypsies, handicapped and others. Even with his horrors, collectivization

and dekulakization (enclosures), artificial famine (3.3 million dead, mainly in the agriculturally rich Ukraine), purges and Gulag (850,000 dead), in 25 years Stalin still slaughtered 'only' about 10 million. If we add to these all the victims of the horrors of Lenin and others, in 75 years the death toll from atheism was probably about 15 million. Zionist neocon propagandists like Anne Applebaum and Richard Pipes estimate more, pro-Stalinists less. A revolting figure, but in 75 years only a third of the number that Hitler slaughtered in just five years. Imagine how many hundreds of millions Hitler and his followers would have slaughtered in 75 years ...

Is doubt compatible with faith?

S. P., Felixstowe

Definitely not. It is the opposite, since doubt comes from a lack of faith. Only Protestants and lapsed Catholics (which is the same thing) identify doubt with faith or see it as positive. Orthodox certainly do not.

Why do Orthodox not go to church very often and then, once there, often stay for a short time, after lighting a candle and a prayer?

M. A. Colchester

I will not justify nominalism and laxity, but there is a huge difference between Orthodox Christians and the Catholic/Protestant world in terms of motivation for church-going. The latter goes to church from obligation and duty, with a kind of moral intention, often imposed from outside, guilt playing a big part. Decades ago I was astounded to realize this and Non-Orthodox were astounded to learn that Orthodox only go to church because they want to. What a difference – Orthodox freedom and Catholic/Protestant ethical constraint and guilt! Orthodox go to church because we need to, we wish to pray in a prayerful atmosphere which takes us out of this world, where we find the inspiration of beauty so we can weep and repent. Hence the importance of the Orthodox church-building and why we hate to have to do our services in buildings and atmospheres that are alien to us.

I am American and was raised in a Roman Catholic family, but my family heritage is from England and Wales. When I learned that my distant ancestors were Orthodox, I was excited. I felt a connection with the past, as prior to that, not being Russian, I was beginning to wonder if I should even become Orthodox despite liking it so much. Can you tell me this: Is it true that England was Orthodox before Russia was? If so, why isn't there still an English Orthodox Church? Do English people feel that the Russian or Greek Church isn't for them, and it's more appropriate for the Russian and Greek immigrants in England? What can I do to help bring back the ancient faith to England? A genuine, not Russian, not Greek, not Antiochian, but authentic English Orthodox Church? Which Church do you belong to? Would my small ability to send some money be of help towards re-establishing an English Orthodox Church again? Also, why is it that the Mormons are so efficient in going door to door? Why don't Orthodox do like that?

Identity withheld, USA

Until the eleventh century, all of Western Europe was in communion with the rest of the Orthodox Church. However, in that century, virtually all of Western Europe was removed from communion with the Church by the rulers of Western Europe, who wanted all power for themselves. To justify this power-grab they evolved a new religious ideology called Roman Catholicism. This later split into a myriad of so-called Protestant sects. The symbolic date for this falling away is 1054, but in fact the process of falling away occurred throughout the century and even over a longer period; for example, in England the symbolic date of 1066 would be more accurate. Thus what became England (England did not exist as such in the seventh century) was indeed part of the Orthodox Church some 400 years before Kievan Rus (Russia did not exist then either).

So there has never been an English Orthodox Church, only the Western Patriarchate of the Orthodox Church, to which England belonged. Therefore, today, in order to be in communion with our distant ancestors we must belong to one of the Local Orthodox Churches in the area where we live. I am in ROCOR, since I believe that it is the Russian Church that is most likely to re-establish the Western Patriarchate and Local Churches in North America, Latin America and Australasia. The other Local Churches are basically only concerned with their own nationality. Only the Russian Church has music, for example, which can be sung in our languages. And, for example, time and time again I meet English people who have been told in local Greek churches in England that they 'cannot become Orthodox because you

are not Greek'. Clearly these people have never read the last verses of St Matthew's Gospel, and yet they are absolutely typical. Frankly, are such people Christians?

What we can do to re-establish English Orthodoxy is to be faithful members of our Orthodox Church (whatever its origin) and work for the spread of the Orthodox Faith among people of our nationality. In this way, the territory in which we live (North America or Western Europe, for example) will one day become ready to have its own Local Church and ultimately Patriarchate once more. We have to start from the beginning; many local people have to confess uncompromised Christianity (= Orthodoxy) in the area where we live, before we can even think about a Local Church.

So we cannot have a Local Church before there are local people who confess the Faith. (And by local people I mean people whose roots are local, not immigrants, because they are still attached to a non-Local Church elsewhere and do not want a new Local Church). However, it is precisely from those people that we local people can learn the Faith. When St Paul went to preach in Asia, people did not want a Local Church first; first they wanted to learn and live the Faith.

Thank you for your kind idea of donating money. But it is not so easy. Money is very helpful, but unlike secular organizations the Church is not built on money, but on the faithful. Until there are very large numbers of people inside the Russian Church who first live the Faith and want to have a Local Church and are mature enough in the Faith to be responsible for that Church, it will not be set up. I think this may be generations away. But we have to start in the here and now.

As regards the Mormons and 'ramming it down people's throats', I cannot imagine anything worse! Our task is not to 'make people Orthodox', but to bring them to the light of Christ and ensure that they remain in that light. It is not 'becoming Orthodox' that is important, but remaining Orthodox. Unlike the Mormons and other Non-Christian sects, we are not interested in numbers, but in saints, quality but not quantity.

THE DEFORMATION OF A TYPICAL VILLAGE CHURCH

From a document of a Local Council in North West Essex

CHRISTIAN worship has existed in England since Roman times. It faded in the mid 5th century but was reintroduced by the Roman missions of St Augustine and in Essex particularly by St Cedd, new permanent sites and wooden churches being built by about AD700. The basic two-cell plan-form of chancel and nave is an early concept, found in churches both of Celtic and Roman missions.

Roman material was frequently used and evidence of this is apparent in most of the churches listed here. Look for sporadic red bricks on the extreme walls of the older parts of the church. They are about two inches in width and sometimes still retain the pink Roman cement (*opus signinum*). 10th and 11th century churches were often sited next to the local manor, effectively being a private chapel.

In the 10th century, towers to house bells were built. Extra chapels were often built adjacent to the chancel and in the 13th century porches began to be added.

Before the 15th century some parish activity took place in the nave with various festivals and occasional markets being held. The chancel remained a sanctuary. Although the mediæval priest had to say mass once a day, a mass was conducted on Sunday, which the whole village was required to attend. This compulsory attendance led to occasional disputes. Instances are chronicled of persons being killed or wounded. Rushes, straw and perhaps yew boughs and herbs were strewn on the floor and seating did not exist. The church was very colourful and scenes from the Bible, particularly of the Day of Judgement, were painted on the walls for the purposes of instruction. There were no tombstones in the churchyard.

Church plate and vestments, together with the screens and rood crosses were taken away and the wall paintings whitewashed over during the Reformation.

The 17th century saw the introduction of box pew seating which reflected the beginning of long sermons from a pulpit. Music by viols and flutes was introduced. Gravestones in the churchyard became widespread by the 18th century.

During Victorian times most of the box pews were replaced by other forms of seating and choir stalls were introduced in the chancel.

Monuments have changed in style over the centuries. Before the 17th century brass figures inserted into the floor were popular. The earlier alabaster marble and stone monuments are generally of a higher quality than those of the Victorians.

It has been very difficult to make a selection from the churches within the local District and the intention has been to illustrate a number of points and different types of churches and to stimulate interest in the subject. Please remember that these buildings are a unique contribution to western civilization. They are very expensive to maintain so please give generously when visiting. Postcards are available for sale in most and brass rubbings may be taken in some, but please ensure you have permission before commencing.

Churches normally open are indicated*. The opening arrangements of others are generally available on the notice board in the church porch.

Arkesden. St Mary

From 13th century. Tower 1855. Fine monuments, one unfortunately painted. Brasses.*

Chickney. St Mary

Anglo-Saxon Nave. Redundant. Isolated setting. Well worth finding.*

Chrishall. Holy Trinity

From 13th century. Copy of Rubens *Adoration of the Magi*. Exceptional brasses. Fine effigy of a lady.

Clavering. St Mary and St. Clement

From 13th century. Some 15th century stained glass. Extremely fine wooden screen with remains of painted figures. Rare Elizabethan pulpit. Some early pews. Quality brasses. Look for fine *graffito* near pulpit inscribed *AMOR VINCIT OMNIA* (love conquers all).*

Debden. St Mary the Virgin and All Saints

From 13th century. 18th century gothic chapel and font by Chiswell. Iron bound chest. Remarkable church, isolated in beautiful setting.*

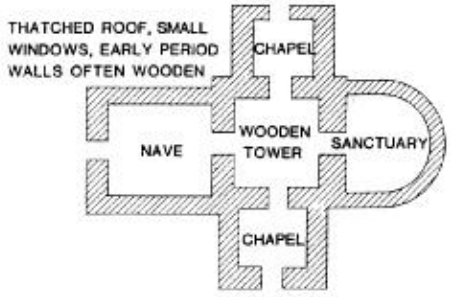
Felsted. Holy Cross

Norman tower, but rest of church mostly 14th century. 15th century porch. 16th century chapel. Look for iron bound poor box. Brasses. The Monument to Lord Rich is unquestionably the best in district. There was a fine painting illustrating *Avarice*, which depicted a miser with demons. It was destroyed in Victorian times as being 'too lurid'.*

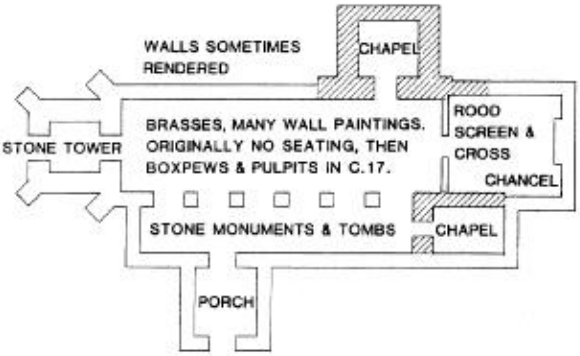
Great Canfield. St Mary the Virgin

12th century with superb Norman doorway. Look for carved stone figures of birds pecking at a bearded head. Also look for 11th century carved gravestone in chancel arch. Remarkable wall paintings. Brasses and monuments.*

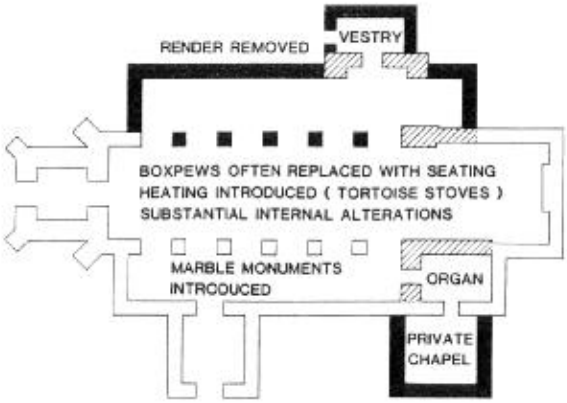
1. A Church of the Anglo-Saxon Period



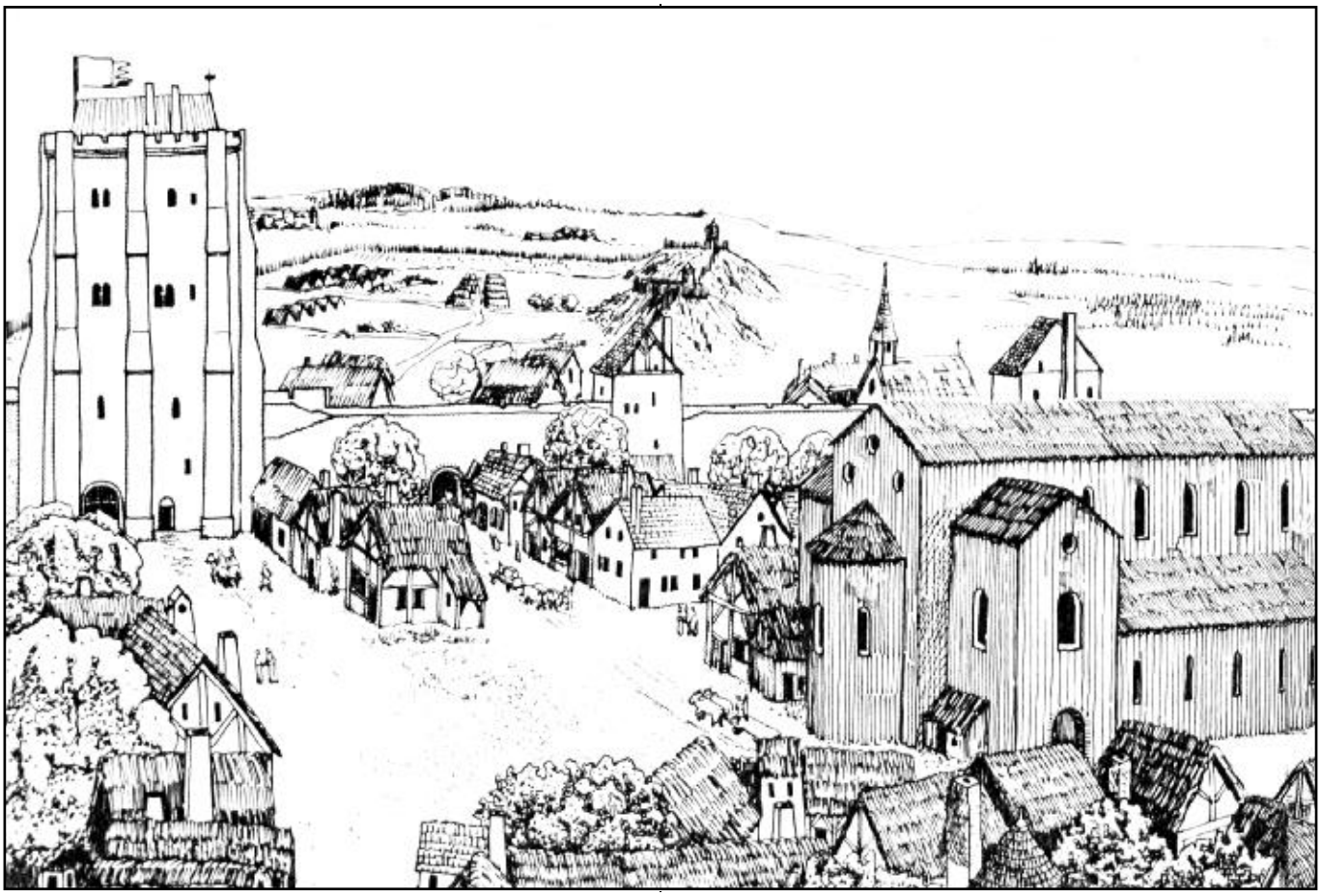
2. The Church largely rebuilt at the Reformation



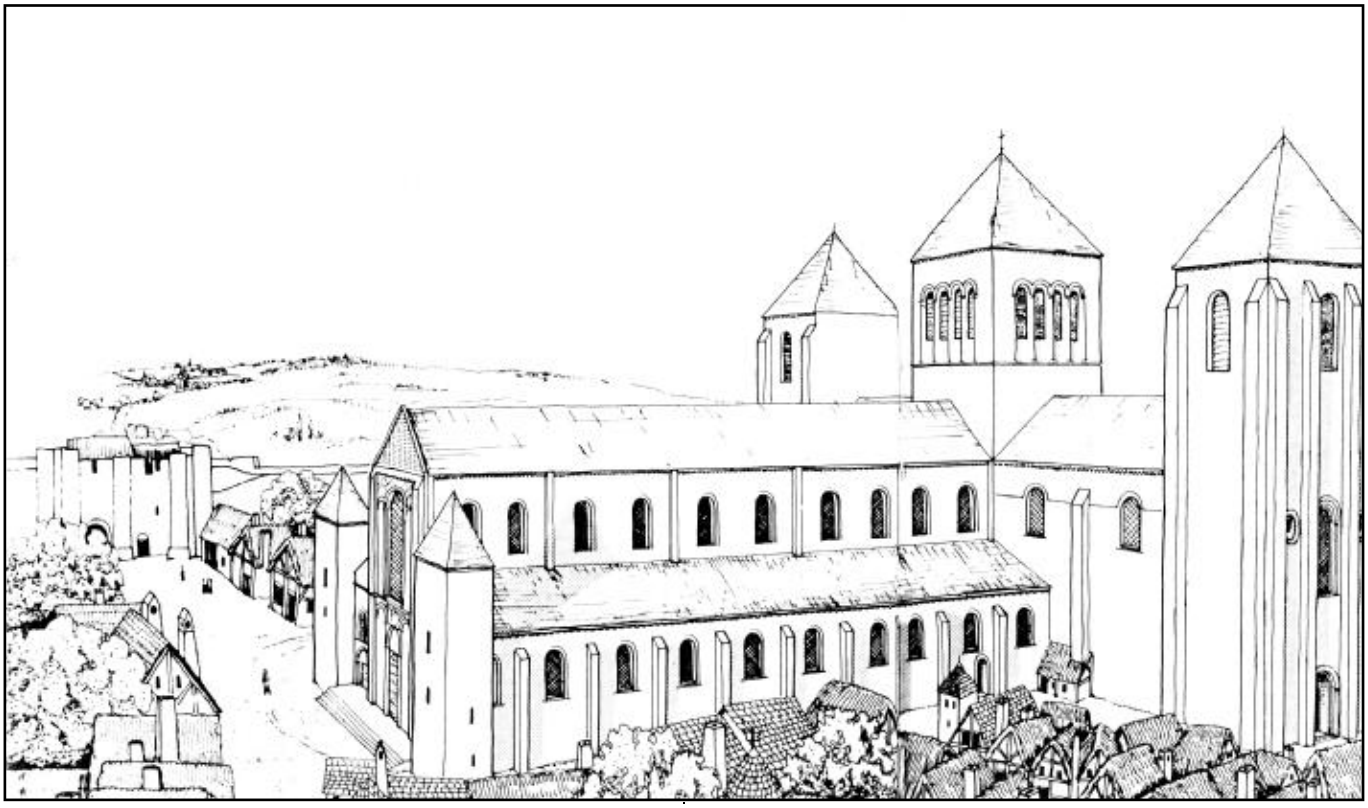
3. The Church today



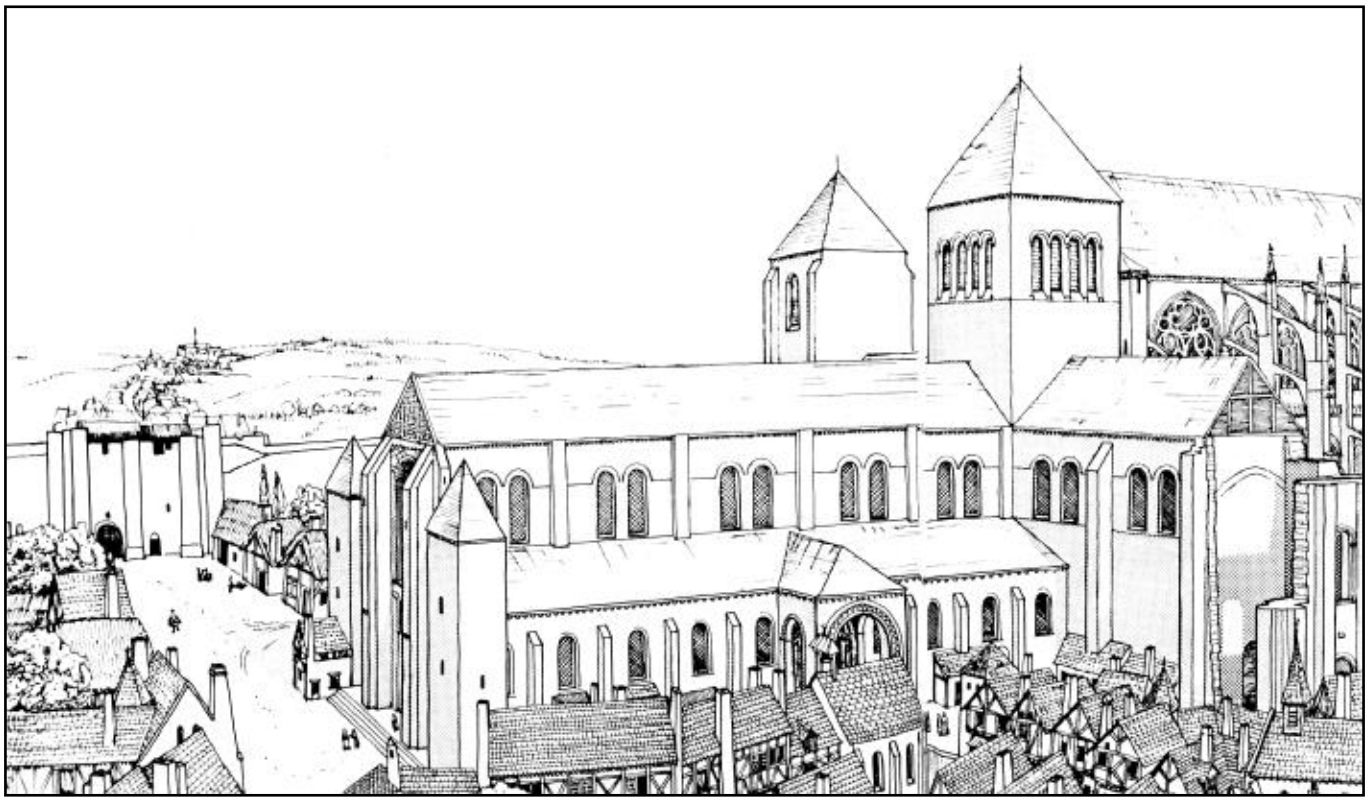
THE DECLINE OF A CATHEDRAL



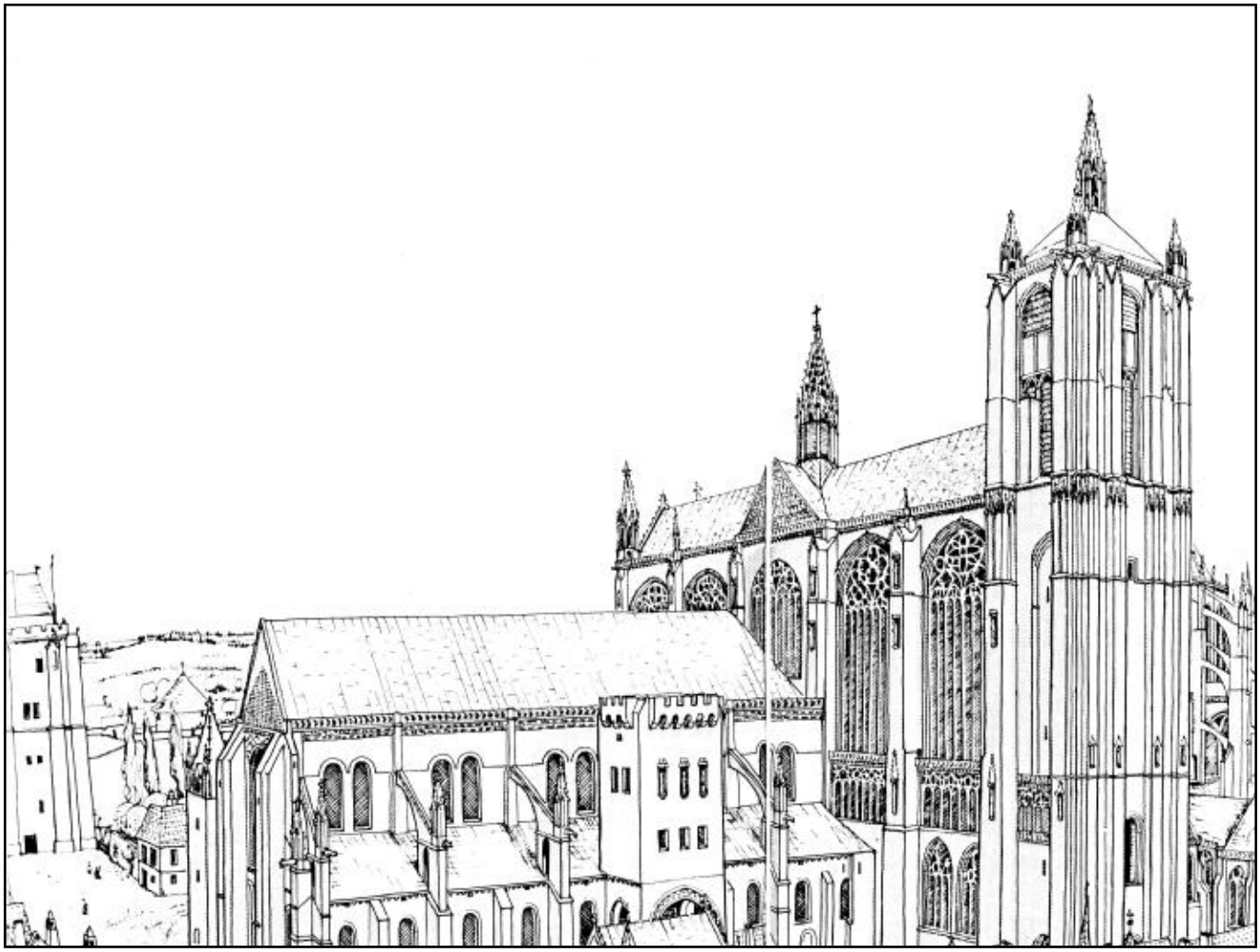
Le Mans Cethedral, France, 1080



Le Mans Cethedral, France, 1120



Le Mans Cethedral, France, 1254



Le Mans Cathedral, France, 1430