THE ENGLISH PLACE OF WORSHIP:

A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY

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INTRODUCTION
In the nineteen sixties it became apparent that secularisation within society was making an approach to religious education in schools, based on Christian nurture, a progressively more difficult task. As a result new approaches were sought. Many of the ideas put forward were encapsulated in the Schools Council Working Paper No. 36.¹ This advocated a phenomenological approach to the study of religion in schools. Subsequently, the teaching material produced by the project has been used widely in schools in this country. However, little phenomenological study of English religion has been undertaken. It seemed that such a study was required and that a key area of research was the public place of worship.

The importance of the latter was suggested by an earlier research.² In this study a substantial proportion of a multi-racial group of young people living in this country reported that they would experience a sense of awe, or some similar numinous experience, in their public place of worship. The study also revealed an increasing degree of secularisation within several ethnic groups. A starting point for religious education seemed to be offered by the fact that at least some insight into religious experience could be gained by beginning with the public place of worship. If young people could sense from this what it was that led to peoples' religious convictions and commitments they might also think that a wider study of religion was a worthwhile pursuit. In any case, it would lead them to the inner core of religion, revelation of the sacred.


A full understanding of man's experience of divine revelation would require a much wider study, but from the educational point of view the public place of worship is always accessible. The availability of evidence is also important to the researcher. Public places of worship, which exist in every locality, provide an abundance of evidence much of which remains long after its use as part of the living faith. This latter point is of some methodological importance. Phenomenologists have been criticised both for their lack of first hand knowledge and for abstracting material from its historical and cultural setting. English places of worship presented themselves as both available for personal study and also as being within a unified cultural and historical context. This study could therefore look at a specific cultural and historic whole using the broad universal categories provided by the phenomenological analysis of religion.

The phrase, public place of worship, in this study means any site or building which is available to members of society, generally, for worship. This excludes private places of worship such as shrines within houses available only to members of the family. It does not restrict the term to places where there is congregational gathering. It can also include places where people go as individuals and where parts of the site or buildings are restricted to certain categories of persons, such as priests.

The use of the word English, in the context of this study should perhaps also be explained. Of necessity the lines of

1. See Appendix 1 for discussion of who the original English were.
demarcation which have been drawn are somewhat arbitrary. The origins of the English people have been taken as the Continental Anglo-Saxon peoples who migrated to this country towards the end of, and subsequent to, Roman government of this country. These were the people whose language became the English of modern times and gave us the word England. The view has been taken that culture and language are closely linked and therefore that the persistence of language is a good indicator of cultural continuity. The influence of Celtic, Viking and Latin ways of life on the homogeneity of the English culture are discussed at appropriate points in this study. It is assumed, however, that there has been some continuity of English culture, religion and experience, of which the language is a witness, that has continued to the present day. Nevertheless, it is accepted that influxes of other peoples, ideas and cultures have had their influence on the English experience and understanding of life and religion.

The prime reason for choosing phenomenology as the discipline whereby the English public place of worship would be studied has already been given. There are, however, numerous disciplines available whereby religion in all its manifestations may be studied. Theology, traditionally "Queen of the Sciences", is the most obvious. Theology works within presuppositions of truth. It always commences with the acceptance of certain truths on an a priori basis and proceeds from those premises. This leads to the exclusion of certain religious beliefs, activities and attitudes as inadmissible evidence or their relegation to a second class status. Theology can only proceed within the community of faith which accepts a priori claims. Its' ontological
assumptions and method of working means that it cannot function as a path of knowledge to an outsider. It has been suggested that with increasing plurality and secularisation young people have little to do with their traditional faith communities. Clearly a theological study of places of worship would not be of any great advantage to the educational world.

Disciplines such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, and similar behavioural sciences occupy the opposite epistemological position. These disciplines, while making valuable contributions to the study of religion in terms of their own methods of understanding, are limited in their usefulness for increasing our insights into the inner dimensions of religious experience. They, of necessity, explain religion in terms of function rather than originating experience. While accepting that the study of religion by the behavioural sciences is a valid exercise, their presuppositions exclude any examination of religion in terms of claims to find its origins beyond the world of senses. These disciplines are not in the position to say anything directly concerning the experience of divine revelation.

The general problems of the objective, non-normative study of religion have been subject to considerable debate in recent years, as has been the object of that study. A full discussion and validation of phenomenology as an adequate discipline for the study of religion is beyond the scope of the present work. However, some indication of how


the discipline has been used and understood in the present study is now given.

Sharpe, Bleeker, and Hultkrantz, all trace the beginnings of practical phenomenology of religion to the pioneer work of Chantepie de la Saussaye. Together with Penner, they identify the philosophy informing this method as derived from the work of Husserl and his followers, particularly Heidegger, Sartre and Merleau-Ponty. Surveying Husserl's major published works, Penner says, "The central problem Husserl attempted to solve was epistemological or cognitional."

Husserl, he suggests, was concerned with the relation between the subjectivity of cognition and the objectivity of the content of cognition.

The purpose of a phenomenological approach is to transcend forms of human knowledge and find the pure essence by means of a presupposition-less insight into the original consciousness. To achieve this, two stances must be adopted: those of reduction and intentionality. Kockelmans has written about intentionality in a way which shows its


5. Ibid. p.32.

relevance to the present study. He says:—

"Intentionality has nothing to do with relationships
between 'real objects', but is essentially an act which
gives meaning... In Husserl's Philosophy the object
appears essentially determined by the structure of
the thinking itself."

A phenomenological study, therefore, requires a suspension of one's
own, and other people's presuppositions, in an attempt to discover the
original consciousness of the object in the subject's understanding,
experience and knowing of the object. Phenomenology is almost an
impossible counsel of perfection. First, it is almost beyond human
ability to suspend one's normal judgements and presuppositions totally.
Even if one attempts to do this completely at the conscious level it
is not possible to do it, for certain, at the sub-conscious level.
Secondly, it is extremely difficult to know that one has penetrated
successfully into the thought world of another person, even if he is
present to correct what one says. A word or a phrase, even in a given
context, may mean different things to separate people. If, however, we
are to avoid a position of nescience the effort must be made. If it is
made, we can be sure that our insights will be greater than if it had
not. If one has shed some of one's presuppositions and carefully
considered the epiphenomena of the other person's knowing experience
it is likely that one will be nearer to gaining true insight than by
any other means. If we are able to share the knowing experience with
the person and then discuss his experience with him, so much the better.

What the phenomenological study of religion has meant in applied
terms can be seen in the work of such scholars as Kristensen, Van der Leeuw, and Eliade among others. Their works demonstrate the search for universals and the essence of religion behind the epiphenomena. Although the authors mentioned do not present identical analyses, they do present a broadly common pattern. These studies, in common with similar phenomenological studies, have considered the morphology of the sacred or divine world and examine man and the sacred realm in reciprocation. A number of topics occur in each of the writings, sacred places, sacred times, sacred persons, sacred words among others. Although the many examples quoted, illustrating each of these topics, vary in detail, they do point the way to some universal elements of the experience of divine revelation.

Waardenburg, has criticised certain aspects of these earlier phenomenological studies of religion. He is suspicious of the "intuitive method" and of what he suggests has been a "hidden theology". Of interest to the present study is his suggestion that intentionality, not universals, should be the concern. He says, "The meaning of the given data for given people should be the focus of interest in the first place". Waardenburg gives examples of how investigations could be done. In his article, "Confrontations between Religions", he suggests that the confrontation of different confessions, religions and idealogies can be seen as a crossing of intentions. He writes,
"Such a situation is the more appropriate as a point of departure, since the participants themselves through the crossing of intention, arrive at a new consciousness of understanding."

Such a study has much to commend it when, like Waardenburg, one is studying contemporary religion and can verify one's conclusions with the participants. The present study is concerned with a broad spectrum of evidence from the distant past to the present. The earlier pattern of phenomenological categories, as they apply to the public place of worship, have, therefore, been used. The evidence for each of the categories among the surviving phenomena of English religion across the centuries has been investigated. Although we cannot be certain that we can penetrate the inner understanding of the English in the past, any change in the epiphenomena at periods of confrontation with new religious ideas have been noted.

The central question for this study has been to enquire into the ways in which the universal forms of sacred phenomena have been manifested at the English public place of worship. The purpose of this enquiry has been to gain insights through this investigation into the English religious experience and understanding which cannot otherwise be obtained. As a corollary to this, the study has sought to provide both methods and materials which will be of use within education.

We turn now to a review of the work of some phenomenologists
in terms of what they have said about the place of worship and its associated phenomena and activities. Phenomenologists' prime concern has been the sacrality of the place of worship and its recognition and definition as sacred space. Structures and activities are secondary to this. The earliest phenomenologist to write on sacred space was Chantepie de la Saussaye. His opening statement, in his section on sacred places reads, as follows:

"The sanctity of certain places consists in the fact that the gods dwell there, or are worshipped there; but these ideas do not exclude one another, since temples are at the same times dwellings of the gods and places of worship."

De la Saussaye points out that extremes can exist within one tradition:

"Moreover the difference between the house of God and the house of the community is often carried to the very opposite, as the Temple at Jerusalem by the side of the Jewish synagogues."

He indicates another important factor concerning sacred space, namely symbolism. Symbolism we may define as the articulation by man in object or action of his understanding of the nature of the divine. Symbols, either natural object, man made article or symbolic action are more than visual or verbal depiction. They contain within them something of the divine reality and therefore the power to which they bear witness, at least in the experience of the worshipper.

2. Ibid. p.161.
3. Ibid. p.166.
De la Saussaye suggests that orientation, structure and ornament are important factors in the symbolism of the sacred space. The visual aspects of the place of worship are most important. They tend to survive the passage of time better than any other evidence, and give clues to the understanding of those who have worshipped there in the past.

De la Saussaye, quoting Renan, makes another observation pertinent to the present study, ¹

"Mankind likes to preserve the same sacred places of worship, and when an old religion gives way to a new one, the latter receives the inheritance of its predecessors, more especially the once sanctified places of worship."

The phenomenon will be analysed further when an examination is made of how existing places of worship were adapted to new understandings.

Kristensen ² takes the view that, sacred and therefore 'untouchable' places, are God's dwelling place,

"But what is it then, that makes a place 'holy' 'sacred'? It is certainly not the fact that a sacred act is performed there, such as the utterance of prayer, the swearing of an oath, or the performance of ritual purification. It is rather that this place is the place where God dwells and where he reveals Himself."

1. Ibid. p.167.
He then examines the variety of divine dwelling places. He suggests that space which indicates the presence of the deity to the believer usually has inherent numinous qualities. He also suggests that God is experienced as present as a result of consecration as well as through theophany,

"In Greece and Italy the cities were sacred because they have been founded with special ceremonial rites appropriate to the occasion."  

The city was constructed to conform to what was conceived of as a cosmic prototype, and, similarly, its cycles of life to the cosmic cycle. Temples, which have often been built at sites made sacred by theophany, are also the dwelling place of God. He argues,

"This is because the temple was conceived as an image of the actual dwelling place of God, the place which is sacred by nature."  

Kristensen also emphasises the frequent occurrence of the idea of a temenos, a boundary marking the limit of the sacred space. He examines this phenomenon both in connection with the natural sacred spaces and man-made ones, such as temples and cities. Man must be aware that he is entering the divine dwelling space because of its inherent dangers to him.

1. Ibid. pp. 357-376.
3. Ibid. p.368. See also p.369.
Another phenomenologist who has written about the sacrality of the place of worship is Van der Leeuw. Sacred space is a locality where power reveals itself. He says,

"Sacred space may be defined as that locality that becomes a position by the effects of power repeating themselves there."  

He, too, emphasises their persistence,

"The consciousness of the sacred character of the locality that has once been chosen is, therefore, always retained."  

He sees the theophany as the only mode of the site becoming sacred and seems to exclude consecration or building by ritual duplication,

"Not house, and temple alone, however, but the settlement in general, the village, the town, is a 'selected' sacred position; man forms his settlement and thus converts the discovered possibility into new powerfulness."  

Later he says,

"In the holy place, still further, power exists; there its effect becomes perceptible. What once occurred is repeated at the sacred spot: at the altar, for example, Christ's death is reiterated.


2. Ibid. p.393.


4. Ibid. p.399.
In the Egyptian temple, similarly, the foundation of the world was renewed at a place erected for that purpose.\textsuperscript{1}

It is this presence of power in sacred space, Van der Leeuw argues, that accounts for the phenomenon of pilgrimage,

"The place of pilgrimage, the seat of grace, is thus a home of the second power."\textsuperscript{2}

When this power declines he concludes, temples become, "Merely places to stay and talk... the extreme stage of this development is constituted by the buildings devoted to preaching by some Protestant communities."\textsuperscript{3}

Van der Leeuw appears at this point to overlook the fact that the sacred word can be experienced as a centre of the revelation of divine power. The view is argued, later in this study, that in the Protestant tradition, divine power and presence are experienced both through the sacred community and through the sacred word. Both of these things are closely linked with the public place of worship. The view is therefore taken that public places of worship do not become mere 'talking places' once the divine power is no longer experienced, as associated with physical place and object, but can in fact remain locations of divine presence.

2. Ibid. p.402.
3. Ibid. p.398.
Eliade, another phenomenologist who has written on sacred space, shows that he is in agreement with his fellow phenomenologists in understanding its significance as the location where sacred power is present. He writes¹,

"Every kratophany or hierophany whatsoever transforms the place where it occurs: hitherto profane, it is thence-forward a sacred area."

Eliade asserts that sacred space is psychologically necessary for men. He believes that men, at least those who have had an experience of a sacred dimension in their lives, fear the constant threat of chaos and wish to live in an ultimately real world, a cosmos.²

Eliade is also much concerned with man's fear of non-being.³ Whereas, Kristensen and Van der Leeuw are concerned to show that man's experience of divine power is linked to the function of boundaries as warnings to people that they are entering the divine presence, Eliade⁴ interprets boundaries negatively as walls against the ever present threat of chaos to engulf and annihilate. Eliade divides the experience of revelation of sacred space into three distinct categories. He argues that its location is experienced as the meeting point of man and God, the centre of the cosmos, the dwelling place of God,⁵ and that any structure there is a copy of the heavenly realm.

3. Ibid. chapter 1.
4. Ibid. pp. 47-49.
Turner, a phenomenologist whose work seems to incorporate Eliade's ideas to a considerable extent, agrees with his analysis of the sacred space and adds a further dimension, that of immanent-transcendent presence. Turner argues that the nature of the place of worship as sacred space depends on whether the deity is understood to be immanent in the physical world or transcending it. Sacred space is where the deity is understood to be immanently present either within the physical environs of the space generally, or specifically in one or more images or symbolic objects. Turner argues that the temple at Jerusalem is the most complete example of sacred space. He also says that when the deity is experienced as being transcendent the public place of worship is a meeting place for the worshipping community and has no dimensions of sacrality.

Having reviewed what some phenomenologists have written concerning the public place of worship in terms of sacred space, we can now examine what they have written concerning the symbols and images which are associated with public worship.

Within and around places of worship are found symbols and images. Kristensen asks what the image meant in worship in past times. He suggests that it was something very different from our modern idea of image. The image, he suggests, possesses the properties of the original and therefore replaces it. The original and the image are not identical, he argues, but nevertheless share a common identity.

This identity is a spiritual one. The image makes the eternal and divine present here and now. Kristensen\(^1\) argues similarly concerning the evidence from symbols. The symbol indicates the essence of a reality and operates as an image. He appears to suggest that images and symbols share with the sacred space and its edifices the property of revelation. He argues that image and symbol, like the sacred space, are gateways to the divine. They have inherent numinous qualities.

Van der Leeuw, like Kristensen, asserts that, for the worshipper, images and symbols share a community of essence. He says,\(^2\)

"The essential factor in the image then is power; hence the importance of the dedication of images since this first endows them with potency."

He proceeds to make the further point, however, that if the image through miraculous origin or characteristics, has already revealed its power, dedication is not required. The symbol or image as sacred object is a source of revelation.

Eliade\(^3\) says that symbols gather together and represent many related facets of the sacred (or hierophanies as he calls them). Thus he argues the pearl, as a symbol, gathers together hierophanies associated with water, the moon, feminity and fertility. Thus the wearing of pearls brings a person very firmly into the sacred world. This one symbol provides many gates into that world.

1. Ibid. p.400 ff.
Turner, asserts that the image or symbol is worshipped because the indwelling spirit of the divine is present within it. Further, he suggests that this indwelling presence is not confused with or identified with the physical symbol or likeness through which the power and presence of the divinity are brought home to men. He says that men are well aware that the images are made by local craftsmen. They have no significance until they have been ritually consecrated and installed. Only in this way is the divinity present. Turner argues that the divinity is not confined to revealing itself through one image, it is equally present in all.

Not only, then, is the public place of worship sacred through its revelation or consecration as sacred space, but also through the images and symbols within it. It is the location where the sacred community gathers to worship and the images and symbols provide the focus for that worship. The public place of worship is the gathering place of the sacred community. It is the focus of the community's relationship with the sacred realm. Just as the home is the centre of the family's cult, so the place of worship is the cultus centre of the sacred community. As Chantepie de la Saussaye says, "A religious community is founded on a cult."

Chantepie de la Saussaye points out that sacred communities are not founded on common beliefs and doctrines, in the first instance, nor necessarily on shared tribal or national origins. It is the sharing of cultus which marks one as a member of the community.

Kristensen\(^1\) says that the social community is also a sacred community and that it is the concept of covenant which makes this community sacred and its order unbreakable and absolute. Within this order there can be division. He quotes the Avesta with its divisions of priests, warriors and farmers each with its own "fire", a spiritual capacity and energy. The distinctive activity of each class is the result of this indwelling power or activity. Thus the society and its structure is of divine not human origin. Accordingly, the laws and ethical codes which govern men are of divine origin.

The course of the individual's life is lived out within the framework of the sacred society. However, it is not a matter of the individual growing slowly into it and thereby entering the sacred realm. Entrance into the sacred community and its sacred realm is through the sudden transition of the rites of passage, each is a passage into a new life.\(^2\)

Van der Leeuw takes a similar view of the moments of transition in the individual's life. Each transition he suggests is a passage from death into life or the opposite. He says,\(^3\)

"The sacred life indeed knows neither beginning nor end but strives after continuity by means of power. Birth is therefore rebirth: birth and death pertain to each other and rites at birth are often exactly similar to the customs observed at death."

2. Ibid. p.304 ff.
He continues,  
"Man, however, cannot rest content with mere life: he must seek sacred life, replete with Power. Rites guarantee him power...."

Van der Leeuw argues that the community is given and is not a matter of contract or covenant. He suggests that one has consciously to enter a covenant. He distinguishes between various sacred communities to be found within the large given community, secret societies, mystery communities, and monastic communities. Each of these are founded on covenant and individual entry, each separates from the "world" in order to seek power. Van der Leeuw sees the key factor of the sacred community as the presence of sacred power within it. He argues that as the community has moved from tribe to city to nation there has been a move from power as the community has become more and more secularised. He points out, as Kristensen does, that social order can be linked to potency, that classes and castes have their religious value. Having considered the sacred community, Van der Leeuw also shows that power resides in special ways within individuals in that community. He lists and discusses the king, medicine man (Shaman), priest, preacher and the consecrated person.

Eliade has not given attention to the sacred community as such although he has written on the Shaman as an individual who makes the sacred world available to the community and to the individual. Turner

1. Ibid. p.195.
2. Ibid. p.252.
also leaves the community aside and deals only with various forms of sacred person but this is understandable in terms of the limitation of his study to tribal religion, except that one would have expected some reference to secret societies.

Joachim Wach\textsuperscript{1} worked as a phenomenologist in Germany prior to emigrating to the United States in the nineteen thirties where he taught at the University of Chicago. It was while there that he published his book, \textit{Sociology of Religion}.\textsuperscript{2} This book is written from the perspective of the impact of religion on society, in other words its prime concern is with the religious experience of men, not with the importance of social structures as such to men. His acceptance of the definition of religion as "The experience of the Holy"\textsuperscript{3} indicates that Wach seeks to present religion as an objective experience within the life of man which finds outward expression in social structures. Although not intentionally phenomenological, Wach's work is influenced and informed by his previous phenomenological studies. Inasmuch as his writing reflects upon social structure which has resulted from man's experience of the sacred it can be called phenomenological.

Wach\textsuperscript{4} argues that experience of the sacred is articulated through belief, which is encapsulated in myth, doctrine, and cultus, the centre of which is worship. Thus linking sacred community and its place of

worship. He looks first at natural groups, such as family, kinship, proximity, racial and national groups. These by a common relation to the sacred through belief and cultus become coherent wholes. He goes on to suggest that society, as it becomes more complex, no longer effectively articulates in relation to the sacred realm in a manner wholly satisfactory to individuals and groups. Religious groups' foundation and continuation then depend on a differentiation of religious experience. Wach suggests that secret societies, mystery societies and founded religions are such groups. While asserting that all religion is essentially collective and that the great founders of world religion did so within an existing religious community, he interestingly calls them 'divine men'. Thus emphasising the sacred within them rather than the human.

Wach suggests that a band of disciples gathers around the founder. These become the nucleus of the brotherhood which perpetuate the faith of the founder after his death. In time, from this group comes what Wach describes as an ecclesiastical body. Here the corpus of the central religious experience, previously encapsulated in the new community's cultus, is systematised into a body of doctrine and belief. These ecclesiastical bodies may vary greatly in form depending on whether their organisation tends towards an hierarchical or egalitarian ideal. This ecclesiastical body, in turn, will be the focus of protest which centres on the understanding of the foundation religious experience and its interpretation.

1. Ibid. p.54 ff.
2. Ibid. p.132.
3. Ibid. p.130.
4. Ibid. p.141 ff.
Wach\(^1\) says that internal protest takes the forms of "ecclesiola in ecclesia" such as pietistic groups, fraternities and monasticism. He says that external protest takes the form of the sect as a successionist group. In turn, this group by 'conquering' the total community, itself becomes an ecclesiastical body.

Looking at leadership within the religious group Wach, once again, links it to religious experience.\(^2\) This he finds in its greatest plenitude in the founder. Others such as the reformer, the prophet, the diviner, the saint, the priest, the 'religiousus', all in some way decline from this. They, in various ways, only reflect that experience of the sacred which is new, fresh and vital within the founder.

The sacred community does manifest the sacred. There are various types of sacred community and within them are a variety of sacred persons who have differing roles in revealing the sacred. Nevertheless, the sacred community is as important to the individual in entering the divine sphere as are all the other manifestations of the sacred found at the public place of worship.

The community seeks to encounter the sacred at the public place of worship. This it does through its cultus. This consists of the sacred acts which bring the community and the sacred into relation with each other. Concerning sacred actions Chantepie de la Saussaye says,\(^3\)

"The object of cult is to maintain the relationship

1. Ibid. p.173 ff.
2. Ibid. p.331.
between man and God, to reinstate it when it has
become clouded."

He says that the two key elements in this activity are sacrifice and prayer. He asserts that these two elements are inseparable. The occasion for one is always the occasion for the other. Further, all events in personal and social life require, and are occasions marked by, sacrifice. Connected to these central activities are other actions. Things, and people, connected with worship have to be purified. The posture of the body is often symbolic and connected to the type of prayer. Other acts such as music and dancing often accompany acts of worship.

Kristensen's¹ analysis of cultic activities seems to suggest that they are all concerned with making the sacred realm present. He relates oath, curse and ordeal to the sacred world. The oath makes the reality of the contract as pertaining to the heavenly world and the ordeal as an act of divine justice actualised by the outward, observable rites. Similarly, concerning ritual purification Kristensen² says,

"The character of ritual purification is always the same: it is impartation of divine life."

A similar interpretation is given to the phenomena of sacrifice. He says,³

"The primary religious meanings of these offerings is unambiguous. They are the perceptible bearers

2. Ibid. p.452.
3. Ibid. p.463.
of divine life. The offering is a confession of faith, a participation and co-operation in divine life."

Sacraments, too, he says are acts whereby the believer is taken up into fellowship with God.¹

Van der Leeuw, sees man coming into communion with power in sacrifice. Man offers his life, but this he has from God and the power which is at the centre of the sacrifice is shared in communion with men and God. In fact Van der Leeuw, like Chantepie de la Saussaye and Kristensen, sees men's action of reciprocation to divine revelation as the means whereby the divine can become present once again in man's life. Like Kristensen he deals with purification, prayer, sacraments as well as sacrifice.

In examining the various forms of prayer he finds, once again, a key to power. Prayer unlocks and makes power available. Sacraments, similarly, bring power into man's life through things which are every day and simple but transformed.² Similarly with purification, a new beginning is made and fresh potency drawn in.

Summing up his examination of the many forms of experience of the revelation of divine power, Van der Leeuw says,³

"The sacred then, must possess a form: it must be 'localizable' spatially, temporally, visibly or audibly."

¹. Ibid. p.456.
³. Ibid. p.362.
For Van der Leeuw the actions which men perform at the place of worship are concerned with being able to participate in the divine power. Even the sacred community is the means of communion with divine power,

"The foreigner is one who is a stranger to the sacred."\(^1\)

The only form of cultic action which Eliade has written about is initiation.\(^2\) He outlines, in his writings, how men have sought to traverse from the profane world to the sacred world but says little concerning how men have sought to maintain contact with the sacred while living day by day in a profane world. Initiation frequently takes place in part or completely away from the sacred community and its public places of worship. It would be of considerable interest if Eliade was to comment, as a phenomenologist, on cultic acts at the public place of worship.

Turner\(^3\) says that prayer and sacrifice are key elements in man's response to the divine. He suggests that prayer and sacrifice share in common the ideas of thanksgiving, securing forgiveness and averting evil, intercession and petition and generally to maintain good relations with the divine powers. He says nothing of the actions accompanying such activity, doubtless because of the dictates of the necessary brevity of the particular work.

Within the community's cultus at the place of worship another sacred form has an important place. This category is the sacred word. It is articulated, in its various forms, for the community within its cultus thus revealing the sacred.

Chantepie de la Saussaye\textsuperscript{1} divides the form of sacred word into three types. Foundation documents which are seen either as of divine origin or as emanating from founders, cult documents which outline ritual or dogma and, lastly, devotional works. He makes the further distinction between those writings that are mythical and which use the imagination and those that are dogmatic which are based on reasoned thought.

Kristensen links sacred words and action very closely, including what he has to say about sacred words within what he writes on cultic acts. Of prayer he says,

"In prayer man ceases from all outward activity
and enters into immediate relation to God."\textsuperscript{2}

He suggests that it is the most characteristic cultic act and is to be found in every religion. He discusses the difficulties of a phenomenological analysis of prayer. He produces evidence to show that the sublime and the banal are to be seen side by side in many places and times, and that it is not possible to impose a developmental scheme. He also points out that an analysis of written prayers would not tell us the whole story because there is much of the phenomena of prayer

\textsuperscript{1} Chantepie de la Saussaye, P. D. \textit{Op cit.} pp. 198 ff.  
\textsuperscript{2} Kristensen, W. B. \textit{Op cit.} p.417.
which cannot be observed. Finally he concludes that,

"Prayer is a gift of God, a communication
of divine power."\(^1\)

It is the divine in men responding to the cosmic divinity. Kristensen also says that oaths and curses bring men into the divine realm.

Van der Leeuw\(^2\) says,

"The Word then, is decisive power: whoever
utters words sets power in motion."

He then points out that how the word is uttered affects its potency: emphasis, loudness, softness, rhythm all have their effect. He notes the power of certain cult terms such as Hallelujah, Kyrie Eleison, Amen and Om. Their very unfamiliarity adds to their numinous qualities. Sacred words become even more potent if they are within a formula. Such formulas can be powerful curses and blessings. They can put people within the realm of the sacred or without. Vows and oaths are similarly formulas of consecration. Turning to myth, Van der Leeuw asserts that like sacred action its essential nature is revealed by its repetition, its constantly being retold. He says,\(^3\)

"The myth then is therefore not reflective contemplation
but actuality. It is reiterated presentation of some
event replete with power."

1. Ibid. p.426.
3. Ibid. p.413.
Saga and legend enfeeble the sacred word, he argues, but the hieros logos, the story of salvation is different.

"It proclaims some definite occurrence, but it also determines the hearers' salvation."\(^1\)

Prayer, spoken or silent, although primarily a human response can also be a moment of the revelation of power.

The written word also reveals the sacred and the will of God. Many religions have their collections of sacred writings. These frequently need tradition and community for interpretation. Creeds which encapsulate the sacred common element are both written and spoken and, in fact, are potent when spoken.

Eliade deals only with the sacred word in terms of myth. He says,\(^2\)

"A true myth describes the archetypal event, while a 'sign' evokes the event simply by being shown."

The ritual repetition, in sign form, makes the mythical event present now. Eliade goes on to suggest that every myth is cosmogonic and therefore,\(^3\)

"A precedent and an example not only for man's actions (sacred or profane), but also as regards the condition in which his nature places him ... We must do what the gods did in the beginning."

He suggests that epics and legends are degenerate forms of myth. Turner once again follows Eliade. He only deals with myths and says,

"Myths really tell men about the gods themselves, what they have done for men at all the important points of human life, and how men are expected to live in obedience to the gods by continuing in the pattern they have established."

There are auspicious times for sacred action to be performed and the sacred word to be uttered. Time also has a dimension when the sacred is present. Chantepie de la Saussaye says that the differentiation of time is universal, and that the order of festivals is closely connected with these divisions of time. He suggests that classically these times were related to the seasons of the sun and moon. If we look, as he suggests, at the Semitic festivals of death and resurrection connected with the seasons and fertility, it is clear that one is dealing with manifestations of divine power. Chantepie de la Saussaye also points to the fact that festivals celebrated mythical events. At such times the stories of the gods were retold. The retelling of cosmogonic events, often dramatically reenacted, as we saw in examining the sacred word, makes the sacred world present in the here and now. Theatre had its origin in such events. Chantepie de la Saussaye says that such times were dedicated to the gods and all public and private

business stopped. They were times for the sacred community to gather and celebrate. This took, and takes, the forms of public processions, feasts, fairs and public amusements. They are often times of licence. A time of chaos before a new creation of sacred order and time.

Kristensen draws similar conclusions about time. Time, he argues, is not seen by the religious person as homogeneous moments measured mechanically. Time is experienced as a partaking of the inner reality of the event in time, such as the New Year, the waxing and waning of the moon. Such time can participate in, and reveal, ultimate reality.

Van der Leeuw, similarly, indicates that there is a difference between duration and value in assessing time. He says that modern man is mainly concerned with mechanical duration whereas sacred time has to do with value. He continues,

The calendar, then, indicates clearly which instants of time have value and possess power, each instant has specific individuality and its own potency. The festival is a time of particular potency and the celebration of such times ensures the presence of that power."

1. Ibid. p.174.
Eliade,¹ too, points to the fact that modern man has a different experience of time to his predecessors. He states that for the primitive mind time is not homogenous. It can be mythical time, or time made sacred by ritual re-duplication of mythic time or a moment made sacred by kratophany, hierophany or theophany. He suggests further that sacred time is not so much an incision into profane time but that it has a continuity of its own. Each festival and its accompanying ritual is a continuation of the previous one. Eliade says that it is in this way that mythic time is made to be present here and now. Mythic time is when the archetypal 'true' events occurred that explain how life is and ought to be, it was the truly sacred time. It is this that makes the festival so potent. Eliade goes on to say that the chaos and orgies that precede certain festivals are concerned with the destruction of profane time and are the necessary precursors to the festival which renews the creation in this sacred time.

Turner² follows Eliade in seeing sacred time as coming at the end of a decline through profane time and as an entry to mythic time and the means whereby the cosmos is recreated.

What these writers on the phenomenology of religion have to say about the categories associated with the public place of worship has now been reviewed. Although, as has been mentioned previously,

they are not in exact agreement, a general consensus is present.¹ Each of the categories linked with the public place of worship has been widely experienced as a channel of the sacred. In the chapters that follow each category, sacred space, symbol and image, community, person, act, word and time, is examined in the English context. This is with a view to analysing the ways in which these universal forms have been present at the English public place of worship.

CHAPTER ONE

Forms of Sacred Space:

The Earlier Period
In this chapter and the next, having described the English public place of worship, both site and edifices at various times, the ways in which these locations have been recognised and defined as sacred space will be described. Before doing so, two preliminary questions need to be discussed,

"What public places of worship did the English have when they first came to this country and what relation did they have to the general background of traditional Teutonic religion?"

and secondly,

"Were these and the activities associated with them, affected by the religious life which they met in this country?".

An answer to the second question is given in detail in Appendix B. The conclusion reached is that there is little evidence that the Celtic Britons transmitted their cultural ideas, traditional or Christian, to the English as they settled in this country.

The earliest evidence concerning Teutonic places of worship we possess is in Tacitus' *Germania*. He speaks of Germans as worshipping in sacred forests and groves. There is evidence both from England and Gotland that the *frīðgeard* (frith or peace-guard) had a long history as an enclosed sacred space in the open air, frequently linked to stones,

1. Phenomenologists have used various terms to describe that which is revealed in religious experience: hierophany, power, the numinous. The term sacred is used throughout this study.

trees or water.\(^1\) Tacitus says,\(^2\)

"At a set time deputations from all the tribes of the same stock gather in the grove hallowed by the auguries of their ancestors and by immemorial awe. The sacrifice of a human victim in the name of all marks the grisly opening of the savage ritual.

This gathering seems to have taken place at a central shrine of an amphictyony. We cannot tell what myth may have lain behind the human sacrifice. The Prose-Edda\(^3\) tells of the killing of the giant Ymir and the building of the heavens and earth from his body. The reiteration of cosmic events is not unknown in religious ritual and the slaughter of an archetypal being is seen in other traditions.\(^4\) The sacrifice may have been to Odin (Woden) who was the god of the gallows.\(^5\) Human sacrifice continued to the late days of Teutonic religion.\(^6\) Tacitus,\(^7\) in the same chapter goes on to illustrate the sacred qualities of the place,

"No one may enter it unless he is bound with a cord, by which he acknowledges his own inferiority and the power of the deity. Should he chance to fall he may not raise himself or get up again, he must roll out over the ground."


4. cf. Rig-veda. 1090.


This sacred space was not only a place of divine presence but a meeting place for the sacred community. As Tacitus\(^1\) says,

"The grove is the centre of their whole religion. It is regarded as the cradle of the race and the dwelling place of the supreme god."

In his next chapter, Tacitus speaks of another form of sacred space amongst the German tribes (including the Anglii) the shrine of Nerthus, the mother goddess. He describes the annual parousia of the goddess as she journeys in her chariot among her people. He says,

"When she has had enough of the society of men she is restored to her sacred precinct by the priest."

The slaves who perform the sacred lustrations on her return, Tacitus informs us, are drowned in a lake. Nerthus' shrine appears to have been a divine dwelling of awesome aspect.

We have to span several centuries, after Tacitus, before any further descriptions of the structure of Teutonic places of worship are available to us or accounts of the ritual activities within them. There is, however, a considerable amount of evidence concerning the sites of places of worship and, sometimes, of the deities worshipped there from place-name evidence.\(^2\)

1. Ibid. chap. 40.

The names indicate there had either been a theophany or a consecration which defined the sacred space. There are sites dedicated to Odin, Thor, Freyr, Tyr as well as those simply indicated as sacred or holy\textsuperscript{1}. Grimm\textsuperscript{2} mentions a variety of words from Teutonic languages indicative of sacred space. Concerning this evidence Grimm\textsuperscript{3} says,

"What we figure to ourselves as a built or walled house resolves itself the further we go back, into a holy place untouched by human hand, embowered and shut in by self-grown trees. There dwells the deity, veiling his form in the resting foliage of the boughs... I am not maintaining that this forest worship exhausts all the conceptions of our ancestors had formed of deity and its dwelling place. It was only the principal one. Here and there a god may haunt a mountain top, a cave of the rock, a river, but the grand general worship of the people had its seat in the grove."

He then proceeds to show that veneration of trees, especially oaks and holy woods, lasted well into Christian times.

A difficult problem arises when we ask at what period of time any of the Teutonic peoples began to erect buildings at their places of worship and whether these had any specific relationship to the


existing sacred space. Kramitsch\textsuperscript{1}, Davidson\textsuperscript{2}, and Starr\textsuperscript{3} each give evidence concerning different cultures for the continuation of basic structures and conformations at sacred sites through periods of technological change. The later stone buildings and monuments continue to reproduce, albeit in durable materials, that which was primordial. It is not unreasonable to suppose that a similar evolution took place among the Teutonic peoples and certainly there is no evidence to suggest anything to the contrary.

De la Saussaye\textsuperscript{4} suggests that there is plenty of evidence from the sixth century onwards of temples as such. He also mentions\textsuperscript{5} that in late pre-Christian times, each area of Iceland had its public temple. He adds that private individuals also erected temples but that these had no communal or political function. De la Saussaye gives a description of a typical Icelandic or Norwegian temple. According to De la Saussaye\textsuperscript{6},

"The dimension of these temples varies but one part was always larger than the other. The larger division was designed for use at the sacrificial feast and was arranged like a common hall, with the hearth fire in the centre and the seats arranged on the two sides.

5. Ibid. p.360.
6. Ibid. p.358.
Prominent among the latter was the high seat for the priest, with its pillars, which were adorned with rows of nails, and also at times carved with images of the gods. The smaller building, was called the Afhus (off-house) and contained the images of the gods and the stallr, a sort of altar, on which lay the ring that the godhi put around his arm at the sacrifice. On the stallr burnt also the sacred fire, and there likewise stood the sacrificial bowl with its sacrificial whisk with which the priest sprinkled the images and at times also on the walls. Around the temple was an enclosure of about a man's height."

Fig. 1. Conjectural Reconstruction of Icelandic Temple
(After Chantepie de la Saussaye: not to scale)

1. Door  2. Hearth  3. Priest's high seat (with pillars)
4. Images of gods  5. Aspergillum and bowl
6. Stallr (altar) with ring and fire  7. Seats  8. Temenos
Turville-Petre has also examined the evidence.\textsuperscript{1} He quotes the story from the \textit{Eyrbyggja Saga} of how Thorolf Mostraskegg, a chieftain from Norway, emigrated to Iceland and took his temple with him. Near the Icelandic shore he hurled the main pillars overboard, including the one bearing the image of Thor. He landed where the pillars drifted in and rebuilt the temple. Turville-Petre quotes the description from chapter four of the saga describing the temple. The passage from the saga, which closely parallels the evidence given by De la Saussaye, is as follows, "He had a temple built, and it was a mighty building. There was a doorway in the side wall, nearer to the one end, and inside stood the main pillar in which nails were set, called 'divine nails'. Within there was a great sanctuary. Further there was an apartment of the same form as the chancel in churches nowadays, and there was a pedestal in the middle of the floor there like an altar, and upon it lay an armring without joint, weighing twenty ounces, and all oaths must be sworn on it. The temple-priest (hof-godhi) must wear this ring on his arm at all public gatherings. The sacrificial bowl must stand on the pedestal, and there was a sacrificial twig in it, like an aspergillum and with it the blood, which was called hlaut, should be sprinkled from the bowl. This was the blood of the kind shed when beasts were slaughtered as a sacrifice to the gods. The idols were arranged in the apartment around the pillar."

Turville-Petre goes on to describe the excavation of the temple at hofstaðir near Lake Myvatn in Iceland during 1908.¹ He describes it as a ship-shaped building (similar to that of De la Saussaye) being 44 by 8 metres in area and reproduces the ground plan. He says,

"Its great size shows that it was used for public gatherings."

He suggests that the temple is not unlike houses of the langhús type. He continues,

"In fact the description given in the Eyrbyggia and the ruins of the hofstaðir suggests that in the tenth century the hof resembled a Christian church and that its form was probably modelled on that of Western European churches of the period. The hof, in its turn, is believed by some to have influenced the form of the stave churches of the Middle Ages, culminating in such fantastic beauty as the church of Borgund of the twelfth century."

One would question the assertion that heathen temples would be modelled on the sacred buildings of another culture, more particularly before any conversion had taken place. Bede's evidence is that the temples were taken over as churches. This accords with parallel cases where it is known that local architecture, having non-Christian origins is adapted to Christian use. Roman basilicas were adapted as churches and the Celtic church retained its own building forms² as do many indigenous churches in missionary areas today. It is more likely that at the

1. Ibid. pp. 240-243.
conversion Teutonic cultural elements compatible with Christianity or capable of adaption to it would be retained. In conclusion Turville-Petre notes that, in Iceland, the public temple of any one area, as opposed to the private ones, filled an important political and social role.

Grønbech looking at the Breidafiord Saga and the Eyrbyggja Saga and other evidence gives a similar picture of the late Teutonic temple. He suggests that the common room of the homestead was the original temple hall. He also gives evidence that households often had a blot house (or shrine for the gods) close to the dwelling. The public place of worship then was a tribal replica of the household hall, where sacred ritual took place, together with a parallel of the household blot-hus. This can also be seen in ancient Rome in early Christian places of worship and on other religious settings.

The greatest and last Teutonic place of public worship was the temple at Uppsala. Adam of Bremen recorded accounts of the events there during its last era as a place of traditional Teutonic worship. The site, which has been excavated, seems in most respects to resemble the ancient grove and, indeed, there was a grove at Uppsala. There was also a sizeable temple building. This was rectangular and timber built. It contained images of Odin, Thor and Fricco (generally identified as Freyr).

2. The temple of the vestal virgins was a Roman house.
It seems unlikely that this was a two chamber building but it was large and could accommodate the people as well as the images and the priests. Adam of Bremen\(^1\) says,

"In this temple, totally adorned with gold, the people worship statues of three gods; the most mighty of them Thor, has his throne in the middle, Wodan and Fricco have their place on either side...".

Adam of Bremen then mentions that other deities were also worshipped there.

Turville-Petre\(^2\) notes a number of things found within the temenos at Uppsala. It is possible to attempt some identification with Teutonic mythology. The ash tree is reminiscent of Yggdrasil the world tree (also of Irminsul the cosmic column (tree?) of the Saxons). The temple with its golden adornments recollects the roof of valh\(\ddot{u}l\)l. The sacred well standing as that of Ur\(\ddot{a}\)brunner. (cf. the sacred drownings elsewhere among Teutons).

The universal column, or axis mundi, (appearing here in tree form) is to be found elsewhere in Teutonic places of worship. Chantepie de la Saussaye\(^3\) mentions the destruction in 722 a.d. of the Saxons' central sacred site and of the destruction of Irminsul, which appears to have been such an object. The name Thurstable, an Essex Hundred name according to Turville-Petre\(^4\), refers to such a column. One is reminded both of the story of Boniface cutting down the sacred oak tree

1. Ibid. p.244.
2. Ibid. p.245.
at a Saxon shrine in Germany and the later accounts of Vikings casting the pillars of Thor overboard, to guide them to the right landing place in Iceland.

Anglo-Saxon traditional religion was clearly part of the wider commonality of Teutonic religion. We do not possess enough evidence to give a complete account of Anglo-Saxon traditional religion so as to be able to relate this with any great degree of certainty to other known forms of Teutonic religion. It is possible, however, to make comparisons, without implying identity or direct connection, with what is known in this country of Anglo-Saxon religion prior to the conversion to Christianity. Two key pieces of evidence which would help solve many of the questions would be eye-witness descriptions of places and events and an exact knowledge of the myths extant among the pre-Christian English in this country. A further problem is that of the lack of archaeological remains. The structures erected at public places of worship were made of wood which is a highly perishable substance. Only skilled excavation can reveal anything, even when the site has remained undisturbed, so that such things as post-holes can be detected.

A key piece of evidence which is available is that of place-names. This can help us to ascertain some of the deities who were worshipped, and some of the sites where worship took place. Also, occasionally, where there was some form of enclosure or temple building. Gelling's article on place-names and Anglo-Saxon traditional religion

sifts the evidence and rejects all names where any doubt arises. She suggests that the names can be divided into two groups. Those containing a word meaning 'a heathen sanctuary' and those containing the name of a Teutonic god. She suggests two elements in place-names indicating a sanctuary, weoh or wig meaning 'idol' in Old English (but she notes that Old Saxon wîh; Old Danish wi and Old Swedish vî all meant holy place or temple and suggests weoh could well have had this meaning in the pre-Christian period); hearg meaning 'sacred grove'. She lists nineteen places having weoh as an element and eight with hearg. Gelling notes that weoh and hearg are never found in combination with the name of a deity and concludes, 1

"The most probable explanation of this is that the sanctuaries in question would contain images of, and altars to, a number of gods, as King Raedwald's temple in East Anglia and the Northumbrian temple destroyed by Coifi appear to have done, so that the building would not be sacred to one god in particular."

Turning to specific deities, she gives evidence of place-names linked to Odin, Thor and Tyr and possible evidence for Frigg. She identifies eleven references to Odin together with fourteen to Grim, a kenning on Odin; five to Tyr, and nine to Thor. In the case of Frigg she suggests four places which may contain the word as an element in their names.

1. Ibid. p.9.
The second elements in these place-names are most interesting because they frequently describe the site and, accordingly, give us some indication of the nature of the sacred space. The largest class is *leah* (fourteen) meaning wood, which, Gelling suggests, could mean 'sacred grove' on the analogy of the Old Norse *lundr*. The next group *dūn* (six) *hōh* (one) associate the deity or sanctuary with high place. (She suggests that *wēoh* was normally connected with the grove, *hearg* with the high place). There are also six cases of *feld* meaning 'open land'. There are also six cases of a mound or tumulus being associated with a god. Odin's name is also associated with two earthworks, Wansdyke and Grimsdyke.

Gelling also examines the case for names which possibly contain the element, *ös*, *ōs*, meaning a god, *ealh* meaning a residence or a temple, *hof* meaning a house or temple, *god* meaning a god and *heāden* meaning heathen and concludes that there is no case which can clearly be proved to have been associated with Saxon traditional religion. She comes to the same conclusion with the many examples of places which have animal names included in them. Gelling concludes her article with a map. This is interesting as the names all occur in the areas of earliest Saxon settlement, the Home Counties, East Anglia and the Midlands. (Northumbria is perhaps a different case as there are many Danish and Scandinavian names there derived from a later period).

The interesting case of Thurstable has already been mentioned.

Turville-Petre\textsuperscript{1} says that Thunor (Thor) is the first element of this name. Its earliest recorded form was Thunrestapl(e) in 1067. He supports Stenton, A. H. Smith and others in saying that the original form was \textit{sunres stapol} or 'Thunor's pillar'.\textsuperscript{2} He goes on to suggest that there was a pillar dedicated to Thor which was the hundred meeting place. Turville-Petre concludes,

"While Irminsul supported the world of the Saxons, Porr, with his omduegissulur upheld the house of the Icelandic farmer, and with his stapol he assured the security of the Essex Hundred."

The place name evidence indicates that the Teutonic deities Odin, Thor and possibly Frigg were worshipped by the English in this land during the pre-Christian period together with other unnamed deities. The names we have are those of the Aesir deities. We know that the Anglii on the continent worshipped Nerthus a fertility deity frequently identified with Njord. It seems likely that the Vanir were also worshipped. The evidence of English weekday names also indicates the pre-eminence of the Aesir divinities amongst the pre-Christian Saxons. The Saxon Kings in England traced their ancestry back to the Teutonic pantheon. As Chaney\textsuperscript{3} points out, of the eight English Saxon genealogies which are extant, seven trace the royal descent from Odin (Woden) and the Essex Kings from Seaxnet (Tyr?). Further indication of the importance of the Aesir deities among the English.

2. Ibid. p.242.
Gelling's evidence supports the idea that there were sacred sites where public worship took place in England among the pre-Christian English. Bede supplies us with invaluable written information about them and evidence that at least some of them had buildings within their precincts. He gives us an account of Coifi's desecration and renunciation of what appears to have been the Royal Temple of Edwin's kingdom.¹ We are told that Coifi asks for arms and a stallion from the king. In Teutonic religion arms are laid aside in the temple, it was a place of frith (peace) and the godhi was a man of frith, Coifi takes the spear and throws it into the temple. This, Bede informs us, profaned the temple. Coifi, we are told, then proceeded to destroy the 'idols' in the temple. As it was a royal temple and the spear is associated with Odin it can be speculated that this was a temple especially dedicated to Odin the king's divine progenitor.

Elsewhere, Bede records the fact that 'heathen' temples were converted to use as Christian churches and records Gregory's letter to Mellitus suggesting this course of action. He writes,²

"We wish to inform him³ that we have been giving some careful thought to the affairs of the English, and have come to the conclusion that the temples of the idols in that country should on no account be destroyed. He is to destroy the idols, but the

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2. Ibid. p.86.
3. i.e. Augustine of Canterbury.
temples themselves are to be aspersed with holy water, altars set up, and relics enclosed in them. For if these temples are well built, they are to be purified from devil worship and dedicated to the service of the true God. In this way we hope that the people, seeing that its temples are not destroyed, may abandon idolatry and resort to these places as before."

This passage seems to indicate that the size and structure of the pre-Christian temples made them readily usable as Christian churches. The earliest Saxon churches in England\(^1\) have the same structures as the Teutonic temples described by Chantepie de la Saussaye, Turville-Petre and Grønbech. The chancel takes the place of the afhus. The altar that of the stallr. The Saxon word used for the Christian altar (\(\text{wigbed or weofod}\)) is that used for a heathen altar. Ross\(^2\) suggests that it should be translated holy bed or table. Bede\(^3\) tells us of Raedwald, King of East Anglia, who had two altars, one for the holy sacrifices of Christ and another on which 'victims were offered to devils'. Just as oaths were sworn on the ring kept at the traditional stallr, so in the Christian era the relics and the host reserved above the altar made it the place where such things as the manumission of slaves took place. In outward and visible terms the churchyard, chancel, nave and Christian priest must have seemed very like the

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grove, afhus, stailr and godhi. In Gregory's letter to Mellitus, following the section quoted above, he writes,

"And since they have the custom of sacrificing oxen to devils, let some other solemnity be substituted in its place, such as a day of dedication or the festivals of the holy martyrs whose relics are enshrined there."

Only one Anglo-Saxon pre-Christian place of worship has so far been identified and excavated. This is at Yeavering.\(^1\) Unfortunately for present purposes this settlement was a rare one where Celtic inhabitants and influence remained so that we cannot be sure that the evidence which we possess is of entirely Anglo-Saxon practice. Dr. Hope-Taylor, the leader of the excavation and its reporter, is convinced that there are many other Anglo-Saxon places of worship to be identified and excavated.\(^2\) At Yeavering, besides what was probably a royal hall, there are two buildings of interest.\(^3\) The first is an amphitheatre which appears to have been for assemblies and the second is a temple. The former structure has a bank of seats like a piece cut out of a circular cake, with a screen behind it at its apex. Allcroft\(^4\) in an exhaustive study has shown the widespread prevalence of this arrangement for gatherings of the sacred community throughout pre-Christian Europe. Of the latter structure Dr. Hope-Taylor suggests

2. Ibid. p.263.
that the radial inhumations, connected with the temple were most unlikely to be of Christian inspiration. He continues that it,  

"... is the last formal institution that can be supposed to have existed for purely - and as it were, officially - pagan purposes. Since D2 ... not only pre-existed but also survived Paulinus' recorded activities, it is likely that he found the building and its associated rite of extended, unfurnished inhumation suitable to his needs."

The temple at Yeavering does supply supportive evidence to Bede's record that pagan temples were reconsecrated as Christian churches. Further confirmation of Bede's assertion is found in the fact that a pit for the ritual burying of ox-bones was found in association with the temple. One other discovery which is of interest is that ritual free-standing pillars were associated with the temple.

It will be apparent from the evidence which has just been surveyed that our knowledge of the English pre-Christian public place of worship is not very great. We know that within the broad spectrum of Teutonic religion such locations were experienced as being sacred spaces with numinous qualities and on occasion discovered by divination. We do not appear to have any record of such sites, or the temples and

3. Hope-Taylor, Dr. B. Op cit. p.158.
buildings within them, having been consecrated to the deities. Within England we can assume from Coifi's actions that such space and its associated buildings was sacred but how they were recognised as such in the first instance we are unable to tell. The evidence from Yeavering does point to the possibility of sites sacred to the Celts being taken over. However, Dunnett's book on the Trinovantes mentions all the known Celtic temple locations in Essex and none show evidence of Saxon use. The evidence for Saxon sacred sites in that area nevertheless is irrefutable even if the locations are not known. Did they, like the viking chief, use divination or did they consecrate new sacred space and buildings. Further evidence may come to light in the future to answer these questions.

It has been suggested that the evidence points towards the likelihood that the pre-Christian English, coming from the Continent, eliminated virtually all earlier culture. It has also been postulated that in the initial stages they transplanted, to a very large extent, their own religion and culture into the new situation.

The Christian mission to the English came from two directions, from the nearby Celtic church and, more distantly, from Rome. These two missions have been well documented, examined and described elsewhere. The three cultures, Teutonic, Christian Celtic and Christian Roman met and came to a turning point at the Synod of Whitby in 664 a.d. Clearly, in outward terms, the Roman mission emerged the

3. Ibid. pp. 87-88.
victor and the subsequent work of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury ensured that the Roman discipline and practice was followed throughout the kingdom.

Undoubtedly Celtic Christian practice lingered on, particularly in Northumbria, but this does not seem to have affected the English in any widespread or significant way. One would expect to find this influence in church architecture, liturgy and sacred art. Concerning the later, Kendrick\(^1\) has claimed to have found traces of Celtic influence in the Lindisfarne gospels. His views, however, do not appear to have widespread support. Brown,\(^2\) in his six volume work, finds much northern Teutonic influence particularly in the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses, but makes little mention of Celtic influence. A comparison of Celtic and English liturgies and calendars seem to indicate that in this area of religious life\(^3\) also, there was little Celtic fertilisation. In this connection it may be noted that the date of observance of Easter was central to the discussions at the Synod of Whitby. The same appears to hold good in matters of church building. The Celtic church was, in many ways, a monastic church. The heritage of early Celtic Christian buildings is monastic.\(^4\)


   Wright, T. "The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church". *Church Quarterly Review.* No. X. 1880. pp. 50-84.


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The churches are one-celled oratories used by monastic priests. Here they would say Mass with the laity gathered at the door. The Anglo-Saxon churches which have survived, by way of contrast, are all two-celled.¹

The life of the Celtic church centred on its monasteries, from whence issued independent and itinerant missionaries. Celtic Christianity seems to have lingered on in the Northumbrian monasteries, but it is difficult to see where even these, apart from their preliminary missionary work, had any real influence on English Christianity. Theodore's imposition of Roman discipline appears to have finally been supreme. Concerning the important area of liturgy, Deanesley says,²

"The liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon church from Augustine's time to the Norman Conquest may be said to have been Roman with minor Gallican embellishments."

If one accepts that the Celtic missionary work had no great and lasting effect on English Christianity,³ only one further problem remains. That is to ascertain how far Roman Christianity was modified by English pre-Christian practice. The first step in investigating what happened is to look at the public place of worship and its attendant areas of sacred space which the Roman missionaries sought to establish in this country. This will necessitate an investigation of its antecedents and thus something of a detour in this study.

3. See Appendix B for a fuller discussion.
The Christian place of worship had its origins in Jewish predecessors. The Jewish background provides a suitable starting point from which to consider the emergence of the Christian place of worship. Early Christian practice was, of course, broader and more diverse than that which Augustine brought from Rome.

Modern study of the biblical documents has taken note of the influence of the surrounding cultures for the Jewish people in Palestine in Old Testament times. Clements, in particular, has investigated the idea of the divine presence and the place of worship in Israel in this period, taking account of such influences. Of the earliest period in Palestine, circa 1200 B.C., he says,¹

"Influence from Canaan came to play an important part in the development of Israel, and eventually affected the building of the Temple for Yahweh in Jerusalem. Yet Israel distinguished sharply between its own Yahwistic tradition and both the religion of its Canaanite neighbours and that of the patriarchs. The devotion of Yahweh as God of the Covenant ... was the primary unitary factor in the life of the federation."

The tension between sacred space as being the site of theophany and the location where the sacred community gathered to renew the divine covenant is central, in Clement's view, to an understanding of the Israelite Temple. Clements has no doubt that the Israelites

believed that Yahweh manifested Himself to the Nation but questions, however, that this revelation was linked to special fixed locations in Israelite thought.  

"Perhaps there were some in Israel who had thought of Yahweh as bound in some way to Sinai, so that the migration to Canaan was a departing from Him. Consequently it was out of a certain religious tension and struggle that the belief gained a firm hold that Yahweh had given His word to Moses that His presence (Heb. *panim*) would be with His people. The way in which this word was fulfilled was given outward expression in the cult and worship of Israel.

In the light of this cultic tradition of Yahweh's presence we can discern an idea that became of vital importance in the whole development of Israel's worship. The patriarchal religion had thought of the divine presence in a personal and clan relationship, whilst the Canaanite sanctuaries strongly emphasised the belief in a divine attachment to certain places. Both of these traditions contributed something to

Israel's religious growth but neither was allowed to obscure the fact that primarily Yahweh was God of the Covenant, who revealed His presence to His people as he had done on Mount Sinai. This both associated the divine presence with certain historical events, whilst at the same time imbuing the Covenant with a sense of the active power and presence of Yahweh which marked Him as the living God."

The origins of Israel are obscure. There is good evidence that some tribes of the Israelite confederation were settled in Palestine before the Exodus. The paramount tradition, however, is that the totality of the tribes had come out of Egypt and made a Covenant with Yahweh at Sinai and this has submerged the other traditions. In any case, the idea of sacred space being associated with sacred gathering rather than sacred site has deep roots in Israelite religion.

Kraus has investigated what he believes to be the ancient tradition of the Amphictyonic Covenant Festival in the pre-monarchic period of Israel which took place at Shechem. This was a gathering of people to hear God's Law (Torah) and to re-affirm their allegiance to Yahweh and His Torah. Kraus gives evidence of similar covenant gatherings among the Hittites. Allcroft gives many instances of


3. Ibid. footnote. p.136.

similar gatherings in the pre-Christian era throughout Europe, of
the sacred amphictyony. During the Amphictyonic Period, Yahweh's
presence was associated with the Ark\(^1\) rather than with a specific
location or sanctuary and this adds credence to the idea that the
meeting of the sacred community was an important idea at this stage
of Israel's religion. Kraus\(^2\) also suggests that the 'Tent Festival'
had a history prior to the settlement in Palestine. Such a festival
had the 'Tent of Meeting' as its centre and here the people met
Yahweh in His glory. The Covenant Festival appears to have been
renewed after the Exile.\(^3\) The Sabbath meeting in the synagogue,
which appears to have arisen during the Exile, is in many ways a
weekly covenant festival. Making an event local and frequent which
had once been distant and infrequent.

Turner\(^4\) has suggested that the Jerusalem Temple fulfilled and
abrogated other sacred places of what he calls the 'House of God'
type. Indeed, he does not appear to recognise that the Temple had a
great deal to do with the sacred community. He suggests that the
place of worship as a public meeting place for the sacred community
does not appear until the New Testament and seems to claim it as a
specially Christian innovation. As Clements\(^5\) points out, in great

1. Joshua 3: 15, 4: 11, 6: 11, 7: 6, Judges 2: 1, 20: 27,
   1 Samuel 1: 3, 3: 3, 4: 4, 14: 8, 2 Samuel 6,
   1 Kings 8: 1 ff.
detail, there was tension in Jewish thought. The Temple was never a
divine dwelling in quite the way the temples of the surrounding peoples
were. It was the place where God had chosen to place His 'name'. As
Solomon prays, according to the account in the book of Kings,¹
"But will God indeed dwell on earth? Behold the
heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain
Thee; how much less the house which I have
built."
In the account in Chronicles,² God's glory fills the house but this is
a result of consecration rather than being a place of natural theophany.
It appears to have been understood that God's presence was not 'fixed'
in Jerusalem. Josephus³ records that God's glory left the Temple as
it fell to the Romans under Titus, a witness to a continuing strand of
understanding. It is also important to note that the central piece of
furniture in the Temple was the Ark: the symbol of the Covenant and
the meeting place of the Israelite confederation in the pre-monarchical
period. Israel continued to gather at Jerusalem as it had done at
Yahweh's appointed place in earlier days, as Kraus⁴ comments,
"The annals make it clear ... that the ancient
Israelite cultic calendar continued to be
observed in Jerusalem. The three main
annual festivals were celebrated in the
sanctuary ..."

1. 1 Kings 8.
2. 2 Chronicles 5: 13, 14.
   the Christian Church. Rivingtons. 4th Ed. 1957. p.27.
The Temple area was not a sacred space because of its geographical location but because it was the place where the sacred community gathered to renew covenant with God at His direction.

There is a strong strand running through the Old Testament which emphasises divine sovereignty and transcendence which has been inherited by the Christian Church. From wilderness Covenant Festival, around the Tent of Meeting, to the synagogue of the diaspora, it is God who takes the initiative in making Himself known. This revelation is always when and where the sacred community gather to renew Covenant. There is a limit to the divine penetration of the physical. This aspect of the Jewish experience was to have, and indeed still has, a profound effect on Christian understanding of sacred space. Also, the synagogue, as the place for the gathering of the sacred community provided a model which was very influential on the earliest Christian community.

The New Testament documents, and other contemporary evidence, present us with a picture of contemporary Judaism in which the life of the Temple and the synagogue is flourishing.¹

The Acts of the Apostles records the earliest Christian Church following a similar pattern to fellow Jews in worship but also meeting in homes for what is termed the 'breaking of bread'.² This pattern

of worship was followed by Christians for a considerable number of years.\(^1\) The meetings in their own homes which had specifically Jewish origins,\(^2\) were the antecedents of later Christian forms and places of worship.

The specifically Christian place of worship was slow to emerge. In the first place it was many years before a complete break was made with Judaism. As a sect within Judaism, in the first instance, it would be quite normal for the Christians to join in the Temple and the synagogue worship and to supplement this, as would other groups, with their own domestic fellowship and worship. Once the Christian Church had severed itself from Judaism it lost its status as a 'religio licita', a religion allowed by the Roman authorities. It was, therefore, advisable for Christians to be discrete concerning their activities and, in particular, with regard to their communal place of worship. This, and other factors, has led to there being a paucity of physical evidence concerning the Christian places of worship until after the advent of Constantine as Emperor.

Accordingly, the history of the places used by Christians before the peace of the Church for worship remains something of an enigma. From the time of Constantine onwards the basilica became the standard building.\(^3\) Chappell\(^4\) has suggested that the possible candidates for

the original place of Christian worship, as such, were the *scola*,
the *cella*, chapels and houses. The house and the *scola* both appear
in the New Testament.\(^1\) The early advent of persecution, however,
makes it unlikely that the local congregations would have met in
the *scolae*, as these would be easily identified. In addition, there
does not appear to be any evidence of *scolae* having been used after
Paul's missionary work and, if they were, one would have expected
some trace of the practice to have remained.

*Catacombs*, another possible candidate, were only used for
Christian worship in one particular way, the cult of martyrs.\(^2\) In
this connection, they had a very definite influence on the Christian
place of worship, as will be explained later. In the earliest
stages, the holding of the Eucharist at the martyr's grave, followed
by the *refrigerium* (a fellowship meal), on the anniversary of the
martyrdom at the grave was an action of part, not the whole, of the
local Christian Church. It was an ancilliary activity and not
central to the Church's life.

If the basilica became the normal church building from the time
of Constantine, it is natural to ask whether it had any place in the
life of the Church prior to that date. Krautheimer\(^3\) suggests that
there was peace for the Church in the latter half of the third century,

following the Valerian persecution and prior to that of Diocletian, and that the Church did acquire public buildings during the period. There is no indication that these were necessarily basilican in nature. There is evidence during this period that, in Rome, each 'parish' (paroichia) was served by a house church.\(^1\) Davies, Krautheimer and Chappell\(^2\) all assert that Christian worship generally took place in houses prior to Constantine. It would appear that a member of the congregation would make over a house he owned to the local church for the purpose of Christian worship. Outwardly, it would stay as a house and so remain inconspicuous but inside it would be re-ordered for corporate Christian worship and initiation. Basically, a local church would need a fairly large room for the holding of the Eucharist and an adjacent auditory room for those dismissed after the synaxis. In addition a baptistry was required and side rooms for storage and similar purposes. The house church at Dura-Europos (circa 232 a.d.)\(^3\) gives us a picture of what was probably a typical local church in pre-Constantinian times.

There is no evidence of any special act of dedication or consecration of a site or building as a church before the reign of Constantine. Muncey,\(^4\) quoting Frere in support of his view, suggests

1. Ibid. p.8. figs. p.22 and 128.


that the building was set aside for Christian worship from the moment the first Eucharist was celebrated in it. This seems to have been the practice in the earliest days of the peace of the Church and doubtless had its origins in earlier practice. It is impossible to say, however, whether such an inaugural Eucharist was thought of as the means whereby particular space was made sacred.¹

The advent of peace from persecution for the Church, coupled with its public recognition under the Emperor Constantine, led to far reaching changes in many aspects of the Church's life. The Church now became part of the fabric of the state, frequently under official patronage, and could equip itself with public places of worship openly and proceeded to do so in abundance.² Soon, churches were erected on the sites traditionally linked to Jesus' life and ministry in Palestine, including those at Bethlehem, Golgotha and the Sepulchre. Such locations would be seen as having an inherent sacrality.

The changed status of the community, combined with increasing congregations, made domestic buildings less suitable as churches. The problem was to find a suitable alternative to the buildings already in use. Pagan temples associated with what Christians would see as idolatry, and even devil worship, were not at all acceptable even as models. In any case, their structure meant that they were physically

unsuitable for a religion which emphasised communal worship. In the event, the civil basilica presented itself as a suitable replacement for the house church. Although vaguely tinged with paganism, inasmuch as the Emperor's statue was always there and given divine honours, this was not an insuperable obstacle. The Emperor was now, at least nominally, a Christian and in any case most of the transactions in the basilicas were communal and legal, and not directly religious.

Alongside the normal congregational basilica a second type of place was evolving, namely the martyrium.\(^1\) It had been the custom to hold the Eucharist at the tombs of the martyrs, especially the catacombs, on the anniversaries of their martyrdom. It would seem natural, with the coming of the peace of the Church, to build churches on such sites. These churches were somewhat akin to the guild churches and chapels of later times. Soon this second type began to coalesce with the normal church of the Christian community. This was brought about by the translation of the martyrs relics into the normal church. In the West, it seems St. Ambrose, encouraged by his congregation, was the one to popularise the translation of relics at the consecration of a new church.\(^2\) The church at Rome was slow to adopt this practice.\(^3\) In many ways, the practice which was continued through the centuries, is akin to the sending of the fermentum from the Papal Mass to the parochial churches. The relics, translated from another church

1. Ibid. pp. 8-14, 29-41.
'ferment' the new church, bringing in as it were, the 'yeast' of holiness or divine presence from a place already sanctified by that presence. The placing of these relics in the confessio under the altar was a clear step towards making one part in the building, a point of divine presence.

The earliest Constantinian churches appear to have been consecrated by use. Muncey¹ and Davies² both discuss the consecration service described by Eusebius. The rite appears to have consisted of a celebration of the Eucharist, a sermon, special prayers and thanksgiving. Many dignitaries, civil and ecclesiastical, were present on the occasions which he describes.

To this foundation of an inaugural Eucharist was added the translation of relics. Davies³ suggests that the Roman rite, once the translation of relics had been added, was as follows. The relics were first carried to the church in procession. The bishop's party entered at this point to prepare the mortar for sealing the altar stone and to wash the altar with exorcised water. The bishop's party then left and the people were aspersed. After this everybody present entered the church. The bishop then anointed the four interior angles of the cavity of the building. Next the relics were deposited within the altar and the bishop sealed the altar stone. When this had been done he anointed the stone's centre and four corners. There followed the

3. Ibid. p.251.
blessing of the church building, its vessels and a taper was lit from which all the church lights were kindled. Finally, the bishop celebrated the Eucharist.

He argues that this is based on a funerary rite. Thus the church now surrounds the tomb of a saint and the Mass was a Requiem Mass. Willis, having carefully examined the introduction of the deposition of relics in the Roman Use, describes the Roman rite in the early ninth century before Gallican elements were introduced. Basing his arguments on the Hadrianum, he gives an outline similar to that of Davies.

Davies also describes the Gallican rite in which lustration of the building and its furnishings are an important feature. He says that the bishop, having knocked at the door with his crozier, entered and led the introductory prayer. He then traced the letters of the alphabet with his crozier on the floor in two diagonal lines which crossed in the centre of the church. Following this the bishop prepared lustral water by exorcising and blessing it and adding salt and wine. He sprinkled the altar and then the church walls during a triple circuit of both the inside and outside of the church. A prayer of consecration was uttered and then the altar and walls were anointed.

Once this was completed the bishop blessed the objects to be used in worship and the relics were brought in and placed in the altar cavity. The ceremony was completed by the lamps being lit and Mass celebrated.

2. Ibid. pp. 154-155.
Willis\(^1\) is in agreement with Davies that lustration was Gallican in origin and came into the Roman Use from that source. His outline of the Gallican consecration rite agrees with that of Davies.\(^2\)

Davies,\(^3\) suggests, as does Lowther-Clarke,\(^4\) that the origin of the Gallican rite is Christian baptism. Just as the neophyte proceeded to his first Mass after initiation, so Mass is celebrated for the first time in the newly 'baptised' buildings.

This emergence of a clear rite of consecration is indicative of a changing conception of the nature of the building. This is also seen in the text of the Gregorian Sacramentary as given by Wilson.\(^5\) The prayer of dedication for a church reads as follows,\(^6\)

"Enter your house and into the hearts of your faithful people we beseech You merciful Lord. Make it an everlasting dwelling place whose structure may remain that it might become a bright habitation ..."

This suggests that God's presence is to be both in the building and the people, although the emphasis is on the building. The idea of the church being a focus of divine presence is also present in the dedication of an

6. Author's translation.

67
altar,\(^1\)

"O Lord our God send down we beseech you, your holy spirit upon this altar ..."

Nevertheless, hesitation in associating the divinity in a concrete way with a particular location continues,\(^2\)

"O God who in every respect remains unseen and yet, for the welfare of mankind, has shown a visible sign of your power, a temple, (that power of yours which dwells in sacrifice) that all who come to this place of entreaty out of whatever tribulation and cry to You may, as a result, receive your consolation and blessing, through ..."

The physical changes, which have been noted, were accompanied by theological differences in the wording and actions. The presence of God, which appears to have been experienced by the earliest Christians when the sacred community met to renew Covenant,\(^3\) was now being associated with particular and specific physical space.

It is reasonable to suppose that Augustine a Roman monk, having been sent to Britain by the Bishop of Rome, would follow the Roman Use in the erection of church buildings. The local situation and neighbouring Christian Churches' customs, nevertheless, exerted pressures on Augustine as we read in Bede's\(^4\) record.

1. Author's translation.
2. idem.
3. The evidence for this is also discussed in the chapters dealing with sacred action and sacred community.
Fortunately, there is a good body of evidence concerning Anglo-Saxon church architecture. In addition to possessing a good general knowledge of the size and appearance of Anglo-Saxon churches, there is evidence of what the earliest Augustinian churches in Kent were like. There is an homogeneous group of churches in or near Kent dating from the seventh century, and a group of Northumbrian churches from the same century (although the exact dating of these churches is not so certain as that of the Kentish group). Clapham suggests that the structure of the Kentish churches is Roman and that of the Northumbrian churches is Celtic. He mentions that the distinctive feature of the latter are:

"i. an unusual length of nave, the proportions of length and breadth being 3 to 1 or less;
ii. a chancel of small proportions and of much less width than the nave; and
iii. the considerable height of the side walls of the buildings."

He thinks that the church at Bradwell may well be a blend of the northern and southern styles, as its proportions are mid-way between the two. Nye suggests that the Northumbrian pattern is Celtic in origin.

3. Ibid. p.41.
4. Ibid. p.42.
It is important, at this point, to recall that some, or even many, of the earliest Anglo-Saxon Christian places of worship were open-air sites. Allcroft is of the opinion that the word 'church' derives from 'ciric' meaning circle, and the circle was the meeting place of the sacred community throughout pre-Christian Europe. Further he suggests that this practice was continued in early English Christian times. He argues that the word mynstyre (minster) was used of English church buildings in the first instance, and this being so, the indications are that few actual church buildings were erected in the early days of Christianity in England. The ciric garth (circle-guard = church yard) had been the gathering place of the sacred community in pre-Christian times. Such sacred space would be cleansed and consecrated for Christian worship and the placing of a cross within its precincts would designate its new use. We know that the placing of crosses was a practice of the early English Christian in a number of situations, and that church yards were marked with crosses in medieval times. As has already been indicated, however, several churches survive from the seventh century and these were not all monastic. Remembering also that many wooden buildings must have perished, and that there is a record that Mellitus was instructed by Gregory that English heathen temples were to be cleansed and consecrated for use as Christian churches, Allcroft's case is not as certain as it would first appear. The Christian tradition, both Eastern and Western, with perhaps the exception of the


Celtic Church, which lay on the fringe of the Christian area, was for the Christian community to gather in a church building for its worship. Although for a short time worship and preaching may have continued in the open air in Britain, Augustine and his successors would have encouraged the conversion or erection of a building to act as a church. Nevertheless, the enclosed open-air site remained the basic sacred space onto which were grafted those contained within the church building.

Saxon churches were not large. In a chart giving the length and width of the naves of some twenty-four Anglo-Saxon churches Brown's longest nave is 74' 0" and his broadest 28' 6". The Anglo-Saxon churches were two-celled buildings with a nave and chancel with, in many cases, small additional rooms. In the later Saxon period towers were quite common, generally placed at the western end of the nave. Porches were also to be found. Typically, the chancel arch was very narrow distinctly marking the division between the two parts of the church. The known seventh century chancels were apsidal-ended in the south of England, and square ended in the north. Later, both occur in various parts of the country, and occasionally a half-way structure is to be found, as at Wing, Buckinghamshire, where an angled apse was built.²


In the Anglo-Saxon church there was a clear division between the part of the church where the clergy celebrated the mass, and which was reserved for them, and that part which was for the laity. The chancel, the priestly domain, was the place of God's especial presence in the reserved elements of the Mass, the nave was the sacred community's gathering place.

The only documents available from early English Christian sources concerning the consecration of churches are of late provenance. They belong to the Early Middle Ages, when the Roman and Gallican Uses had fused. Both Robert of Jumièges' Pontifical and that of Egbert of York clearly show that they are a combination of the Gallican 'baptismal' rite and the Roman 'burial' rite. In fact the two documents present us with very similar services of consecration, a testimony to the unity of thought and faith in late Anglo-Saxon times in England.

The main pieces of evidence available to us concerning the mode of consecration used in the very early days of Christianity among the English is a passage from Bede, quoted earlier in this chapter. Bede is describing in outline the Roman manner of consecrating a church after the Gallican elements had been fused into it. We can safely assume that following the asperging of the buildings and the deposition of relics there would have followed a dedicatory Mass. It would be

useful to have the text of the service and ordines, other than those given, because this would give us a clear picture of the official understanding of the nature of the church building as sacred space. It was suggested, in the earlier part of this chapter, that the pre-Christian English temples were two-celled buildings. One room within these, the aethus, was the especial area of divine presence and the other, the staller, the meeting place for the sacred community, the whole building being situated within a sacred enclosure. The fact that the Christian churches had the same structure, and that some were re-consecrated pre-Christian temples, led on at least one occasion to luciferian confusion.¹

In the later Middle Ages, prior to the Reformation, there were three types of church building: the community, the pilgrimage and the parochial church. They all had a common basic structure. Often, two types, and on occasion three types, were housed in the same building.

The community churches, be they collegiate or monastic, and the pilgrimage churches were usually wealthy and could therefore erect large buildings of better materials than the normal parochial church, using the most skilled artisans in their construction. The community church and the pilgrimage church very much reflected the medieval experience of the nature and presence of God within sacred space and their development influenced the normal parish church. The English medieval church was a two-celled structure consisting of nave and chancel, the latter divided into choir and sanctuary. There were, on

¹. Ibid. p.128.
occasion, as will be described, additions to this basic structure.

The significance of Gothic Architecture's emergence cannot be over-emphasised, when the factors affecting the development of the medieval church building are considered. It reflects an experience and understanding of the sacred world. As Von Simpson\(^1\) has argued, the introduction of this style in the Île de France during the twelfth century was more than a technical innovation, it was based on serious theological considerations. The solid, earth-based Romanesque style was replaced with a heavenly directed, light-infused Gothic style. The full flood of this style continued until the period of the Reformation. Its persistence thereafter, into the present day, as an ecclesiastical style may indicate that it reflects something very basic in the Western Christian experience of the sacred.

Having considered some preliminary issues, the different types of church must now be considered. The first is the Community Church. These were numerous even in Anglo-Saxon times.\(^2\) Community churches were of two types, monastic and collegiate. The latter, which included some cathedrals, were served by a chapter of secular clergy, the former by a religious community under one of the monastic rules. The object of these churches was the continuous worship and praise of God.


Such churches were generally large and elaborate. The community existed primarily for the purpose of worshipping God, every other activity was secondary. The principle purpose of the ancillary buildings, cloisters, chapter house, library, refectory and dormitories, was to enable the community to achieve this end. It was in these church buildings that the choir developed. Besides the daily offering of the Mass by the priests of the community, there was the continual round of the choir offices. It was for this latter purpose that the choir developed within the chancel. Here a select part of the sacred community offered continuous worship in God's presence. In such churches the ordinary laity had no part. They supported, economically, what was done on their behalf but normally did not even enter the building.

Such communities needed considerable support from what was a relatively poor economy. One is led to ask why they were supported when they offered so little to the community at large in educational or material terms. Heer suggests,

"The world was full of violence, steeped in mortal sin and depravity; amid such confusion

only a monk could achieve personal perfection ...
This conviction was at the root of all reforms and reformation: for once the monks failed the whole world order and the Church itself was at stake, exposed as an illusion, a fiction, a lie, since there could no longer be any hope of Christian perfection here on earth. Everything therefore depended on preserving the purity of monasticism."

There needed to be one possibility of a heavenly microcosm on earth, a place where the divine cosmos shone through the surrounding moral chaos.

As has been mentioned above, churches frequently filled more than one role. The naves of some monastic churches acted as parish churches¹ and others had relics which drew pilgrims, such as St. Albans and Westminster. Cathedrals were also, on occasion, pilgrimage churches such as Canterbury and Durham. Sometimes they had a role as a superior parish church although actual parochial functions within the Cathedral were restricted to the privileged few.² As the church containing the bishop's throne it was the administrative and spiritual centre of the diocese. They were, however, always community churches, served either by secular or regular clergy.³

The Christian practice of pilgrimage goes back to the earliest centuries. One of the earliest accounts is that of Etheria's visit to Jerusalem. Davies suggests that,

"The fourth century saw a development of what perhaps might be called pilgrimage-itis."

In the later Middle Ages, pilgrimage was a universal Western phenomenon. Sumption suggests the reasons for which the medieval Christian undertook pilgrimages were the pursuit of healing, piety, the remission of sin and the miraculous generally. It was certainly the belief that blessings and benefits would accrue from a pilgrimage. As Davies says,

"The cult of the saints, which so influenced architecture, also became an important item in the Christian's devotional life ... Pilgrimages too were in part a by-product of the martyr-cult."

The establishment of the deposition of relics as necessary to the consecration of Churches, in the West, had the effect, in time, of all martyr's remains being removed to churches. This brought the cultus more firmly within ecclesiastical control. Although in Palestine, where many of the sites linked with the life of Christ had churches built on them, the site was the controlling factor. Without the site

in Palestine the church would not have been built. Elsewhere, the sites of the Christian saints lives were not particularly hallowed. Their bodily remains and personal chattels, however, were taken to churches. This had its influence on the secularisation of the landscape. Theophany was restricted to the place duly consecrated by and under the control of the ecclesiastical authorities. The Church allowed sites which had been points of theophany in pre-Christian times to be 'baptised' into Christian use by being appropriated to a Christian saint¹ but the proliferation of places of theophany was halted.

The places where the relics of the greatest saints were housed became important centres of pilgrimage. Others were important because large numbers believed that extraordinary powers were present,² similar to those attributed to the greatest saints, in the remains of otherwise lesser relics. Some places, besides Palestine, became international centres of pilgrimage, such as Rome, Santiago de Compostela and Canterbury. Others became national centres such as Walsingham and St. Alban's. Most served as local centres.

The pilgrimage church always functioned in other ways, frequently as a community church, be it abbey, monastery, cathedral or minster. The centre of such churches, however, was always the relics. The great


Constantinian basilica, the Church of the Resurrection, set the pattern followed by all such churches. They were, of necessity, large in order to accommodate the crowds of pilgrims. This necessitated large ambulatories around the church to allow the passage of the pilgrims. The religious community at the pilgrimage church would need a substantial choir for its round of worship. A large nave was also necessary for the public services. Finally, behind the high altar, in the choir, would be the sanctuary for the chief relic. All this meant that a cathedral-sized church was required. Good examples of such churches are Westminster Abbey and S. Alban's Abbey. Pilgrimage is always a journey towards the sacred, a meeting with the divine. Although, as Sumption indicates, by the late Middle Ages, in Western Europe, it had often become something more akin to a modern package tour. The emphasis in the pilgrimage church was therefore on the divine presence at the shrine. The shrine was therefore a further form of sacred space within the church alongside the others.

To a lesser degree, every visit to a church was a pilgrimage in some sense. This was underlined by the fact that there were relics installed in every altar and that in every church the host was reserved in the pyx. The belief in transubstantiation was very real. Such rituals as 'creeping to the cross' and the burial of the host in the Easter sepulchre was a real and dramatic re-enactment of the archetypal rituals of Christ.

2. Wall, J. C. _Shrines of British Saints._ Methuen. 1905.
events of Christianity. Each worshipper in the parish church was making his or her journey to Calvary.

The later medieval English parish church building was essentially an expansion of the earlier English church as described in the previous chapter, with the provision for additional altars. The building style evolved from Romanesque into the various modes of Gothic. Many parish churches were simply enlarged and modified to meet new needs and today present a variety of medieval and later styles of architecture in one building.

The major difference between the parish church and the community and pilgrimage churches was the lack of a developed choir for the community offices and a sanctuary for the shrine. Although, every parish church had its chancel for the clergy and reliquaries were far from unknown in even the smaller parish churches. As has already been mentioned, some churches had combined functions. A number of churches served both a parish and a community either monastic or collegiate. In these churches the choir was developed and sometimes very large. Every medieval church had relics within its altar, some had important relics and a few possessed a complete shrine.

1. Cook, G. H. Op cit. chaps. 1, 2 and 3.
4. Ibid. pp. 36-38 and plates 1 and 3.
In general, the majority of parish churches grew in size during the Medieval Period,\(^1\) frequently as a result of local wealth as much as growth in population.\(^2\) In essence, however, the English parish church remained, throughout the Medieval Period, a two-celled structure. It had a chancel, the place of the clergy, and a nave, the place of the laity. Certain additions to this basic plan were functional and others liturgical. Some Saxon churches had towers such as Earls Barton in Northamptonshire. This became a frequent addition during this period.\(^3\) The principle function of these towers was the housing of bells. These were used to make the many parish announcements in an age devoid of the multiplicity of modern means of communication.\(^4\) The tower was often placed at the West end of the church, but on occasion at the junction of nave and chancel, more rarely it abutted a north or south wall, and even, on occasion, was altogether separate as at East Dereham in Norfolk. The other functional additions, although again, these are known in Saxon churches, were porches and sacristies. The main door of medieval churches was usually in the south wall, although on occasions it was at the West end.\(^5\) The porch built on to this was frequently only used as a weather entrance. On occasion, however, it was larger and accommodated the activities which took place at the church door: public penance, weddings, the reception of baptismal candidates and

1. Ibid. chap. 5 plates, p.48 ff and plates 29-40.
2. Ibid. p.52 ff.
3. Ibid. chap. 7.
5. Ibid. pp. 188-190.
funeral processions.\textsuperscript{1} There was also occasionally a West door used for the bishop's visitation and for processions on Palm Sunday.

The principal liturgical additions to the main structure of the church in the Medieval Period were chantry chapels. A chantry, in the first instance, was a donation producing an income to pay a priest to say Mass for specific people thought to be in purgatory.\textsuperscript{2} This also necessitated the use of an altar within the church apart from the High Altar at which Mass could be said.\textsuperscript{3} The founding of a chantry was frequently accompanied by further building. Sometimes an aisle was added by the benefactor in which the chantry altar could be sited and sometimes an extra room in the form of a chantry chapel. In other cases it was a separate building, a chapel within the parish which served the needs of outlying areas.\textsuperscript{4} Such endowments were beyond the means of the less prosperous classes. Those with some means, but who were not in the wealthiest class, joined together to form fraternal guilds one purpose of which was to found a chantry for its members.\textsuperscript{5} Thus a further form of sacred space was incorporated into church buildings. One in which part of the sacred community associated with it were absentees, sojourners in purgatory.

3. Cook, G. H. \textit{Op cit.} p.47 and fig. 8, p.100 and fig. 12, p.109 and fig. 13, p.111. Plates 7, 80, 88, 98, 102 and 104.
One other occasional addition to a parish church was the anchor's cell. The anchors continued the tradition of the early Christian eremites of the Egyptian desert and perhaps an even earlier one from traditional religion. The cell was yet another form of sacred space incorporated within the church building. There was a pontifical service at which the anchorite or anchoress was immured into the small single room, in which he or she lived out the rest of their lives. The anchor's cell had only two openings. One was a small aperture into the church through which the high altar could be viewed. The other was a barred window through which food could be passed to the solitary. The anchorite was wholly given to God. His, or her, consecration meant that the person was finally and utterly cut off from the non-sacred so that no defilement might take place.

Outside of the church was the churchyard. This, too, was consecrated and needed ritual reinstatement if defiled. It was a place of sanctuary, like the church itself. It became customary for parishioners to be buried within its precincts, early in Christian times. Churchyard memorials were a late invention. Normally the churchyard cross dating back to early Christian practice was all there would be apart from the lych gate and the surrounding hedge or fence. As we have seen this was a traditional form of sacred space.

The enclosed, open-air site, sacred to the gods, was pre-Christian and many churchyards in England date back to that time.¹

As has already been mentioned the earliest English pontifical containing consecration services which is still available, shows a fusion of Gallican with the Roman Use.² Davies³ maintains that the medieval rite of consecration was both a form of 'requiem mass' and a 'baptism'.⁴ One would agree with this and say that, particularly concerning the latter idea, the rites treated the church as if it were a person. In the New Testament, Christian baptism is said to be the death and resurrection experience⁵ and, further, the Christian's body is said to be a temple where God's spirit dwells.⁶ The two actions of 'baptising' the church and the 'burial' of the saint, or relics pertaining to him or her, followed by the 'requiem mass' are meant to achieve the same ends for the church building. It has died to its old earthly life and, freed from demonic possession, rises to a new and heavenly existence as the place where God dwells with His saints. This is indeed the New Jerusalem.⁷

   (Wordsworth, J. On the Rite of Consecration of Churches.
   Church Historical Society Publications No. 52. S.P.C.K.
   1899. Says second part is an ordination.)
5. Romans 6: 4-11.
6. 1 Corinthians 6: 19.
7. The epistle at the medieval consecration mass was Revelation 21: 2 ff.
Absolute uniformity of liturgical use is a post-Reformation and Counter-Reformation phenomenon. In any case, pontificals have always shown more variety than other books. The fact that the books were not used by large numbers of clergy and that the services were infrequent, was one reason. Also the idea of the bishop as an apostolic successor enabled him to maintain more freedom of action than other clergy. The development of the Western Pontifical, and therefore of consecration rites, can be followed in Andrieu's\(^1\) immense study. Having carefully examined the Roman pontificals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Andrieu proceeds to explain the emergence of the fully developed Roman rite, that of Guillaume Durandus (which he reproduces) as follows,\(^2\)

"William ... composed a pontifical in three volumes for his own use which absorbed the essentials of the Curial Pontifical but answering better, in its more developed form, the needs of a diocesan bishop. A number of the Curial prelates adopted it and copies of it poured out rapidly. As early as the second half of the 15th century its authority was such that Pope Innocent VIII promulgated it in 1485, hardly changed by Roman ceremonies."

There are thirty five extant manuscripts of English medieval pontificals.¹ These date from the tenth to the sixteenth century. Some of these have been published.² The latest medieval English services for the consecration of foundation stones and churches are those of Christopher Bainbridge, Archbishop of York, 1508-1514. This York pontifical does not contain the service of consecration for a foundation stone. Henderson,¹ however, has published the rite used by Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury in the fifteenth century.

There are other services of consecration in the pontificals. These are either concerned with re-consecration after profanation or with objects such as altars, vessels, banners, objects rather than space. The rites give us an insight into the Medieval Christian experience and understanding of sacred space.

The rite of baptism appears to be the core of both Durand's and Chichele's rites for consecrating a foundation stone. Strangely, Chichele reverses asperging and chrismation. The services both include an invocation of the Holy Spirit, as in human baptism, and recalls the theophany to Jacob at Bethel as an antetype. The foundation stone then becomes an omphalos, the meeting place of heaven and earth, the gate of heaven and where God's especial presence is to be found. Durand's service differs from Chichele's in claiming the


site of the future church from the powers of evil and baptising it, as well as the actual consecration of the foundation stone. The erection of a cross on the site as the first act of claiming a space for Christian worship was the Anglo-Saxon practice and it is surprisingly absent from the English Medieval rites.

A comparison of Durand's and Bainbridge's rites of consecrating a church shows that their basic structure was the same. This consisted of first the exorcism of church and altar and then their 'baptism'. This was followed by the 'burial' of the saint in whose name the church was dedicated. Finally came the 'requiem' Mass. In the details of the rite, Bainbridge's version is more elaborate at several points. This rite provides for the asperging of both interior and exterior walls. In addition to asperging the walls, he chrismates them as would happen when a person was baptised. Thereafter, they are censed, an action of honouring sacred persons and things. In this respect Bainbridge's service takes the whole process to a logical conclusion and, in this sense, is more complete than Durand's.

A study of the ceremonies and words used in both rites shows that the church was considered to have become God's house, heaven on earth (or at least the very gate of heaven), a house of prayer and place of blessing for the family of God on earth. It is not only the symbolic actions which indicate that the church has become the


temple of God and the very court of heaven but the words of the antiphons, psalms, prayers, epistle, gospel and other variables of the Mass which reiterate these ideas again and again.

The consecration rite treats the building as a sacred space within which the sacred community will worship God. There is a consecrated building in which, the forces of evil having been expelled, God dwells. In this unified building there is housed the altar, the place of God's especial dwelling and theophany. Around the altar, within the Church, God's family are to gather to pray and to receive blessings, spiritual, mental and physical. In fact, as we have seen, the building was divided and one part of the family gathered in the chancel and another in the nave. Moreover, this latter place while being a house of prayer was many other things besides. It was the place of many communal activities, most of which would be considered secular and irreligious today. The use of the nave for these activities seems to have been a continuation of pre-Christian tradition with regard to sacred space. Although many of these activities were vigorously suppressed in the post-Reformation period, there were continuous attempts, by the clergy, throughout the Medieval Period to curtail them. Although the medieval service of consecration saw the church as God's dwelling place and a home for God's people, its view of the latter was more restricted than that of the Christian body as a whole. Not only was the church used for the community's worship, as the rites indicate, but for the whole range of its corporate life.
The third rite of consecration, which is now considered, was concerned with the churchyard. The rubrics found in pontificals at the beginning of the service, instruct that it could follow the consecration of a church or could be separate from it. Churches were erected without churchyards, for various reasons, and if any one of these was given parochial status the need for a churchyard would arise. The two rites, even when performed in conjunction, nevertheless treat the church and churchyard as separate entities. The opening rubric of Durand's rite is particularly interesting as it asserts the necessity of consecrating churchyards and also indicates that there were contemporary views to the contrary.

Durand's and Bainbridge's rites are both parallel to those for the consecration of churches already examined. They both consist of a 'baptism' of the ground proceeded by 'exorcism', this is followed by a Mass which, on this occasion, may more truly be called a Requiem Mass. The services incorporate the two New Testament ideas linked to baptism: becoming a temple of God's Spirit and of death and resurrection. The churchyard, freed from demonic possession, dies to its old life and rises to a new and heavenly one.

Again, as with the church, a wider understanding of the nature and function of this sacred place is found among the lay community than the clerical. The latter group, judging from the services of consecration, saw the churchyard, literally, as a sleeping place, or cemetery, for the faithful until the day of judgement. This made the
churchyard a separate entity to the church. Lay practice, reaching back to pre-Christian times, continued to use it as the 'ciric-garth'. That is a sacred space for the gathering of the sacred community for every activity, religious, political and social.¹ In fact the nave and the churchyard were treated as one by the laity in the way they were used. The lay experience and understanding of the place of worship in England, until the Reformation at least, seems to have kept that of the pre-Christian Teutonic place of worship described in the previous chapter. The chancel continued to equate with the Afhus, God's special dwelling place. The nave and churchyard with the stallr and ciric-garth, the meeting place of the sacred community. It may be noted, however, that a Christian tendency to contain revelation within christological terms, noted earlier, was already leading towards secularisation of non-liturgical activities and the exclusion of these activities from the church. The official outlook also tended to emphasise the church as a place of divine dwelling and worship at its expense as a sacred space for the sacred community.

CHAPTER TWO

Forms of Sacred Space:

The Later Period
The period of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation brought a tide of new religious ideas to this country. For many people the existing religion remained valid. For others, where this failed, new avenues to the sacred were explored. Even in this case, however, traditional forms often appeared in new guises. At this time, many in Western Europe, including England, ceased to share a common experience of sacred things. Modern pluralism and autonomy in religious matters had begun. Before the evidence is surveyed concerning the effect of these influences in this country some outline of what happened on the Continent is necessary. This is because the seminal figures in the changes were all Continental, although that is not to say that there were not outstanding figures in England who contributed to the changes here. It is not proposed that the Counter-Reformation be examined in detail as this was primarily a reformation of church morals and discipline rather than a doctrinal change.

The changed understandings concerning the divine presence affected how men understood the forms of the sacred. For both Protestant and Catholic, sacred space, symbol, community, person, word, action and time remained, but structures and understanding now varied. In studying this a key issue is the divine presence in relation to the bread and wine at the Mass. In this debate the

relationship of the spiritual to the physical was worked out, and therefore the way in which the sacred was present to men. In the debate, Catholic writers stoutly defended the doctrine, and for them the reality, of transubstantiation. For Catholics the divine remained physically present in the sacrament.

Other views of the relationship of the spiritual to the physical emerged at the time of the Reformation beside the Catholic one that the physical can incorporate the divine. The Anglican and Lutheran that the physical can be a channel of the spiritual. The Calvinist (or Reformed) in which the spiritual and physical realms are separate but parallel so that the actions in one correlate with the actions in the other. Finally, the Radical view which sees the physical and spiritual as unrelated, and that the outward and physical is only a sign and a witness. Behind each of these experiences of the relationship between the physical and the spiritual lay a different understanding of the way in which the divine was revealed to man. The Catholic view which held that God was present and met with in the Sacraments. The Anglican and Puritan view which held that God was present through the proclaimed Word although they differed as to how the divine was mediated through the accompanying sacraments. Finally, the Radical view which held that God was only present inwardly.

Luther was, chronologically, the first to bring about change although many of the reformers ideas had been 'in the air' for many years. In this country the Lollards, in particular, foreshadowed things to come. One place where Luther's basic view is made very clear
is in his commentary on Genesis.¹ In the course of his study of the
text, Luther comments on various passages describing theophanies.
These places, according to Luther, are sacred because God's Word is
proclaimed at them and not because of any inherent presence of the
divine in the physical environment,²

"... he built an altar there not on account of
sacrifice but on account of the preaching of the
Word. For whenever mention is made of the erection
of an altar and the building of a tabernacle there
the establishment of a little church is pointed
out - a church in which people come together to
teach and hear the Word of God ..."

and,³

"These are the true altars, in comparison with
which the sacrifice of bulls and goats are only
shadows, so to say and external signs, but to
preach, to hear the Word of God ..."

The church, for Luther, is the gate to heaven only inasmuch as God's
Word is preached there opening that gate.⁴ The building is only
God's Temple in a derivative sense.⁵ Also, for Luther, physical
actions and elements were nothing without the proclaimed Word of God,
no physical thing could be sacramental of itself.⁶

Barclay suggests that there was a gradual development of Luther's ideas which can be traced in his writings. He says, "Luther started with the Scotist idea that the Sacraments are efficacious signs of grace. But this was modified by placing them in the most intimate association with faith ... in 1518 and 1519 he taught the distinction between 'sacramentum' and the 'res sacramentum', and regarded the faith as the means which effect that the Sacraments accomplish, that which they signify. In the writings of 1520 all emphasis is placed upon the word ... In the third period (1525 onwards), there is a new development when there is added to the sign and to the Word, God's command and precept."

Calvin wrote with great clarity on the necessity of the proclaimed Word to accompany the administration of the Sacraments in order that they be effective. He wrote, "We have in the sacraments another aid to our faith related to the preaching of the gospel."


and later,¹

"You see how the sacrament requires preaching to beget faith ... Indeed it was known even from the beginning of the world that whenever God gave a sign to the holy patriarchs it was inseparably linked to doctrine, without which our senses would have been stunned looking at the bare sign."

Calvin gives us his definition of a sacrament,²

"A simple and proper definition would be to say that it is an outward sign by which our Lord seals on our consciences the promises of his goodwill towards us in order to sustain the weakness of our faith,"

and,

"We in our turn attest our piety towards him in the presence of the Lord and his angels before men."

The outward, visible, physical signs, for Calvin, remain separate from the inner spiritual reality,³

"Hence that distinction (if it be duly understood) often noted by the same Augustine, between a sacrament and the matter of the

1. Ibid. p.1279.
2. Ibid. p.1277.
3. Ibid. p.1290. See also pp. 1284-5.
sacrament. For the distinction signifies not
only that the figure and the truth are contained
in the sacrament but they are not so linked that
they cannot be separated."

The outward minister whether it was the visible sacrament or audible
word was a witness to, and paralleled by, an inner spiritual activity,¹

"In the Supper of the Lord, the external minister
holds forth the external symbols, the bread of
the Lord and the wine of the Lord, which are
perceived by the organs of our body, consumed
and swallowed. The internal minister, the
Holy Spirit, not by external organs of the body,
but by his secret virtue, feeds the souls of
the faithful, both truly and efficaciously,
as truly as they know themselves to be nourished
for this mortal life by bread and wine."

Without faith and understanding² the outward word would be heard and
the outward sacrament received, but inwardly nothing could occur.³

This division of physical and spiritual is made even more complete
when Calvin deals with Church buildings. He writes,⁴

1. Calvin, J. "The Ministry of the Word and the Sacraments" in
   Calvin, J. Calvin: Theological Treatises. (trans. R. K. S.
"Now as God by His Word ordains common prayers for believers so also ought there to be public temples wherein they may be performed... If this is the lawful use of church buildings, as it certainly is, we in turn must guard against either taking them to be God's proper dwelling places ... or feigning for them some secret holiness or other, which would render prayer more sacred before God."

Church buildings are where God's Word is to be proclaimed,¹

"By this plan He willed of old that holy assemblies be held at the sanctuary in order that the doctrine taught by the mouth of the priest might foster agreement in faith. The Temple is called God's 'resting place'; the sanctuary, His 'dwelling'. Glorious titles they are used solely to bring esteem, love, reverence and dignity to the ministry of the heavenly doctrine. Otherwise, the appearance of mortal and despised man would much detract from them. To make us aware that an inestimable treasure is given us in earthenware vessels, God Himself appears in our midst, and as Author of His order, would have men recognise Him as present in His institution."

Calvin proceeds to elucidate that God is present through His Word, not only through its being read, but by its exposition through human teachers, chosen by God. He continues,

"... the prophets were a living image of God, just as Paul asserts that in his preaching the glory of God shines in the face of Christ ... By His Word God alone sanctified temples to Himself to lawful use."

The church building for both Luther and Calvin is a place of divine presence and revelation because God is present through the proclaimed Word.

Concerning the Lord's Supper, Zwingli wrote,

"A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing. When I say, 'The Sacrament of the Lord's Body', I am simply referring to that bread which is the symbol of the body of Christ ... Now the sign and the thing signified cannot be the same. Therefore the sacrament of the body of Christ cannot be the body itself."

In writing of Baptism Zwingli says,

"... the word sacrament means a covenant sign or pledge ... Baptism is a sign which pledges us to the Lord Jesus Christ. The remembrance

1. Ibid. p.1019.
3. Ibid. p.131.
shows us that Christ suffered death for our sake. Of the holy things they are the signs and pledges. You will find ample proof of this if you consider the pledge of circumcision and the thanksgiving of the pascal lamb."

Zwingli also emphasised that the proclaimed Word was the channel of divine revelation and salvation.¹

Each of the Continental Reformers, to whom reference has been made, experienced a division between physical and spiritual, least for Luther and greatest for Zwingli. They each, however, saw a clear relationship between the outward and physical and the inward and spiritual. It was, nevertheless, the proclaimed Word in which God was revealed. Each of these reformers had a horror of idolatry, worshipping the creature rather than the Creator. Nothing, in itself, could ever contain or, of itself, reveal the divine.

While the reformers who have been briefly reviewed separated outward sign and inward reality, they never failed to underline the importance of these signs and their observance, both to meet human frailty and, in faith, to obey the divine command. Within the movement for reformation there were also those who so completely emphasised the interior nature of the experience of the divine that they either

divorced the outward action from the inward experience or abolished
the outward signs altogether. As Littell\(^1\) writes,

"Upon a basis of inner inspiration they
spiritualised the Sacraments."

One Continental writer of this group, Franck, said,\(^2\)

"... as the Spirit of God is alone the teacher
of the New Covenant, so also he alone baptizes
and alone avails of all things, namely the
Spirit and the truth."

Another Continental writer, Phillips, wrote,\(^3\)

"These two symbols Christ left behind and
subjoined to the gospel because of the
unspeakable grace of God and his Covenant
to remind us thereof with visible symbols."

Yet another writer Swenckfeld felt that,\(^4\)

"... it is essential that the divine work
of the Lord Christ, that is, the feeding and
the inner spiritual eating in faith, be
properly distinguished from the external,
sacramental eating ... that these two kinds
of bread and drink ... may remain unmingled

1. Littell, F. H. *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers:*
   *Documents illustrative of the Radical Reformation.*


4. "An answer to Luther's Malediction" in Littell, F. H.
with the other: that the inner, spiritual
precede and be contemplated, but external,
sacramental eating follow and be observed
in proclaiming the death of the Lord."

He continues,¹

"Therefore there is no other eating than
the one spiritual eating and drinking of
the body and blood of Christ which is done
by faith."

For such men the outward, physical elements of the sacraments
were merely memorial symbols and witnesses. The reality of things
was inward and spiritual, through faith. The sacraments were the
faithful Christians' outward witness to inner realities. Such was
the view of the General Baptists in England in the seventeenth century.²
Fox and the Society of Friends took this view to its entirely logical
conclusion and abolished the outward signs.³

Having outlined the fundamental changes in the understanding,
on the Continent, of how the divine is revealed to men, we can now
proceed to examine the evidence in England at this period to see whether
and to what extent there were changes here. In this chapter only the
category of sacred space is being considered but a similar investigation

1. Ibid. p.168.
3. Ibid. p.511 ff. See also
will be undertaken in subsequent chapters as other phenomenological
categories are surveyed.

This is primarily a phenomenological study and therefore there
is no need to devote a great deal of space to the complicated details
of how ideas were transmitted from the Continent and were publicised
and adopted here. However, it is perhaps important to say that this
happened over a period of time.\(^1\) Lollardy, although persecuted, was
established and persistent in England and provided a basis for the
popular establishment of reform ideas. The presence of Erasmus in
the country circa 1511 meant that Renaissance ideas were propagated
not only at Cambridge University where he lectured, but amongst
educated men generally. The introduction of printing certainly
speeded the circulation of ideas. There is a vast literature in
English from the early sixteenth to the late seventeenth century
dealing with Reformation and Counter-Reformation ideas. There were
interchanges of personnel. English scholars visited the Continent
and corresponded with leading Continental Reformers.\(^2\) During Mary's
reign leading religious figures were in exile on the Continent and
their return during the early part of Elizabeth's reign had a profound
effect.\(^3\) Although the key ideas were thoroughly public knowledge by
the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, if not earlier, the debate continued.

1. For general reviews see: Dickens, A. G. The English
Reformation. Fontana. 1976. and

2. Scales, D. A. "Henry Bullinger and the Vestment Controversies

Perhaps the Toleration Act of 1689 marked the beginning of the acceptance of a status quo, whereby it was tacitly acknowledged that there were a variety of tolerated forms of protestant Christianity in this country. It was not until the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 that public freedom in religious matters was finally established.

The earliest reforms in the Church in England were undertaken in the mid-1530's by Henry VIII. These were almost entirely concerned with the re-organisation of church government and polity. The Henrician reforms did, however, reduce the types of church building from three to one. Only the parish church remained, together with its diocesan equivalent, the Cathedral. Pilgrimage and monastic churches were abolished. Although the parish church remained fundamentally the same for the rest of Henry VIII's reign, change was in the air.

The first fully protestant reforms were introduced with the advent of Edward VI. The Royal Injunctions of 1547 command:

"That they shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles, rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles,


pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition:  
so that there remain no memory of the same  
in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere..."  
and continues,  
"Shall read or cause to be read the Epistle  
and Gospel of the Mass in English, and not  
in Latin, in the pulpit, or in such convenient  
place as the people may hear the same. And  
every Sunday and holy-day they shall plainly  
and distinctly read, or cause to be read, one  
chapter of the New Testament in English, in  
the said place at Mattins immediately after  
the lessons and at Evensong after the  
Magnificat, one chapter of the Old Testament."

Cranmer’s Articles for the Diocese of Canterbury\(^1\) in 1548 and Ridley’s\(^2\)  
for London in 1550 show the Reformation changes under way. Ridley\(^3\)  
gives instructions that:  
"2 item, that no minister do counterfeit  
the popish mass..."

"4 item, that none make a mart of the Holy  
Communion by buying or selling the receipt  
thereof for money..."

"5 item, ... we exhort curates, churchwardens ...  
to erect and set up the Lord’s Board after the

1. Ibid. p.176 ff.  
2. Ibid. p.241 ff.  
form of an honest table and to take down and abolish all other altars and tables."

"10 item, that none maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, bead rolls, images, relics, rubric primers with invocation of saints, justification of man by his own works, holy bread, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchres pascal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of fire or altar, or any suchlike abuses and superstitions."

Mary's reign brought about a reversal of these changes. The beginning of Elizabeth's reign in 1559 saw the re-introduction of reformed church polity and doctrine once more. There were many forces at work and it was only towards the end of Elizabeth's reign that the Anglican 'via media' position became clearly established. Even then, many years elapsed before it became clear that this was to be the permanent basis of the national church. The Anglican position and its basic assumptions are, nevertheless, present in the Books of Common Prayer in 1549, 1552 and 1559, despite the differences between them. The Anglican Church, as portrayed in the Books of Common Prayer, is episcopal and bases its doctrine and practice on the authority of the Bible and the interpretation of this by the early

church as recorded in the fathers of the church. This denies, on the
one hand, the Roman view which gives the Church the interpretative
role running continuously through history, and on the other hand
denies the Reformed view, as emanating from Geneva, that the Bible
alone was the basis of doctrine, church government and liturgy. This
view prevailed despite the plea for 'further reformation' from the time
of the Marian Exiles return until the Savoy Conference at the
Restoration.

Important to the study of the church building as a sacred space
is the Anglican view of the divine presence, particularly as
exemplified in the understanding of the divine presence at the Holy
Communion. The words of the Catechism in the 1662 Book of Common
Prayer shows this:

"Q. What is the outward part or sign of the
Lord's Supper?
A. Bread and Wine which the Lord hath
commanded to be received.

Q. What is the inward part, or that signified?
A. The body and blood of Christ which are
verily and indeed taken and received by
the faithful in the Lord's Supper."

1558-1662, its theological implications and its relation
to the Continental background." Ph.D. Thesis. Princeton

The Anglican experience is of a non-corporeal spiritual presence in the Holy Communion. This is not, however, a localised presence. Similarly, God is thought to be present in His House, that is the church building dedicated and made over to Him, but not incorporated or associated with any particular physical element of it or within it. It is an experience of a general and spiritual presence. The Homilies also point out that it is the People of God, the sacred community, who are most fully the place where God is present.

The reformers in England inherited a large stock of existing church buildings. It was therefore a case of re-ordering and re-furbishing them to comply with a reformed protestant view. The Anglican solution was to make the church a completely two-celled structure. As Addleshaw and Etchells put it,

"The first feature in the Elizabethan arrangement of churches is the continuation of the idea that they are made up of self-contained cells..."


5. Ibid. p.30.
This was achieved by using the screen, left after the rood above it had been dismantled,¹ as a dividing wall between nave and chancel.

As Addleshaw and Etchells explain,² "The word used in the Royal Order was 'partition' and in the Elizabethan period and the seventeenth century the screen was generally called the partition. The name is of some importance as it denotes the function which the Elizabethan authorities meant the screen to play in their re-arrangement of the churches. It was intended to divide the church into two well defined sections, the chancel and the body or the nave."

Addleshaw and Etchells³ discuss this arrangement in considerable detail and give various ground plans of the churches built in the seventeenth century to this pattern. Very few churches were built during Elizabeth's reign. At least two of them, however, St. Wilfred's, Standish in Lancashire and St. Michael's, Woodham Walter in Essex, were constructed as two-celled buildings with chancel and nave. The latter is known to have had a service of consecration.⁴ The two sections into which

3. Ibid. chap. 2. pt. 1. 'The Post-Reformation use of the Chancel Screen'.
churches were now divided provided distinct areas for the preaching of the Word and the reception of the Sacrament. The necessary movement from one part of the sacred space to the other by members of the congregation would also serve to define their difference.

During the seventeenth century, especially in the latter half after the Restoration, one celled so called 'auditory' churches were built. Wren, in particular, favoured this pattern. The one celled church was planned both as a room where preaching and prayer could be clearly heard and also as a sacrament room where all was clearly visible. These churches, even when they contained side aisles conformed to a square, or at least a broad rectangular shape. Galleries were added when large numbers needed to be accommodated so that all should be near to the minister to see and hear. Addleshaw and Etchells\(^1\) give a number of ground plans of this type of church and Whiffen\(^2\) includes a number of illustrative plates in his book.

As has already been noted, the Anglican Church inherited a large number of medieval church buildings. There were no great shifts or growth of population during Elizabeth's reign, or in the decades subsequent to it. Basically, there was adequate provision of places of worship. Although the reformer's views as to the nature of the place of worship varied, none of them saw it in medieval terms. However,

none of the main parties felt or saw any need to desacralise churches. Even the Westminster Directory was happy to indicate that earlier practices made no difference. Some more extreme groups such as the Society of Friends did, however, have objections to using churches, but they were a relatively small minority.

The Elizabethan period was one of strong influence, within the Church of England for the 'Precisians'. When new buildings were required for worship, such influence would discount the need of any setting aside, dedication or consecration of a church building. There are, however, records of instances of church consecrations during Elizabeth's reign, as has already been mentioned.

The Anglican 'via media' view on the nature of the sacrality of churches began to be formulated during Elizabeth's reign. The Homilies state,

"And the same church or temple is by the Scriptures ...
called the house and temple of the Lord, for the peculiar service there done to his Majesty by his people, and for the effectuons presence of his holy grace, wherewith he, by his said holy word, endueth his people so there assembled."

3. 'Precisians' is used to describe those within the Church of England who held 'Genevan' views on reformation and who cannot properly be called 'puritans' at this early date. Vide. Dickens, A. G. Op cit. pp. 409, 410, 427 and 428.
"Not meaning thereby, that the Lord ... doth
dwell in the Church of lime and stone ... 
Moreover the church or temple is counted
and called holy, yet not of itself, but
because God's people resorting thereunto are
holy, and exercise themselves in holy and
heavenly things."

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, Hooker published his books of
Ecclesiastical Polity. These perhaps, more than any other publication,
established the Anglican 'via media' and gave it a sound intellectual
basis. In book five, where he is dealing with the dedication of
churches, he says,

"Nor doth the solemn dedication of churches
serve only to make them public, but farther
also to surrender up that right which
otherwise their founders might have in them,
and to make God himself their owner,"

and,

"... that what is fit for the dwelling place
of God he sheweth, and what for man's
habitation he sheweth; he requireth that
Christian men at their own home take common
food, and in the house of the Lord none but
that food which is heavenly ..."

2. Ibid. pp. 42-43.
The burden both of The Homilies and of Hooker's writing is that churches are the place where the people of God should gather and offer orderly and fitting worship and that it is the place where God will be spiritually present in their midst. Accordingly, churches should be kept in good repair and decently furnished and, further, everyday activities should take place elsewhere. This view differs both from the Roman view which gives precision to the mode of God's presence and to the more extreme Protestant view which sees it primarily as a fitting meeting place for God's people.¹

As far as the English provinces of Canterbury and York are concerned, there has never been an authorised service for the consecration of a church. The most influential form, for all Anglican provinces, has been that of Bishop Andrewes first used in 1620.² A service derived from that of Andrewes was drawn up by Archbishop Tennison³ and presented to Convocation in 1712 and further presented in 1714 after revision. This service, however, has never been promulgated with the necessary ecclesiastical and public authority.

Modern services used in the English provinces have been based on that of Bishop Wordsworth⁴ drawn up in 1898. Other parts of the

Anglican Communion have also produced authorised services.\textsuperscript{1}

The Anglican 'via media' which found its intellectual base in the work of Hooker was worked out by leading Anglican divines in the seventeenth century, such as Andrewes, Laud and Cosin. The Anglican orders for the consecration of churches during this century show this very clearly.\textsuperscript{2} The Anglican position was that Church order should rest on the revelation of the scriptures as understood by the earliest fathers. The consecration services are, in general terms, a 'return to the fathers'. Wickham-Legg\textsuperscript{3} is convinced that the Anglican Bishops of the seventeenth century were aware of the rule of the early post-Constantinian Church that churches were consecrated by the celebration of the Eucharist within them. He says,

"With this the practice of the bishops of the seventeenth century was in close agreement.

A celebration of the Eucharist is noted as part of the consecration of the parish churches and chapels of ease in nearly every case where distinct information is given ... so the practice continued to the end of the eighteenth century at least."

He then lists the various instances in the seventeenth century and shows that it is in the chapels of ease that the Eucharist was omitted.


He thinks they were aware of Gregory the Great's letter to Castor, Bishop of Rimini directing him to consecrate a private chapel or oratory,¹

'Praedictum oratorium abseque missis publicis
solemniter consecrabis'.

He is of the opinion that,

"The seventeenth century bishops have interpreted
publicae missae as Eucharist, and thought it
undesirable to lay stress upon its celebration
which they did in the consecration of parish
central churches and chapels of ease."

The other key item in the early Anglican Services of consecration is the handing over of the church by the founder to the Bishop.² Wickham-Legg³ quotes Bishop Wordsworth to the effect that the delivery of the keys and documents is a symbol of possession and is equivalent to the earlier Roman Rite of the Alphabet Ceremony.

The seventeenth century Anglican Rite, therefore, consisted of the ceremony of entering into legal possession of the building followed by its use for sacred purposes. This is, as has been noted in an earlier chapter, the essence of the earliest Christian practice. This consecration by liturgical use is further illustrated by the fact that

1. Ibid. p.xxix.
2. Ibid. p.xxi ff. 'The surrender of the building'.
3. Ibid. p.xxiv, xxv.
the earliest Anglican consecration services included Morning Prayer and the Litany. Thus the normal Sunday and Holy Day services were performed at the consecration. There are also records of baptisms, confirmations and other similar rites and of burials when churchyards were consecrated.¹ Wickham-Legg quotes Dr. Lake at the consecration at Wyke-Champfleur,

"Seeing we have now dedicated this House unto God's Service we cannot do better than, while we are here assembled, to put it to that use."

Bishop Andrew's service,² which has served as the basis for many Anglican Consecration Services commenced with the handing over of the building by the owner. After Psalm 24 had been sung, the Bishop entered the church and said the consecration prayer, based on that of King David, and blessed the furnishings. A prayer was then said for the good use of the buildings and the congregation entered. Morning prayer followed with Psalms 84, 122 and 132. The readings were Genesis 28: 10-end and John 2: 13-end and there were three special collects. There followed the Litany and blessing. The Bishop preached a sermon, preceeded by Psalm 132. After the first part of the sermon churchings and baptisms were performed. Next came the service of Holy Communion, with a special collect, epistle, 1 Corinthians 3: 16-end, and gospel, John 10: 22-end. Solomon's prayer of consecration of the Jerusalem Temple was said

¹ Ibid. p.xxxiii.
² Ibid. p.47 ff.
after the creed, together with the reading of the legal document setting the church aside for sacred uses. Thereafter a short collect was said, non-communicants dismissed and the service of Holy Communion completed.

Lowther-Clarke's\textsuperscript{1} tables analysing the modern Irish, American, Canadian and Scottish services together with those used in the diocese of Oxford and Salisbury illustrates the lasting influence of Andrewe's rite. Subsequent services have truncated or omitted his long reiteration of David's and Solomon's prayers of dedication and the perambulation to each object connected with worship. The key Anglican structures, however, are seen in each of them. They each contain the legal transmission of the building, a prayer of consecration, the recital of the daily office and a celebration of the Holy Communion.

The structural difference between these services and those of the medieval period, studied earlier, is quite clear. There is no 'exorcism and baptism' of the church building and no interment of the saints' relics and Requiem Mass. The Anglican reformers counted these as medieval accretions and corrupt. As the Preface to the 1549 Book of Common Prayer says,\textsuperscript{2}

"Of suche Ceremonies as be used in the Churche, and have had the beginnyng by the institution of man; some at the first were of Godly intent

and purpose devised, and yet at length turned
to vanitie and superstition. Some entered the
Church by undiscrete devotion and such zeale
as was without knowledge, and for because they
were winked at in the beginning; they grewe
dayly to more and more abuses, which not
only for their unprofitableness, but also
because they have much blynded the people and
obscured the glory of God, are worthy to be
put awaye, and cleare rejected. Other there
be, which although they have been devised by
man: yet it is thought good to reserve
them still, as well for decent order in the
Churche (for which they were first devised)
as because they pertaine to edification."

That the building is understood to enclose sacred space is shown
clearly in the special psalms, lections and prayers of consecration.
Wickham-Legg has listed the psalms, and lections used in the various
extant services.\(^1\) The overwhelming burden of these readings is to
emphasise that henceforth the building is to be God's house, a place
set aside for His especial presence on earth. However, the point is
made by the epistle,\(^2\) used in a large number of instances, that it is

2. 1 Corinthians 3:16 ff.
the people of God who are the true temple. It is the location of the
sacred community that defines space as sacred as much as a particular
place or building. One clear difference between the medieval
conception and that of the reformed Anglican services is the mode of
God's presence. In the medieval church there were physical locations
of the divine presence. The host in the pyx was the most pre-eminent
of these. Here God, in the person of His Son, was corporally present
with His people. The relics and, to a lesser extent, such dedicated
items as images were also points where the divine was located
specifically in the physical. The Anglican view of the divine
presence was that of a diffused and indefinite spiritual presence.
God was understood to be especially and spiritually present in His
house and in the elements of Holy Communion and received through
partaking of those elements.¹ This presence, however, was not linked
in a physical and determinate way with the elements or any part of
the building.

If the Roman view was that the divine dwelt in the physical,
consecrated to God, and the Reformed view allowed of no connection,
the Anglican via media conceived of the physical as an indirect
transmitter of the divine. To enter an Anglican church was to enter
the dwelling place of God on earth but the exact location of the

The Anglican reformers also retained a service of consecration for churchyards, thus also recognising this as sacred space. This service normally took place, in the seventeenth century, during Evensong on the afternoon in which the church itself was consecrated. Andrewe's form\(^2\) is again, typical. After a set psalm\(^3\) the founder, in the presence of the congregation gives possession of the land to the Bishop. This action is followed by a prayer for those who will be buried there. This prayer emphasises the difference of men from animals, who may be buried in the fields, and also refers to Abraham's purchase of a burying place. Then follows the promulgation of the legal document. The rite is completed by the prayer of consecration in which it is desired that those buried in the churchyard will attain eternal life. The congregation return to the church to complete Evensong in which there are special readings.\(^4\) The two actions of transmission of the land and the prayer of consecration are normal to early Anglican practice. Several services reproduced by Wickham-Legg set the service within Evensong and include the same special lections. One or two also commence with a procession or circuit

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3. Psalm 90.
4. Genesis 23 and 1 Corinthians 15.
around the churchyard. This way of marking space as sacred going back far beyond the Christian era.

Wickham-Legg also reproduces seventeenth century services for laying of a foundation stone. Again, a traditional way of marking the forthcoming building as sacred. Two of these consist simply of prayers of dedication, two have versicles and responses collects, psalms and a prayer of dedication. Unlike the medieval service there is no asperging or chrismation. One of the prayers of dedication refers to the theophany at Bethel. The general tenor of the prayers is to look forward to the completion of the place of worship and to express the idea that it will be a place of God's presence.

Until 1689, except for the period of the Commonwealth, all churches were required to conform to the rules of the established Church in England. The passing of the Toleration Act in that year meant that Protestant dissenters were free to build or adapt their own places of worship. From this point of time onwards, we can obtain clear evidence of dissenting Protestants' understanding of the church building.

The history, prior to 1689, of Puritan church buildings can be traced through what was done at Geneva under Calvin, by Puritan protest at Anglican provision, particularly the actions of Archbishop

Laud and, finally, through the practice of the Commonwealth period. As White says,¹

"In the sixteenth century the most immediate architectural problem facing the reformers was not the design of new churches but the transformation of the medieval churches they had inherited into forms suitable for Protestant worship."

The Anglican solution which has already been described, was to divide the church into two rooms, using the screen at the chancel arch for this purpose. This separated sacrament and preaching, a point further emphasised by Anglicans who left the font at its traditional place by the door of the church.

For Calvin,² God revealed Himself through the proclaimed word, linked to the sacraments, (to those He had prepared for their inward and spiritual reception). Davies³ describes how this idea was translated into practice by Calvin at the Cathedral Church of St. Pierre. The choir and rood-screen were demolished. The congregation were then placed in the nave, transcepts and choir so as to face inwards towards the centre of the church. Here lay the focal point, the place where the Word was proclaimed, and the sacraments administered.

As we have already seen, Calvin eschewed any idea that holiness or divine presence could be in any way linked to site or building. He writes,¹

"Now as God by His word ordains common prayers for believers so ought there to be public temples wherein these may be performed ... we in turn must guard against either taking them to be God's proper dwelling places, whence he may more nearly incline his ear to us - as they began to be regarded some centuries ago - or feigning for them some secret holiness or other, which would render prayer more sacred before God.

Davies² says that this central plan of Calvin's was widely followed by the Reformed Church on the Continent where new buildings were erected following square, rectangular, octagonal, oval and elliptical shapes. White³ reproduces a number of ground plans of Continental and early North American Reformed Church buildings built to this central plan arranged around the pulpit. Hay⁴ traces and illustrates the same pattern in the early Scottish Post-Reformation churches.

3. White, J. *Op cit.* pp. 89-93 (Continent) and pp. 106-110 (North America).
The Reformed view of the re-ordering of churches was advocated at an early stage of the English Reformation by Hooper and Ridley.\(^1\)

Their view, shared and advocated by many others sharing the Reformed understanding in the years that followed, was not adopted in the Edwardian, Elizabethan or Carolingian official settlements. Protest and endeavours for further reform continued in England. In the Admonition to Parliament\(^2\) the authors objected to the reading of services instead of the preaching of the Word and also to the administration of the sacraments without the preaching of the Word. To them the Anglican practice lacked the vital moment of revelation. They felt the official settlement still attached revelation to the physical elements of the place. Later the reforms of Laud and others were attacked,\(^3\)

"Divine reverence to supposed holy places ...
attributing holiness to places and things by their appointments and consecrating ...
attributing special degrees of holiness to several things by special consideration ...
to places viz. to churchyards one degree, to church more ... and in each church the navis or body holy, the chancel more and the place of the altar with the altar, holiest of all."


3. Staley, V. *Op cit.* p.337. 'Puritan charges against Caroline prelates and clergy 1641'.

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Some of the 'Precisians', unwilling to tarry for the magistrate formed separatist churches following the Reformed pattern. Barrow, one such person, attacked churches as synagogues. He thought they revived unnecessary forms of idolatrous worship.

The Westminster Directory, introduced during the Commonwealth Period in place of the Book of Common Prayer, provided Puritans, both Presbyterian and Independent, with the opportunity to re-order places of worship as they believed to be right. In an appendix to the Directory entitled "An Appendix touching days and places of public worship", it says,

"As no place is capable of any holiness, under pretence of whatsoever dedication or consecration; so neither is it subject to such pollution by any superstition formerly used, and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for Christians to meet together therein for the Public Worship of God. And therefore we hold it requisite, that the places of public assembling for worship among us should be continued and employed to that use."

The alterations of parish churches during the period of the Commonwealth were reversed at the Restoration. Permanent Reformed

places of worship finally emerged at the end of the century.

Barton¹ says, of these,

"Most chapels of this period, large and small
are modest and retiring externally having no
ecclesiastical features."

Continuing, he describes their interiors,

"Their length is generally twice their
width ... The pulpit was the most impressive
feature of these meeting houses and was usually
of three tiers."

The tradition that revelation was divorced from the physical site
and accoutrements continued. The point of revelation was the
action centred in the pulpit, linked to that at the adjoining table.

Among dissenting protestants there was another set of views
which can be called Radical Protestant Dissent. The group in England
which exemplified this best was the Society of Friends with whom it
is possible to link the General Baptists. As Davies² says,

The closest similarity of Baptists and Quakers
is found in their earliest meeting houses.
It is significant that in these scrubbed
domestic dwellings a bench for seniors and
elders has replaced the Anglican altar, and
even the central pulpit and communion table

and p.54. See also

of the Puritan meeting place."

These groups were the inheritors of the Continental Radical Reformation. For Friends, sacred space was non-physical and internal. The divine had no need of any connection with the physical, even outward signs were unnecessary.¹ In his Journal, Fox² was frequently contemptuous of churches which he called 'steeple-houses'. At Sedburgh in 1652 in the early years of his ministry, he wrote,³

"I went into the steeple-house yard and got up by a tree ... There I declared ... that the Lord Jesus Christ was come to teach his people himself ... and to bring them off temples made with hands, that they themselves might know they were the temples of God ... So I opened to the people that the ground and the house was no holier than another place and that the house was not the church but the people which Christ is the head of ..."

To Fox churches were idol-houses.⁴ Despite such views, it became necessary for the Friends to have meeting places, although at first they met in houses or out of doors. As Lidbetter says,⁵

"A Friend's Meeting House is much more than an ecclesiastical building, with little or


3. Ibid. p.107.


no architectural pretensions; it makes no
effort to be other than a meeting place
unconsecrated and sanctified only by
the purpose for which it was designed and
used."

For dissenting Protestants, of all kinds, the separation of the
spiritual from the physical meant that no special setting aside or
consecration of land, buildings or furnishings was necessary. In a
letter appended to the Admonition to Parliament in 1572, Thomas Beza
writes,¹

"They ought to have considered that the
abolishing of the ceremonies of Moses by
little and little, was not to set them up
again in time by another pretence."  

Fox, as we have seen, found that even the Puritan use of church
buildings during the Commonwealth Period was abhorrent. For the
Protestant dissenter all things spiritual were internal and God was
present in sacred community word and action, not in sacred space or
symbol.

The ascent of Elizabeth I to the throne marked a long penal
period for English Catholics.² Those who wished to follow the Roman

² Bossy, J. The English Catholic Community 1570-1851.
Darton Longman & Todd. 1975.
obedience lost any access to their parish churches for the practice of their faith. The only opportunities for corporate worship and church life was in private chapels\(^1\) or in domestic situations around a portable altar.\(^2\) It was a reversal to a very traditional form of sacred space,\(^3\) the house. Despite the penal situation, open public Catholic worship was continuous in England. Foreign embassies were allowed to have their chapels in London and these were sometimes available to privileged English people living near enough.\(^4\) Except in these situations, Catholic worship was necessarily clandestine. Services were occasionally celebrated by travelling priests. In the houses of gentry where priests were retained, officially as members of the staff but in fact as chaplains, Mass could be celebrated regularly.\(^5\) Even in the houses of gentry, however, the rooms used as chapels could not remain as such permanently. The liturgical materials would have to be hidden away after each Mass. For the Catholic in Post-Reformation England, the place of worship was highly mobile and temporary. It was the portable altar where the Mass sacrifice was performed by the priest.\(^6\)

1. Ibid. p.126 ff.
2. Ibid. p.121 ff.
3. Raglan, Lord. Op cit. Also, as noted, the earliest Christian form.
The complete absence of any place of English Catholic worship came to an end with the Stuart era. A chapel was built at Marlborough House in James I's reign for the bride of the future Charles I. Although the chapel no longer exists there are still prints illustrating it. It was a renaissance building with statues of saints in arched niches and an elaborate high altar. As Little points out, although the chapel was royal and private, the socially select among London's Catholics were free to attend. A second chapel was built for Charles I's Queen in the 1630's at Somerset House. This was designed by Inigo Jones. It, too, was a renaissance building, a hundred feet long with two transcepts, containing side altars. Later in the century, during James II's reign, further royal Catholic chapels were constructed at Windsor and Whitehall. By the end of the seventeenth century Catholic chapels were being quietly erected, although still illegally, in centres of staunch Catholicism. After 1766 modest chapels could be built more freely and publicly, although they were always likely to be subject to mob violence. Little's illustrations show that many of these were renaissance style buildings although, as his later illustrations show, revived Gothic was soon to prevail.

As has already been indicated, English Catholics did not really achieve any degree of emancipation in the matter of public worship

1. Ibid. pp. 22-23.
2. Ibid. pp. 22-23.
3. Ibid. p. 25.
4. Ibid. pp. 28-35.
5. Ibid. photographs pp. 40, 41, 48 and 49.
until the late eighteenth century. Only in the first half of the nineteenth century was it possible for any substantial amount of Catholic church building to take place. As a result when one comes to examine the consecration of English post Counter-Reformation churches one is faced with a long gap. We know, as a result of Andrieu's work, that the Medieval Pontifical of Guillaume Durand was substantially that of the Counter-Reformation Catholic Church. There was little substantial change in text or ceremony in the service for the consecration of a church. The Counter-Reformation movement led to the reform of order and control in the church rather than any change in doctrine.

The Manresa Press has published a number of editions of the "Order of the Dedication, or Consecration, of a Church" as used to consecrate English Catholic churches since emancipation. Although there are detailed differences, the outline of the service, its theology and its intentions are exactly those of its Medieval predecessors. Its structure is as follows: Exorcism of the Church and altar; 'Baptism' of the Church and altar; Burial of the patron saint's relics; Requiem Mass. The forms of sacred space enunciated here are the same as for its English Medieval predecessors, apart from the churchyard.

2. Ibid. chaps. 13 and 14.
Although there are regional differences, visits to churches, chapels and meeting places for worship show, in most areas, that the insights and experiences of the Reformation live on. For instance, the roots of the Salvation Army's understanding of the presence of the sacred can be traced back immediately to Primitive Methodism, more remotely to Zwingli and also the Radical Reformers. It can be argued that this is true also of the quasi-Christian groups which have arisen in the last century or so. The roots of their understanding of revelation lie in protestantism. Thus traditional forms of sacred space persist and continue. In recent years this picture has been somewhat changed in areas of high commonwealth immigration. At present, however, there is no indication that any large number of English people are adopting these faiths. The biggest change has been that of the secularisation of the English. However interesting the problem would be of what experience, if any, the average secular person had, of the sacred, it is beyond the scope of a study devoted to public places of worship.

One movement, which cuts across denominational boundaries, does however appear to contain within it both change and revival of older forms. The present century has witnessed the growth of a widespread development which has been called the Liturgical Movement. According


to Bouyer, Martimort, and Jungman the movement had its beginnings in the proposals of Dom Lambert Beauduin at the Catholic Conference at Malines in 1909. The movement has now also affected the life and liturgy of many Protestant churches as well.

The roots of this movement can be traced back to the theological and liturgical changes which arose out of nineteenth century romanticism. The search for a 'golden age' of the past led, in England, to the Tractarian and Ecclesiological movements. Large numbers of Anglican churches were re-ordered as a result of these two convergent movements. A move towards a more Medieval doctrine of the divine presence in the Communion elements and elsewhere led to a number of liturgical and structural changes in many Anglican churches. The influence of this movement in terms of 'gothic' architecture also influenced both Non-Conformist and Catholics in England as is visible in so many of the Victorian and early twentieth century churches which still remain. The search in the last century for a 'golden age' of Christianity was a search for the past. It was an attempt to re-discover and re-vivify. The vast amount of research which this inspired led to new understanding. The liturgical and theological research eventually went past any medieval 'golden age' of Christianity and went right back to its roots. This led to the insights of the Liturgical Movement.

The Liturgical Movement emphasises God's presence with the sacred community as it acts corporately in worship.\(^1\) This can be seen as regaining a central strand of biblical and early Christian understanding. As a result of this many churches have been re-ordered so as to emphasise that God is present when the sacred community renews covenant. The land, the building and the objects within it may be consecrated to God but it is primarily the presence of God with the covenant community which defines the space as sacred. As it is a movement which is still developing and has had a fundamentally similar effect on various Christian churches, what follows is a general survey with illustrations from a variety of sources and traditions. It should, of course, be said that this transition is still in progress. Just as at the Conversion to Christianity of the English and at the Reformation many held to previous practice, so it is now. At the previous periods of change the central political power supported what was happening and, as a result, public places of worship were transformed wholesale. Today, in most cases, even the central authority of the religious body is limited. Accordingly, the pattern of outward and visible change has been more piecemeal.

Concerning these changes Hammond writes,\(^2\)

"The church building is the house of the Church in the biblical sense of that word; the house


of the people who are themselves the
temple of the living God, the habitation
of the Spirit, a spiritual house built of
living stones. It is first and foremost
a house in which people meet to do certain
things ... known collectively as liturgy,
or public service. This is what a church
is for. It is a building for corporate
worship; above all a room for the
eucharistic assembly."

He continues,1

"Yet the church building is also a domus dei.
If its primary function is to provide a
convenient space for the people of God
to celebrate the liturgy, it is also an
embodiment, a visible manifestation, of
what the Church is and believes."

The churches which are being built for Christian worship, based
on these principles, are taking many shapes: square, oval, circular
and variations on these. Whatever the shape the principle is the
same, the room is designed to enable the congregation to gather
around the liturgical centre.2 This principle can be seen at work
in a number of situations where Anglican churches have been

78, 80, 83, 85, 88, 89, 110, 111, 112, 114 and 118.
In these instances the chancel steps or transcept crossing have frequently been chosen as the liturgical centre. Whether the church is being re-ordered or being newly built the purpose will be to arrive at a structure which is single-celled and which allows the sacred community to gather around a single centre of sacred action.

In connection with this study, an enquiry was sent to the liturgical committee of each Anglican diocese in the provinces of Canterbury and York requesting information concerning current practice with regard to consecration and dedication of churches. This was, in part, to see if the Liturgical Movement had had any influence. There were 36 replies to the 45 letters sent, a response rate of 80%. Twenty three copies of services were made available from fifteen dioceses. The services dated from 1957 to 1979. Three of the services dated from the nineteen fifties, eight from the nineteen sixties, and twelve from the nineteen seventies. The chart in the appendix gives an analysis of the constituent elements of each of the services in the nineteen sixties and seventies.

The chart indicates that there is no consistent pattern. Every service had some reference, by psalm, hymn, scripture, reading or prayer to the church building being a place which would be God's dwelling place. In only one service was there specific reference to a physical location as the place of divine presence. In this case an

Ambry was consecrated with the words,

"... this ambry as shrine of Thy presence."

In general terms, the theology of the presence of God enshrined in these services was that of the Book of Homilies, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity and that of the seventeenth century bishops. None of these services followed the earliest Anglican services closely, although many borrowed elements from them.

As was discussed earlier, the bishops of the seventeenth century understood the primitive practice with regard to the consecration of churches to be by use. This they accomplished as has been described, by the recitation of the offices of the Book of Common Prayer, the celebration of Holy Communion and the performing of the rites of passage. As can be seen the modern services do not include the systematic recitation of the offices, although ten churches (50%) had the service of consecration in the setting of Holy Communion. In the other cases four were in the setting of Morning Prayer and one included the Litany.

Two seventeenth century items are maintained. The handing over of the building to the bishop and the prayer of consecration. All of the services examined contained these items. One other seventeenth century item occurs with some regularity: the visiting of key parts of the church such as font, pulpit, lectern, with prayers at each.
The influence of the Tractarian Movement is seen by the introduction of items from medieval and Roman Catholic post-Tridentine practice such as circuits of the church, asperging, the alphabet ceremony, marking the church with a cross and specific consecration of the altar, together with chrismation and vesting.

The introit psalms used in the services are traditional.\(^1\) The readings are mainly from the New Testament and only have a limited overlap with those used in the seventeenth century.\(^2\) As can be seen from the footnotes some of the readings have to do with the church as the place of God's presence and some with the people of God as the place of His presence, enjoined with the task of proclamation.

In general terms the services are traditional and have a certain tendency to be idiosyncratic. The import of these services is that a place is being set aside in perpetuity for the worship of God and that it is a special place for God's people to be in His presence. Although there is not any consistent pattern, the services perpetuate traditional forms of sacred space, some more fully than others. What is absent is any service reflecting the insights of the Liturgical Movement with regard to sacred space.

1. Psalms 15, 24, 43, 48, 84, 121, 122, 124, 134 and 150.

The Roman Catholic Church, because it has a strong central authority, has been able, far more readily, to produce an authorised and revised service of church dedication and consecration. This uniformity has also brought with it a clear theological structure. The decree, included at the beginning of the book, promulgated by the Sacred Congregation for the Sacraments and Divine Worship states,

"... a church is the place where the Christian community is gathered to hear the word of God to offer prayers of intercession and praise to God, and above all to celebrate the holy mysteries and it is the place where the holy sacrament of the eucharist is kept. Thus it stands as a special kind of image of the church itself, which is God's temple built from living stones. And the altar of a church, where the holy people gathers to take part in the Lord's sacrifice and to be refreshed by the heavenly meal, stands as a sign of Christ Himself, who is the priest, the victim and the altar of His own sacrifice."

The decree goes on to say that the building is an image of the temple which is in fact the people of God. This idea is reiterated later in the introductory notes to the service of dedicating a church.


2. Ibid. p.v. (Decree promulgated 1977).

"Through his death and resurrection Christ became the true and perfect temple of the New Covenant and gathered together a people to be His own. This holy people, unified through the unity of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, is the Church, that is the temple of God built of living stones, where the Father is worshipped in spirit and in truth. Rightly then, from early times the name 'church' has also been given to the building in which the Christian community gathers to hear the word of God, to pray together, to celebrate the sacraments, and to participate in the eucharist."

The new Roman Catholic services provide for the blessing of the site of a new church and, where appropriate, the blessing and laying of the foundation stone of the new church building.¹ In this service, emphasis is once again laid on the people as the temple of God. The bishop prays,²

"Lord, you built an holy church founded upon the Apostles with Jesus Christ its cornerstone. Grant that your people, gathered in your name, may fear and love you, until with you at their head, they arrive at last in your heavenly city ..."

1. Ibid. p.3 ff.
2. Ibid. p.5.
In this service there is provision for psalms, scripture reading and an homily. The note on the nature of the homily says,¹

"... the homily is given, in which the biblical readings are elucidated and the significance of the rite is explained: Christ is the cornerstone of the Church and the temple that is going to be built by the living Church of the Community of believers will be at once the house of God and the house of God's people."

In the note regarding the dedication service for a new church several interesting points are made. The church should have a titular saint and relics may still be enclosed within the altar. This latter practice, while still regarded as fitting is no longer regarded as obligatory. Conferences of bishops are given the right and authority to adapt the rite to local needs but the celebration of Mass with its proper preface and prayer of dedication may not be omitted. Other rites, it is declared, have a special meaning and should not be omitted without very weighty reasons, although wording may be adapted.

The service is divided into four sections and commences with the Introductory Rite. This consists of the entrance to the church followed by it being handed over and delivered to the bishop.

¹. Ibid. p.7.
The church and people are then asperged, the Gloria is sung and an opening prayer said which commences,

"Lord fill this place with your presence ..."

The second section, the Liturgy of the Word includes a first\(^1\) and second\(^2\) reading from the Bible, a gradual psalm\(^3\) and the Gospel\(^4\).

The third section is the Dedication and Anointing of the Church. This commences with the Litany of the Saints followed by the deposition of the saint's relics, if any, in the altar. Then follows the prayer of dedication, thereafter the altar is chrismated and the wall crosses anointed. Finally, in this section, the altar and church having been censed, the altar is vested and the altar and church lit. The final section is the Liturgy of the Eucharist. This follows the post-Vatican 2 form. In the Eucharistic prayer the bishop prays, that God would continue to build up His living church. During the Eucharist, the Blessed Sacrament Chapel is inaugurated by the sacrament being taken in procession and placed in the tabernacle.

The separate service in the Pontifical, for the dedication of a fixed altar follows the same pattern. The service for a portable altar is a simpler, short one of blessing.

1. Nehemiah 8: 1-10.


3. Selected from one of the following verses:- 2 Chronicles 7: 16, Isaiah 66: 1, Ezekiel 37: 27.

The new Roman Catholic services maintain the structure of the medieval and Tridentine services but they are greatly simplified.\(^1\) The emphasis of the action is also altered. While the building is still seen as a place of God's especial presence, and the divine as being directly present in the reserved elements of the Eucharist, the building is also publicly proclaimed as the place where the people of God are to gather as the true Church of God, of which the building is a symbol. The influence of the Liturgical Movement is clearly visible.

The forms of sacred space which have existed in connection with the English public place of worship have now been surveyed in broad outline. In addition, the means by which they have been recognised as sacred have been examined. These forms will be considered further in the final chapter after the other forms of the sacred, connected with the English public place of worship have also been reviewed. We turn now to the first of these, sacred objects.

CHAPTER THREE

Symbol and Image:

Forms of Sacred Object
Many public places of worship contain images and symbols. Phenomenologists have indicated, as was shown in the introductory chapter, that images and symbols reveal the sacred and are experienced as having the essence of the sacred within them. Images are, normally, man-made and are anthropomorphic or theriomorphic in form, or a combination of both, representing a specific deity or form of deity. Such objects will have been consecrated in order that the sacred might dwell within them. If a symbol is a natural object it will have been experienced as revealing the sacred. If, however, it is man-made it, too, may have been consecrated. A symbol can be very powerful in that it can reveal many facets and aspects of the sacred. A symbol can be embodied in structures and also seen in gesture or movement.

A sign, on the other hand, does not share an identity of essence with the sacred. It is sometimes an analogy and sometimes an indication. It is a physical parallel to, or statement about, the non-physical, spiritual world but it is in no way connected or intertwined with that world. The sign is a translation from one realm of experience to another, rather than a revelation. Symbols and signs are very close to each other and sometimes the dividing line is narrow. What may be a sacred symbol to one may be a sign to another.

Images, symbols and signs have an important role at places of worship. We must now investigate what this has been in connection with

2. e.g. Making the sign of the Cross.
the English public place of worship and the types and categories which have been found there.

Before investigating the evidence concerning images and symbols at the pre-Christian English place of worship, it will be helpful to examine what is known, generally, about images and symbols at Teutonic places of worship. Tacitus, as we have already seen, gives us the earliest eye-witness and contemporary account of Teutonic places of worship. Apart from the fact that they appear to have been open-air sites with inherent numinous qualities we are told little of their physical appearance and whether they contained images or symbols, and also whether they were symbolically structured. In chapter two it was pointed out that by the time of the Christian era the various Teutonic groups were erecting buildings at their sacred sites in connection with public worship. Further, that these structures were two-celled and that they contained images and symbolic objects. In the Afhus, the godhi's area, there was an altar for sacrifice, a bowl and aspergillum for sprinkling sacrificial blood, and the priest's armring on which oaths were sworn. In the main hall, arranged so that sacrificial feasts could be held there, was the priest's high seat, the sacred pillars, adorned with rows of nails and sometimes with images of the gods. We are told specifically that the temple building at Uppsala contained images of Odin, Thor and Fricco (Freyr?) besides those of other deities.
Turville-Petre\textsuperscript{1} notes a number of things found within the temenos at Uppsala. It is possible to attempt some identification with Teutonic mythology. The ash tree is reminiscent of Yggdrasil, the world tree and also of Irminsul, the cosmic column or tree of the Saxons. The temple with its golden adornments recollects the roof of Valhöll. The sacred well recalls that of Urðabrunnar (cf. the sacred drownings elsewhere in Teutonic culture).

The universal column or axis mundi, appearing here in tree form, is to be found elsewhere in Teutonic places of worship. De la Saussaye\textsuperscript{2} mentions the destruction in 722 A.D. of the Saxon's central sacred site and of the destruction of Irminsul, which appears to have been such an object. The name Thurstable, an Essex Hundred name, according to Turville-Petre,\textsuperscript{3} refers to such a column. One is reminded of the story of Boniface cutting down the sacred oak tree at a Saxon shrine in Germany and the later accounts of Vikings casting the pillars of Thor overboard to guide them to the right landing place in Iceland.

In addition to the brief contemporary descriptions only the archaeological evidence of Teutonic temples remain to tell us what they were like. There are, however, a variety of iconographic remains, paintings (mainly on stones), tapestries, carvings and cast

\textsuperscript{1} Turville-Petre, E. O. G. \textit{Op cit.} Summary p.245.
\textsuperscript{2} Chantepie de la Saussaye, P. \textit{Op cit.} pp. 124-125.
items which help to fill the gap with regard to some of the images and symbols.¹ Many of these can be identified as depicting known myths, many others, however, remain a mystery. An important question for this study is the extent to which they were experienced as images and symbols and to what extent signs. Were they the actual loci of revelation or merely descriptive of the revelatory experience. For instance, when an oath was sworn on the priest's arm ring was it experienced as being replete with divine power, or was it simply a sign. One indication of how the sacred pillars may have been seen is given by the Viking chief who threw his pillars overboard to guide him to the correct place in Iceland where he should land and build a temple. This action seems to indicate that these at least were endued within divine power in some way. In terms of pre-Christian English belief and practice in this country, as has been said previously, the wider Teutonic culture can only provide a backcloth and not direct evidence of any kind. More particularly as we neither have a full preserved temple iconography from England nor elsewhere.

It was indicated in chapter two that there is evidence to support the idea that the Aesir deities were worshipped by the pre-Christian English in this country and that it was likely that the Vanir deities had a following too. The archaeological finds related to pre-Christian English religion are relatively few. Although a

large number of Anglo-Saxon pre-Christian burial grounds have been
excavated and considerable finds made,\(^1\) little has been learnt from
them directly related to religion. Although, of course, the inclusion
of goods in a burial indicates pre-Christian rather than Christian
belief. The Sutton-hoo ship-burial is an exception.\(^2\) Amongst the
finds were shield ornaments, of which Davidson says,\(^3\)

"The flying eagle and winged dragon are in
keeping with the nature of germanic tradition
and are creatures associated with the cult of
Odin."

On the helmet there are panels of a man with a horned helmet
resembling an Odin "beserk". The purse lid has an eagle on it besides
a man between two beasts. It is possible that these are duplicates of
Fenrir consuming Odin at Ragnarök. The Benty Grange helmet\(^4\) presents
a similar problem. Is the boar crest indicative of the cult of
Freyr?\(^5\)

The Frank's casket\(^6\) has been another valuable find. It depicts,
on various panels, the story of Weland the Smith, the Adoration of the

\(^1\) Brown, G. B. Op cit. Vols. 3 and 4.
\(^2\) Mitford, R. S. L. B. Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology.
and 188-209.
Magi, the Capture of Jerusalem and the story of Romulus and Remus. One panel, says Davidson, depicts
"A human figure with an animal head, seen confronting a warrior in an eagle helmet ...
suggests a valkyrie in her terrible aspect meeting one of the warriors of Odin."

There is also a panel depicting an archer defending a house. The Frank's casket, like the Sutton-hoo ship-burial belongs to the transition period, and both indicate that pre-Christian Saxon symbols and myths persisted into Christian times.

The Finglesham man is an Odin "beserk" figure, depicted on a buckle found at Finglesham near Deal. It is dated to the seventh century and is supportive evidence for the cult of Odin in Anglo-Saxon England.

Chaney has identified another class of materials, royal cult objects. Most of our knowledge concerning these in England comes from the post-Conversion era. They can, nevertheless, be linked to the same objects used elsewhere in Teutonic royal cult and we can make some informed estimation of their cultic use in pre-Christian England. Among the objects he lists are animals such as the boar,
the dragon, the stag, the raven and inanimate items such as the throne, crown, helmet, standard, banner, sceptre, staff, shield, harp and ring. Some of these items may have come into the cult from elsewhere and some may not necessarily have religious connotations but taken as a body they point to an origin in Teutonic religion.

Sacred images and symbols are often associated with the sacred word, especially in the form of myth. Despite the fact that we do not have an intact temple with its iconographic scheme, if we had a knowledge of the mythological cycle extant among the pre-Christian English in this country, to put alongside the symbolic material in our possession, we could make some reasonable speculations. Unfortunately, the literary remains relating to pre-Christian religious belief and practice all come from the Christian era. There has been considerable debate as to the degree of Teutonic and Christian influence in the material and the certain ground is limited. Such epic stories as Weland the Smith, Beowulf, Waldere\(^1\) show that heroic legend was well developed among the early English. These stories match the later Scandinavian and Icelandic material in quality. Doubtless the myths of the gods were equally well told and known. Their absence is perhaps to be explained in terms of literary censorship by Christian kings and their ecclesiastical advisers.\(^2\) Stenton's view that,\(^3\)

"So little is known about these gods and the

mythology of English heathenism that there can 
be no satisfactory comparison between the 
English and Scandinavian systems",
puts the problem in an extreme form. As Branston\(^1\) points out the 
brief reference to Weland would be meaningless apart from the fact 
that the story occurs in the Poetic Edda. This is at least one piece 
of later Scandinavian material which was known in pre-Christian 
England. One cannot go to the other extreme and claim connections 
for every piece of tenuous evidence. There does, however, seem to be 
some continuity in Teutonic belief and practice and there is no doubt 
that the myths of later times were known in pre-Christian England. 
It is not possible to establish which parts of the known corpus were 
in circulation here and whether there were other myths and legends 
which are unknown to us. However, it is very likely that pre-Christian 
English mythology would have borne a strong family resemblance to that 
found in Snorri Sturlusson and the Poetic Edda. Myths persist within 
a culture over many hundreds of years. It is only when the culture is 
destroyed and overthrown that they disappear.

Such evidence as we do possess confirms a picture of deities 
matching those of late Scandinavian writing. The Saxon Salomon and 
Saturnus\(^2\) gives a clear picture of Odin,

Aelfric Society. 1848.
"Once there lived a man who was Mercury\(^1\) called he was vastly deceitful, and cunning in his deeds he loved well to steal and all lying tricks; the heathen had made him the highest of their gods, and at the cross roads, they offered him booty and to the high hills brought him victims to slay. This god was honoured among all the heathen his name when translated to Danish is Odinn."

Continuity of Teutonic culture and religion is demonstrated by one method of divination. Tacitus\(^2\) describes the process of scattering marked twigs; three of them are recovered, from which the auspices are read. The English Nine Herbs Charm speaks of Odin taking nine glory twigs and late Scandinavian literature also refers to the twigs of divination.\(^3\) This example points up the problem, continuity and links can be shown but the exact local form cannot. The evidence we

1. Mercury = Mecredi = Wednesday = Odin's day. (The Romans equated Mercury and Odin).
possess shows that the iconography of English pre-Christian temples and public places of worship would depict the myths of the Teutonic deities. The exact form of those myths in this Country at that time, however, cannot be discerned and neither can the symbolism and iconography of the places of worship. Even less is it possible to say what meaning those symbols and images may have had to the worshippers.

Before considering the symbols and images associated with the Christian place of worship among the English, it is necessary to consider their antecedents. As with sacred space, we commence with their Jewish origins.

Israelite faith, as depicted in the Old Testament, reveals a deep horror of idolatry, images were anathema. In the view of the writers of the Old Testament the association of the creator with the creation led to idolatry which in turn led to immorality and social collapse. This is not to say that the form and structure of places of public worship were without significance. Their arrangement was aniconic. They were statements, or signs, that the divine was wholly other than the physical world. The Temple, with its divisions, said much about the transcendence of God and of the hierarchical division of the sacred community. Similarly, the synagogue's structure and contents emphasised God's revelation through Torah and

1. e.g. Exodus 20: 4, Deuteronomy 4: 15 ff, 2 Kings 13: 1 ff, Jeremiah 18: 19, Amos 2: 4.
denied the divine presence in the physical. Synagogue life and worship revolves around the constant renewal of Covenant. The centre point of every synagogue is the shrine for the Torah scrolls.

The earliest Christians continued with their Jewish practices of worship, supplementing this with specific Christian gatherings in houses to celebrate the Eucharist. Only slowly did specific public places for Christian worship emerge. The process being slow because of the illegal nature of Christianity until the days of Constantine. The New Testament shows that the earliest Christian community inherited from its Jewish roots a horror of idolatry. It does appear, however, that the early Christian community felt that their Lord was present with them at the Eucharist which was primarily the renewal ceremony of the New Covenant. If the elements of the Eucharist were not symbols, they were efficacious signs. Perhaps the most striking thing within the New Testament is the recognition of a person as a symbol. Recent research has shown the community working out its faith, with regard to Jesus, over a very short period of time and developing language which expressed their experience of the risen Jesus as the place of divine revelation. This insight is central to Christian symbolism and iconography.

Grabar\textsuperscript{1} points out that the earliest Christian iconography did not use images, only aniconic signs such as the chi-rho, the fish symbol and the anchor. We are fortunate in having one extant pre-Constantinian house church with its iconographic scheme.\textsuperscript{2} The structure is functional, rather than symbolic. There is a fairly large room where it is likely that the Eucharist was held, a baptistry and side rooms. The scheme that has been preserved in the baptistry indicates something of the meaning of Christian baptism. The paintings include Christ walking on the water, the Samaritan woman at the well, the women at the tomb, the figure of the Good Shepherd contrasted with one of Adam and Eve. They are clearly didactic as is the font itself, scarcely distinguishable from a tomb. The Christian could not have a clearer picture of baptism as death and resurrection.

The finds in catacombs and elsewhere help us to gain a fuller picture of what Christian symbols were likely to have been found in Christian places of worship at this stage.\textsuperscript{3} The basic structure of later Christian iconography is already present\textsuperscript{4} with its central emphasis on Christology and Soteriology. The actual depiction of the cross was not to emerge until later but symbols such as the


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chi-rho and the fish as well as others were fulfilling the same purpose. The central motifs were already those of New Testament Christology. The themes being derived from the stories in the canonical gospels and the ante-types of these incidents and ideas concerning Jesus Christ in the Old Testament. As Grabar\(^1\) points out, this imagery developed from existing pagan art forms.

"The Christian sculptors and painters had only to trace a few new features and details to transform an image of a type common in that period into a Christian image."

Nevertheless, Christian iconography is entirely distinctive from the time of the very earliest examples which we possess. Its purpose is to show forth the sovereign action of God in Christ in making available the New Covenant.

Any human edifice incorporates within itself something of the prevailing values and conceptions of life and is, therefore, in itself a sign. In choosing the basilica as the replacement for the house the post-Constantinian Church was making a significant statement. Decoration and furnishing can enhance and modify such a statement. Christian iconography was soon playing such a role. Fortunately, both churches and mosaics remain from this early period of the peace of the Church, especially at Ravenna.\(^2\)

1. Ibid. p.xlvi, also Introduction and chaps. 1 and 2.
Grabar says,¹
"... any particular image of any period contains
its share of motifs common to the society which
produced it ... just as a written text or any
verbal expression contains the words and
locutions of current usage."

He continues,
"Christian image makers of late antiquity were
the same: they expressed themselves in the
language - visual or verbal that was around
them ... Almost everything in the work was
d dictated by the models they followed."

Thus the Emperor's image was removed from the basilica and in its
place, in the semi-dome of the apse, Jesus was portrayed enthroned
in the midst of the apostles.² Here was the true divine Emperor and
His court. On the other walls were depicted the Church Triumphant,
prophets, apostles and martyrs.³ Pictorially the church had become
a microcosm of heaven. The altar was also beginning a transformation,
from being a table to being the place of cosmic sacrifice and divine
presence. This imagery is particularly noticeable at the Church of
the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁴

3. Ibid. plates 76, 77, 149, 151 and 156.
4. Armstrong, G. T. "Constantine's Churches: Symbol and
   Structure". Journal of the Society of Architectural
Alongside the normal congregational basilica, as we have seen, the martyrium was developing. Later, from these, came the practice of placing the martyrs relics under the altar in the "confessio". This further enhanced the idea of the altar, not only as a sign of divine presence but a living symbol of it.

The civil basilica was eminently suited for a large communal gathering, and the growing urban congregations could easily be transferred from the now inadequate house-church to the basilica without any apparently drastic changes. The bishop, as president, continued to sit behind the table flanked by the presbyters in the apse. The laity, men and women, remained in separate groups on the other side of the altar. The laity carried on the tradition of bringing the bread and wine, individually, for the Eucharist. The deacons as before, led the laity's intercessions and guarded the doors and later took the elements to the sick. Outside, often in the Narthex, the penitents, catechumens and others dismissed after the Synaxis, still stayed to hear the rest of the Eucharist outside the doors. On the surface nothing had changed. In fact subtle, but significant, changes had and were taking place so that a totally different statement was being enacted and made. The clergy had become state officials and the Eucharist was now a public occasion. The various ranks of the clergy were equated with the civil officials, and they adopted the appropriate dress. In addition, the clergy, acting as public officials, began to adopt official manners and procedures. The Papal Mass at Rome was surrounded by the same ceremony
as was used at the Imperial Court. The clergy, also, were now in the
apse separated from the laity by the cancelli. Sanctuary, chancel
and nave were present in embryonic form. All this further enhanced
the idea of the altar as the place of divine presence, a symbol of
the sacred.

This threefold division of the church building is to be found in
the earliest Christian churches of the English, as has already been
described. This division of the earliest churches in England
corresponded, as we have seen, to that of their pre-Christian
predecessors. In fact, no alterations were needed for these temples
to be consecrated as Christian churches. It was necessary, however,
to alter the iconography. Raedwald's mixture of traditional and
Christian images and symbols was not acceptable to the Church.

There is little physical evidence left concerning the icono­
graphy of the earliest English Christian churches, either with regard
to decorations or objects. We do know that, at least in some parts
of the country, there was an elaborate iconographic scheme. Concerning
Benedict Biscop, Godfrey¹ says,

"... procuring masons from Gaul to build churches
in the Roman manner and glaziers from Gaul to
glaze the windows of his churches and monasteries
as well as to teach the skill to the Anglo-Saxons
who were ignorant of it; his collecting of relics,
vestments, chalices and icons ..."

Chappell\(^1\) is of the opinion that wooden construction was in common use for Anglo-Saxon altars and that, despite episcopal action, this practice persisted for a long period and that ciboria were common.\(^2\) He suggests that the sacramental elements had a variety of housing in the West,\(^3\) but that the pyx was the most usual form both in the West generally, and also in Anglo-Saxon England.\(^4\) This could be in the shape of a dove, pelican, cup or palm tree, and was covered with a veil. It was suspended over the altar by cords from the roof. He suggests that apart from the relics and host interred in or under the altar and the pyx above it, the altar was cleared between services. We cannot know how the Anglo-Saxons understood their pre-Christian altars but the symbolism of reserved elements and relics is unmistakable. They were symbols which had the reality of the sacred within them. During the Mass the chalice,\(^5\) patten, bread, wine and Mass Book would be on the altar. It had also become the practice to place the processional cross and lights near the altar during the Mass.\(^6\) At the time of the conversion of the English the original westward position for the bishop, or priest acting on his behalf, was still usual. It is likely that this pertained in the earliest days of Christianity among the English.\(^7\) Something of the idea lingered on

1. Chappell, D. M. *Op cit.* p.109,
that the Mass was an action of the whole congregation.

The external rooms, important in the early years of the Church, were now less necessary. The disappearance of the dismissals meant that a second, auditory room was no longer needed. Also with the growth of universal infant baptism, once the first generation of adult converts were baptised, the need for a large external baptistry passed. A font inside the church door, of modest proportions, was sufficient. These physical alterations were outward signs of changes in the sacred community. The sacred community, once virtually a nation within the nation, had become identical with the nation. If at birth every infant became part of the sacred community there was no need of second chambers for those who were not yet part of the community in a full sense. The two cells within the building, however, showed that there was a clear division within the community. Some were now more sacred, at least in their role, and therefore occupied the space nearest to the most holy things.

There is little direct evidence to indicate how the earliest English Christians decorated their churches. A limited number of stone carvings remain of which those at Breedon, generally dated to the eighth century, are the earliest. The subject of the earliest English Christian iconography can only be approached indirectly.

Churches were painted internally in the later Middle Ages, and there were internal and external carvings which were also painted. This material, together with the stained glass windows, depicted, iconographically, the Christian Heilsgeschichte. Other Western churches, including those at Rome, were decorated with an earlier version of this iconographic scheme at the time of the conversion of the English. The Anglo-Saxon carving that remains indicates that they did decorate their churches. We have no reason to doubt, given also that iconographic artefacts remain from other fields and from the fact that they imported craftsmen and materials, that they did indeed decorate their churches with paintings as well as carvings. It is likely that the iconographic scheme would have been that of Roman churches in the first instance, Gallican influence coming later.

It can be speculated that the iconographic scheme would include Christ depicted at the East end of the church as Pantokrator. This would probably have been associated with the symbols of the evangelists and icons of the apostles. Mary as theotokos would probably also have been incorporated into the scheme. The crucifixion would certainly


3. Ibid. Also
Krautheimer, R. Op cit. plates pp. 8, 9, 14, 15, 18 and 56.

have been part of the overall pattern, as we know from the extant roods of this period. The whole Easter - Pentecost cycle was possibly also used as it was then the basis of the liturgical year. The saints of the Church, the other part of the developing Calendar, were also likely to have been depicted.

The carved cross shafts, of which many early English examples remain, support the picture given above because they follow this pattern and they have close links with such carved materials as have been left in the churches. What can be discerned in these crosses is that the Christian Heilsgeschichte is depicted in terms of the Mediterranean Christian art forms but placed in a native background. The figures of Christ, the evangelists and their symbols, apostles and others are set against a background of vinescroll work, interlacing and animals. The latter being particularly Teutonic. Other materials present one with a similar iconographic and decorative style.

This placing of the Christian salvation story within a Teutonic cultural setting by the early English can also be seen in their literature. Christ is portrayed as the valiant young chief.

   Kendrick, T. D. Op cit. plates XLVI-LII, LXI-LXIV, LXVII, LXV, LXXVII, LXXXII-C.
The heroic virtues generally are extolled. The Dream of the Rood and Beowulf, both early pieces, show this fusion of cultures. The Frank's casket\(^1\) shows that, for a time, some of the old myths and legends lived on. It was Roman Christian practice to allow things 'indifferent' to linger on, suitably disguised in Christian form. This practice is illustrated in instructions from Gregory and later popes to English prelates and kings.\(^2\)

Christian symbolism and iconography therefore replaced the pre-Christian forms, although clearly there was a transitional period. We cannot be certain of the precise iconographic scenes in either the pre or post-conversion public places of worship. Both, however, would have proclaimed the central truths of the respective faiths through myth and story. What is difficult to ascertain is whether any of the symbols and symbolic structures of pre-Christian temples were experienced as having the presence of the sacred within them. This seems highly likely but we cannot be sure which symbolic objects might be involved. What is clear is that after the conversion it was the relics in the altar and the reserved elements of the Mass which were the points of divine presence.

It is difficult, in the present day, to imagine how the interior of a medieval church would have appeared. On entering, the first thing

to catch one's eye would have been the iconography. The walls of even the most humble parish church would be plastered and decorated. In some churches, where the means were available, the scheme would be more lavish with the addition of sculpture, wood carving and stained glass.

The two items which would probably attract one's attention first of all would be the Doom painting above the chancel arch (and sometimes on the tympanum within it) and, below this, the rood. The latter was a carved depiction of Jesus on the Cross with carvings of Mary and John on either side. The rood was mounted on a beam placed across the chancel arch. Below this, between the pillars of the arch, would be a screen. The didactic purpose of the arch and its accoutrements was one with the function of the altar and the pyx above it, which could be seen through the chancel arch. It was the redemption of souls. The Doom reminded those present that judgement awaited every man at the end of time with its stark alternatives. The rood recalled the centrality of Christ's death in the Christian scheme of salvation. It was Christ, true God and perfect man, who alone could offer the work of supererogation through His death, which alone could earn merit for others. The altar beyond the rood, and the pyx containing

the consecrated host, told out the message that the miracle of Calvary could be repeated *ad infinitum* for the benefit of sinful men and that the God-man was ever present in the chancel.

The other church wall surfaces, besides the chancel arch, would contain iconographic material interspersed with decoration.¹ The iconographic scheme developed during this period.² It delineated the Christian faith as conceived at that time. In this it parallels the Calendar of the Church and the associated liturgical year. Both the Christological Calendar and the Sanctoral are represented. The church walls, and where the church was more wealthy, the stained glass and carvings depicted the christological redemption cycle: Jesus' birth, death, resurrection and second coming. History, in the form of the Old Testament, was depicted as foreshadowing these events in antetypes. Nature, particularly in the form of the bestiary, was thought to reflect the mind of God,³ and so parallels were found here, as well. The Sanctoral was illustrated by the apostles and saints either with their symbols or engaged in the deeds outlined in the popular legends associated with them.⁴ Mary, in particular, as *theotokos* grew in importance in popular and official estimation, during the Medieval Period. This is reflected both iconographically and

2. Schiller, G. *Op cit.*
liturgically. Cook writes,¹

"After the Doom, the most common narrative paintings are those depicting the crucifixion, scenes from the passion and resurrection of Our Lord, and the Life of the Virgin Mary ... After the thirteenth century episodes in the life of the Virgin Mary become the subjects for mural paintings."

He continues,²

"Except for the Doom above the chancel arch and St. Christopher opposite the Nave Door, there seems to have been no regular system in the allocation and arrangement of other figures and subjects. The walling above nave arcades provided a most suitable field but paintings are frequently found on walls in other parts of Parish Churches."

The same schema was also to be found in stained glass. A very good late example of the christological cycle, complete with Old Testament antetypes, is to be seen in the windows of King's College Chapel at Cambridge, a wealthy community church.

A third element was present in the scheme besides the Christological Calendar and the Sanctoral, that of morality.

2. Ibid. p.200.
This is seen in the symbols from the mirror of nature as well as in the Sanctoral material but, perhaps most clearly seen in the Psychomachia, the depiction of the wars of the virtues and vices.¹

Other elements were present, particularly in the large community churches, in misericords² and roof bosses.³ These depict the themes already mentioned but, in addition, cover the subjects of everyday life sometimes quite humorously. Grotesques and gargoyles were also the subjects on misericords and roof bosses. Sheridan and Ross⁴ demonstrate the prevalence of these in the larger medieval churches, often in the less accessible parts. These seem to indicate a persistence of pre-Christian thought and imagery, particularly in the case of the green man or foliate head.

A particular point of iconographic interest is the application of the words attributed to Jesus by the Fourth Gospel, "I am the Way".⁵ These were applied to the iconographic scheme on the doorways of the larger community and parochial churches⁶ of which Chartres⁷

is one of the most outstanding examples. The idea can be seen on the West Front of Wells Cathedral\textsuperscript{1} and other English medieval cathedrals. They clearly convey the message that here is the portal to heaven the gateway to the other world.

The various elements of the iconographic scheme were repeated in wall painting, sculpture in wood and stone,\textsuperscript{2} and in the embroidery of hangings, banners and vestments.\textsuperscript{3} All the walls, liturgical fittings and even the furniture were likely to be so decorated. This would include rood screens, pulpits, fonts, reliquaries, crucifixes, benches, choir stalls.\textsuperscript{4} The total effect was to reveal the ultimate, heavenly reality here on earth, a microcosm. The reserved host in the pyx also proclaimed that this was the place of divine presence. This set the chancel apart. Anderson says,\textsuperscript{5}

"At Copford the Signs of the Zodiac are painted on the soffit of the arch thus explaining its symbolism as a division between earthly time represented by the nave, and the splendours of eternity beyond."

The chancel being the part of the church most concerned with the heavenly and the eternal was the province of the clergy. The only lay person who might have a seat there would be the patron of the living. The central object in the chancel was the altar.

The main or high altar would be placed lengthwise against the East wall, at the end of the chancel. Normally the mensa, or altar top which was made of a slab of stone, was marked with five crosses where it had been anointed by the bishop at its consecration. Within the slab was placed a small reliquary, containing the relics of a saint and a consecrated host. A cloth was laid over the mensa and a frontal cloth was hung down the front of the altar. Above and on either side of the altar, ridels were hung from metal rods. Projecting from these rods were prickets for mounting the candles. Behind the altar there would normally be a carved reredos, painted retable or tryptych. Alternatively, on occasion the stained glass window in the East wall was brought down to altar level. The iconography at the rear of the altar was linked to the passion of Christ. Above the altar, suspended from the roof, would be the pyx containing the host, the consecrated bread, believed to have become in physical reality the actual body of Christ.

In the South wall of the chancel, close to the altar, would be the piscina for the ablution of the vessels used at the Mass, and also for the priest's ablutions. This drained directly into the ground. Next to the piscina were the sedilia, or seats, for the celebrant and his assistants. On the opposite side of the chancel in the North wall was the ambry, a small cupboard set into the wall where the vessels for the Mass were kept between services.

One other important object was to be found in the chancel of the medieval church, the Easter Sepulchre. This was made of wood or stone and placed against the North wall of the chancel by the high altar. The sepulchre was used in the Easter liturgical drama. On Good Friday the consecrated host was transferred from the pyx, above the high altar, to the sepulchre where it was entombed and guarded until Easter Day. It was then reinstated at the high altar. Each year the living Christ would overcome death once more, as at the first Easter, and the miracle was made present before the eyes of the believer.

In the middle of the chancel was placed a wooden or metal lectern. This was moved to the north of the altar for the reading of the gospel at High Mass. In the community churches, including the collegiate parish churches, the chancel would also contain the

1. Ibid. plates 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, and pp. 168-170.
2. Ibid. p.169.
3. Ibid. p.120, plates 67-70.
choir stalls. The opus dei, the continuous worship of God through the choir offices, was the duty of all clergy whether regular or secular. The ordinary parish church did not need extra seating for this in the way a community church would. In the late medieval period the wood carver's art was widely used on the choir stalls, with elaborate traceried canopies\(^1\) and carvings on the misericords\(^2\).

The screen with its loft and rood at the entrance to the chancel has already been described. In Lent its symbolism was further elaborated by the rood being covered with the Lenten veil.\(^3\) The rood loft was also the musical centre of the church. The instances of organs in rood lofts is frequent.\(^4\) One further item is found in many medieval churches. This was a small unglazed window in the South wall of the chancel. Cook\(^5\) discusses various theories as to its purpose including leper squints, confessional openings, access to exterior sacring bells but suggests that there is a very mundane and simple explanation. On occasions large numbers of candles were burnt in the chancel and such an opening provided very necessary ventilation, and that a bench seat alongside would also serve to help those who needed a moment or two of fresh air.

The nave was less elaborately equipped. It might contain one or more subsidiary chantry altars. These, however, were normally housed in separate chantry chapels as explained in the previous chapter.\(^1\) The font was housed at the West end of the nave close to the church entrance.\(^2\) This was often iconographically decorated. There was no set pattern and the themes used could be found elsewhere. One peculiarity of font decoration, however, was the depiction of the seven sacraments.\(^3\) The pulpit was the other significant piece of furniture in the nave.\(^4\) This, too, was frequently decorated with sacred art. The apostles or the four great doctors of the Church\(^5\) were popular motifs.

Generally, the laity stood or knelt during the services, as is the custom in the Eastern Orthodox churches today. Some provision was made for the elderly and infirm\(^6\) and, towards the end of the period, pews began to be installed in churches.\(^7\) Another innovation at this time was the installation of personal memorials in churches.

1. Ibid. plates 88, 102, 103 and 104.
3. Ibid. plate 105.
5. Gregory the Great, Ambrose, Augustine of Hippo, Jerome.
These were the prerogative of the wealthy and the famous. The iconography and furnishing of the nave would appear to indicate that this was solely a liturgical area for the laity. This was far from being the case, many activities took place there which today would be seen as secular and not normally undertaken in any place of Christian worship. More will be said about this in the chapter concerned with the sacred community.

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to know what precise experience of the sacred the average medieval worshipper had via this rich iconography and symbolism. It is clear that God was truly present in Christ at the altar for the overwhelming majority. Although the Lollard movement shows that it was not only the intellectual stratum of society which questioned such things on the eve of the Reformation. Visually the whole schema mapped out the way of salvation, and the path to heaven. Whether all of it was experienced as symbol or part as symbol and part as sign it is impossible to say. Probably there was variety of experience and as the Reformation period approached there was a growing number who repudiated the idea that the iconography of the church was a vehicle of the presence of the sacred.¹

In the previous chapter the experience of a changed relationship between the spiritual and the physical at the time of the Reformation was examined. This, it was shown, changed many peoples' understanding.

Cross, C. Op cit. chaps. 1 and 2.
of the nature of the public place of worship. It was argued that the medieval consecration rites defined the space, and the structures, as containing and revealing the sacred. Within the Roman Catholic community this remained the way that things were experienced but within the Protestant communities a variety of understandings arose, as has been explained. Images and symbols as well as symbolic structures and arrangements are also material objects and, accordingly, the way they were understood and viewed changed. The great fear of the Protestants was idolatry. Tillich has called this the 'Protestant principle'. Nothing contingent could be directly associated with the absolute lest there be a luciferian confusion.¹

As we have seen in the previous chapter the Royal Injunctions of 1547, with their orders that pictures and paintings were to be removed from walls and windows, quickly affected the iconography of churches. Other injunctions at the same time abolished many other symbols such as holy bread, palms, ashes, candles, Easter sepulchres, images and relics.

In the previous chapter it was explained that the Anglican Reformation retained the two cell structure of the churches. These were no longer associated in a hierarchy related to the sacred but were separate and, in some senses, equal rooms used for differing liturgical purposes. The chancel was used for the celebration of the Lord's Supper or Communion. The nave for Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany and occasional offices.

The major symbolic change in the chancel was the dismantling of the medieval stone altars and their replacement with wooden communion tables covered by a cloth. At communion time a linen cloth was also laid over the table. The table, unlike the altar, could be moved and not only was the table moved but the people were expected to leave their pews to gather round it. As the exhortation says,

"Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins and are in love and charity with your neighbours and intend to lead a new life following the commandments of God and walking from henceforth in his holy ways, draw near with faith ..."

The 1552 Book of Common Prayer states in the rubric,

"The table havynge at the Communion tyme a fayre white lynnen clothe upon it shall stande in the body of the Churche, or in the chauncell, where Morning and Evening prayer be appoynted to bee sayde."

and continues,

"And the Priest standing at the north-syde of the table shall saye ..."

The 1559 Book of Common Prayer repeated this rubric as does that of

Elizabeth's Royal Injunctions of 1559 orders that, 
"... the holy table in every church shall be
decently made, and set in place where the
altar stood and there commonly covered, as
there belongeth, and as shall be appointed
by the visitors, and so stand, saving when
the Communion of the Sacrament is to be
distributed; at which time the same shall
so be placed in good sort within the
chancel ... and after the Communion done,
from time to time the same holy table to be
placed where it stood before."

An engraving of 1584 showing an Elizabethan Communion Service which
illustrates this Injunction is reproduced by Addleshaw and Etchells.

During the reign of Charles I there was a further development
of the Anglican altar, which was the occasion of considerable
controversy which centred on Archbishop Laud. The details of this
controversy are reported by Addleshaw and Etchells and can also be
read in contemporary publications. The Laudian party sought to have

3. Addleshaw, G. W. O. and Etchells, F. Op cit. plate p.112
also see pp. 108 ff.
4. Ibid. pp. 120-147.
5. e.g. Mede, J. Remaines of Some Passages ... J. Clark. 1650.
   Mede, J. The Name Altar ... J. Clark. 1637.
   Poklington, J. Altare Christianum. 1637.
   Heylyn, P. Cyprianus Anglicus. 1660.
the table placed altarwise permanently against the East wall of the church and also to have a rail across the chancel from the North to the South walls. This pattern, despite the 1662 Book of Common Prayer rubric, formed the basis of post-Restoration practice.2

Besides being re-sited and re-built the post-Reformation Anglican altar was re-furnished and the surrounding accoutrements altered. The draft Visitation Articles for 1549 (used by Bishops Hooper and Ridley)3 state,

"That all parsons, vicars and curates omit in the reading of the injunctions all such as make mention of the popish mass, of chantries, of candles upon the altar, or any such thing."

and continue, 4

"... no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, ringing of sacring bells; or setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time."

Thus apart from its covering cloth the post-Reformation Anglican altar was bare outside of service times. During the service time the bread and wine, chalice and patten, Book of Common Prayer and

1. The rubric required the Table at Communion "stand in the body of the Church, or in the Chancel, where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be said". The priest is required to stand on the North side.


the cushion would be placed on it, once it had been furthered covered with a linen cloth. Sometimes a candle or candles were used at that time also, for lighting rather than ritual purposes.¹

The rest of the apparatus and decoration of the chancel was dismantled. The Easter Sepulchre and the pyx were removed. The ambry and piscina, if not filled-in, were ignored. The rood was taken down, images dismantled and iconography whitewashed.² Some decoration was allowed in place of that which was taken away. These were the tables of the ten commandments, where the Reredos and its images had stood, and the Royal Coat of Arms, where the rood had been, above the chancel arch. The Lord's Prayer was also to be seen and sometimes scripture sentences were put on the walls in place of the medieval paintings. Much stained glass escaped destruction in Elizabeth's day, only to be destroyed in the Commonwealth period. In the post-Restoration era, those following the Laudian tradition introduced an element of iconographic decoration once more, with paintings of biblical scenes.³

The Laudian tradition also had slightly more elaborate altar decoration.⁴ Occasionally, the IHS emblem would be emblazoned on the front of the altar cloth.⁵ In post-Restoration times candle-

1. Addleshaw, G. W. O. and Etchells, F. Op cit. plates 1 and VI.
2. Ibid. p.158 ff and plate V.
5. Ibid. p.167.
sticks, cushions and a Book of Common Prayer or Bible would be left permanently on the altar. Wickham-Legg reproduces, in his book, an interesting contemporary ground plan of Bishop Lancelot Andree's chapel, an early example of Laudian arrangements which includes a credence table.

The chalice and patten were also altered in the post-Reformation period as it was intended that all should communicate and partake of both elements. They were larger than their medieval counterparts and without significant decoration.

The second cell of the post-Reformation Anglican church, the nave, also underwent considerable change which was symbolically significant. This became the place for hearing common prayer and listening to homily or sermon and so it became, due to the infrequency of communion services, the centre of Anglican worship. The learning and teaching emphasis is already present in Edward VIth's Royal Injunctions of 1547,

"That every holy-day throughout the year, when they have no sermon, they shall ... openly and plainly recite to their parishioners in the pulpit the Pater Noster the Credo and the ten commandments in English."

1. Ibid. plates VIII, IXX, also pp. 165-173.
2. Wickham-Legg, J. 1901. Op cit. plan facing LXIX.
3. Ibid. plan facing LXIX.
and,

"They shall leave their cure ... to an honest well learned expert curate, that can by his ability teach the rude and unlearned of their pure wholesome doctrine."

and,

"They shall discourage no man ... from reading any part of the Bible."

This emphasis continued. Elizabeth's Injunctions for 1559\(^1\) enjoin,

"... keep their holy day ... in the hearing of the Word of God read and taught."

and that,

"The Churchwardens ... shall provide a comely and honest pulpit, to be set in a convenient place with the same, and to be there seemly kept for the preaching of God's Word."

and also,

"... because through lack of preachers in many places of the Queen's realms and dominions, the people continue in ignorance and blindness, all parsons, vicars and curates shall read in their Churches every Sunday one of the Homilies."

The importance of the auditory principle in the re-ordering of churches is clearly seen in the rubric of the 1552 Book of Common Prayer\(^1\) which

states that,

"The morning and evening prayer, shall be used in such place of the Church, chappell, or chauncell, and the minister shall so turn him, as ye people maye best heare. And if there be any controversie therein, the matter shall be referred to the ordenarie."

The 1661 rubric reads, ¹

"The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place in the Church, Chappel or Chauncel: except it be otherwise determined by the ordinarie of the place and the Chancells shall remain as they have done in the past."

During Elizabeth's reign the 'accustomed place' had tended to become a minister's reading desk outside the chancel screen,² thus confirming the two celled principle. The Sunday morning, and Holy Day rite in post-Reformation Anglican churches, was Morning Prayer, Litany and either the Holy Communion or Ante-Communion (sometimes called the altar prayers).³ All three tended to be conducted from the desk unless there was a celebration of Holy Communion, although some

¹ Ibid. p.127.
³ Ibid. pp. 68-74.
clergy went to the altar for Ante-Communion. This led in time to the development of the 'three-decker' pulpit, consisting of clerk's pew, reading desk for the clergyman and pulpit combined into one piece of furniture.\textsuperscript{1} Even when the pulpit was separate the clerk's and clergyman's desk were frequently combined.\textsuperscript{2}

The other very necessary item in the post-Reformation Anglican nave was the pews. Instead of gazing upon the distant mystery of the altar, while engaged in private devotions,\textsuperscript{3} the laity were now required to give their undivided attention, corporately, to the reading of the service and the preaching of the Word.\textsuperscript{4} This led to the equipping of churches with pews. Although not symbols in themselves, they indicated where the experience of the revelation of the sacred was to be found, in the proclaimed Word.

The laity had various proprietary rights in the nave of the church for centuries.\textsuperscript{5} This continued after the introduction of pews, in the form of family rights as to ownership or renting of seating in the church. Many gentry equipped themselves with very fine accommodation.\textsuperscript{6} One special pew was erected in some churches,

1. Ibid. See plans 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 31, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45 and 48.
2. Ibid. plans 17, 18 and 42.
the so called 'churching' pew, although there was no special rubric or injunction to this end.\(^1\) It was the pew in which a woman knelt when she was 'churched' after the birth of a child.\(^2\)

Another special area of accommodation was that of the choir. Frequently, the choir, and any instrumentalists, were housed in a loft at the West end of the Church or in special pews in that position or to one side of the church. Some churches, however, continued the medieval practice and kept the choir in the loft above the chancel screen in what had once been the rood loft.\(^3\) This restructuring, once again, emphasised the changes that had taken place in the understanding of the presence of the sacred for the worshippers.

The redecoration of the nave followed the same pattern as that of the chancel. Medieval paintings were whitewashed and scripture sentences were the only allowable replacements.\(^4\) The Royal Arms replaced the rood on the tympanum or above the chancel arch. Sometimes, although in strict terms this was incorrect, the Creed and Lord's Prayer were placed there as well. Sometimes the IHS monogram was used and sometimes decorative backgrounds.\(^5\)

1. Ibid. pp. 84-86.
4. In accordance with Canon LXXXII of 1604.
One other essential liturgical object to be found in every nave, was the font. Canon LXXXI of 1604 ordered,

"That there shall be a font of stone in every church and chapel where baptism is to be administered: the same to be set up in the ancient usual places."

The Elizabethan Puritans desired the font to have a more central place in the nave.\textsuperscript{1} Medieval fonts which remained \textit{in situ} sometimes suffered from iconoclasts.

Other things were to be found in post-Reformation naves, although not of liturgical significance. Memorial monuments continued to be erected, particularly from the late seventeenth century onwards, which visits to churches of the period will illustrate.\textsuperscript{2} Alms boxes, chests and bread cupboards were to be found in many churches.\textsuperscript{3} Churchyard memorials also became more common.\textsuperscript{4}

One further item remains to be mentioned, which has much to do with symbolism, that is the ornaments of the minister. The various orders of clergy were reduced to three in the Anglican Church at the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} \textit{Ibid.} pp. 64-65.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Cox, J. C. \textit{Op cit.} chap. 11.
\item \textsuperscript{3} \textit{Ibid.} chap. XVIII.
\item \textsuperscript{4} \textit{Ibid.} chap. 1.
\end{itemize}
Reformation, Bishops, Priests and Deacons, the minor orders being abolished. The 1549 Book of Common Prayer lays down in two rubrics the dress, or ornaments, of these ministers.

"... for the administration of the Holy Communion, the priest that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put down on hym the vesture appointed for that ministacion, that is to saye: a white Albe plain, with a vestment or Cope. And where there be many Priestes or Deacons, there shall be ready to helpe the Priest in the ministracion, as shall be requisite: and shall have on them lykewyse, the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to saye, Albes with tunacles."

"In the saying or singing of Matens and Evensonge, Baptizing and Burying, the minister in paryshe churches and chapels annexed in the same shall use a Surples. And in all Cathedrall churches and Colledges tharchdeacons, Deans, Prowestes, Maisters, Prebendaryes and fellows being Graduates, may use in the quire beside their Surplesses such hooedes a pertaineth to their severall


degrees ... But in all other places every minister shall be at libertie to use any Surples or no. It is also seemly that Graduates when they do preache would use such hoods as pertaineth to thyr severall degrees."

"And wheresoever the Bishop shall celebrate the holye communion in the churche, or execute any other public ministration he shall have upon hym byside his rochet a surples or Albe and a cope or vestments and also his pastorall staffe."

The 1552 Book of Common Prayer reduced these to a surplice for priests and deacons and a rochet for Bishops.\(^1\) Elizabeth ordered that such ornaments as were in use in the second year of the reign of Edward VIth (1549) should be retained.\(^2\) It is not clear whether this refers to the ornaments of the Prayer Book of that year or what preceded it. However, the latter seems an unlikely supposition.\(^3\) This instruction is repeated in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer.\(^2\)

"... such ornaments of the Church and the Ministers thereof at all times of their ministration shall be retained and be in

vse as were in this Church of England by
the authoritie of Parliament in the second
year of the reigne of King Edward VI."

In the event, the surplice for the priest and deacon and the rochet for the bishop became the normal Anglican dress. Parker's advertisements\(^1\) of 1566 say,

"... that every minister saying public
prayers or ministering the sacraments or
other rites of the church shall wear a
comely surplice with sleeves ..."

This standard of clerical dress is sought in other articles,\(^2\) although even the surplice was strongly rejected by those seeking, as they put it, 'further reform'.\(^3\)

Although in themselves insignificant, this meaning attached to clerical dress was closely associated with the central issues of the divine presence, particularly as to how the divine was present in connection with the elements of bread and wine at the Holy Communion. The dress was highly significant. Puritans objected strongly to any clerical dress which could be associated, in any way, with the idea that the Lord's Supper could be understood as akin to the Mass. Anglican clerical dress reflected a 'via media' position.


As was indicated in the previous chapter Non-conformist places of public worship did not emerge until after the Toleration Act of 1689, although the principles behind them can be traced back to Calvin at Geneva and to the Anabaptists on the Continent. For Calvin, as we have seen, the proclaimed Word was the point of God's revelation. The sacramental elements were only outward signs, nevertheless effective inasmuch as they were the outward witness to the inward ministry of the Holy Spirit, whereby union with Christ is effected.  

Calvin says, "It remains for all this to be applied to us. That is done through the gospel but more clearly through the Sacred Supper."

The sign, however, cannot become effective without the Word. "This very well confirms what I said elsewhere that the right administering of the sacrament cannot stand apart from the Word. For whatever benefit may come to us from the Supper requires the Word ..."

Equally, Calvin also held that baptism is only effective when linked to the proclaimed Word.

The architectural and liturgical demands of those seeking further reformation in England from 1559 until the Commonwealth Period and

2. Ibid. p.1364.
3. Ibid. p.1416.
4. Ibid. p.1304.
beyond can be clearly understood once their espousal of Calvin's theology is realised. This theology emphasised the centrality of the proclaimed Word as the channel of divine revelation. The sacraments must, according to Calvin, be administered in connection with the proclamation of the Word. Accordingly this must happen during a preaching service. Also the font, or basin, and communion table must be close to the pulpit and a single celled auditorium is the required liturgical building. The presence of the sacred is mediated inwardly and spiritually, to those prepared by God to receive it, but this is conjoined to the outward signs, bread, wine and proclamation. Accordingly, it was essential that the public place of worship was a place of seeing and hearing.

Although the sacraments and preaching were only outward signs and Calvin denied any divine presence or revelation through the physical building, he, nevertheless, saw churches as necessary buildings. There was to be no luciferian confusion over the locus of divine revelation. Here, in parallel to the outward Word and sacrament, God would be revealed to those chosen and prepared. To associate this sacred activity with anything else endangered men's souls.

Barton describes the interiors of many Non-conformist places of worship in the hundred years after toleration and provides photographic illustrations.¹

The typical Presbyterian or Independent chapel was single-celled and without decoration. It had pews grouped round the room facing the pulpit which was placed on one of the long walls. In front of the pulpit stood the communion table. The room was lit through plain glass windows. The walls would be without decoration and painted white. The whole building was aniconic. It denied any direct link of the physical with the sacred. The furnishing in the centre of the room directed peoples' attention to the one true mode of revelation.

In the previous chapter it was pointed out that the buildings erected for public worship by those following the path of Radical Protestant Dissent differed again both from Puritan and Anglican churches and chapels. They reflected the different understanding of the divine revelation held by these groups. For Radical Protestant Dissenters, the physical could not be associated with the spiritual, either as symbol or sign. Nevertheless, it was necessary for the Society of Friends to have places in which to meet, although at first they met in houses if it was not possible to meet out of doors. Quaker meeting places have remained, basically, domestic.¹ The key features of a Friends' Meeting House were, and are, pews or seats grouped round the sides of the room facing inwards and a raised area called the Stand, for ministers, elders and overseers. Even the Stand is omitted in modern meeting houses.² For the occasions when there were separate meetings of men and women a second chamber was

2. Ibid. p.16.
provided, or, on occasion, a folding partition screen. The Quaker meeting place, like Presbyterian and Independent chapels, was, and is, aniconic. In addition, unlike Presbyterian and Independent chapels, it lacked a focus. There was nothing outward which indicated the location of revelation. Revelation was inward, personal and spiritual. The building emphasised this by its seating arrangements. The congregation gathered in such a way that whoever had a revelation of the divine which they wished to share, it was possible to do so, although revelation was not confined to any particular place, time or context.

As was explained in the last chapter, although one or two Royal Chapels were erected for Catholic Queens it was only at the end of the seventeenth century that any other Catholic chapels could be quietly and unobtrusively erected. Once buildings were erected they showed the effect of the Counter-Reformation. Their exteriors were plain, which is perhaps explicable in terms of the penal situation, but their interiors were similar. The walls were plain and the windows filled with plain glass. There were statues and sometimes paintings but the elaborate medieval iconographic scheme has gone.\(^1\) Also absent were the rood screen and rood loft.\(^2\) The centrepiece was the High Altar, elaborately furnished in contrast to medieval times.\(^3\)

2. Ibid. p.79.
The reserved sacrament was now kept in the tabernacle on the altar, not in a suspended pyx. The whole structure was designed to enable the congregation to see the miracle of the mass and to adore Christ present in the sacrament both then and at other times.

This pattern of Catholic iconography lasted into this century. O'Connell makes it abundantly clear that the altar and the sacrament upon it are the centre of the church. He says,

"The altar is the holy place by:

(1) Its solemn consecration ... whereby it is, as it were, baptised, confirmed and hallowed for that purpose;

(2) Its use as a stone of sacrifice and of reservation of the Blessed Sacrament and the table of Divine Banquet;

(3) Its symbolic meaning as a figure of Christ ... Accordingly, the Church honours the high altar as the sacred place in the church."

Elsewhere he says,

"The church is, as it were, built upon its high altar."

1. O'Connell, J. Op cit. chap. IX.


4. Ibid. p.23.
O'Connell\textsuperscript{1} lists the elaborate provisions to be made for the furnishing of the altar. It should have a canopy, a frontal in the liturgical colours of the season and havethree linen cloths; altar cloth, corporal and pall. A tabernacle must be provided which is fire and burglarproof, together with its veil and conopaeum. Every altar must have a crucifix, unless one is painted behind on a reredos, and six candlesticks. A cushion should be provided for the missal. In connection with the altar, a credence and piscina are to be provided, together with altar cruets, sacring bells, thurible and incense, a paxbrede and a faldstool.

Turning to the rest of the church, apart from the altar, O'Connell\textsuperscript{2} states that Canon Law instructs that the following, at least, should be provided, an ample chancel, a narthex (for baptismal preliminaries), at least one side chapel, a mortuary chapel, a pulpit, an organ and a place for singers, confessional(s), two sacristies and adjoining rooms for secular activities.

Post Counter-Reformation development of devotion\textsuperscript{3} produced the Stations of the Cross on side walls\textsuperscript{4} and the enclosed confessional. Perhaps the biggest development was the fusion of the whole building into a mass centre. Although the laity's place was still in the

1. Ibid. chaps. IX and XI.
2. Ibid. p.23.
3. Daniel-Rops, H. \textit{Op cit.}
chancel there was no longer a screen between them and the altar. The church was the place where the clergy offer the Mass with the laity present to support them through their silent devotions and attention to the action at critical moments.  

The Catholic church in post Counter-Reformation times was still a place of divine presence and the symbolism of the building underlined this. O'Connell quotes Cardinal Constantine,  

"A church must be, and must appear to be, the House of God and the palace of heaven, the dwelling of God and the ladder to heaven."

O'Connell continues elsewhere,  

"A church is sacred intrinsically, and not merely because sacred acts take place within it, or because it houses the Blessed Sacrament ..."

and later,  

"... apart from the sacramental presence of our Lord, the Church is a holy place filled with the Divine presence ... The Church ... has something of the eternal embodied in it."


3. Ibid. pp. 7-8.
It was said in the previous chapter that the insights of the Reformation live on in the buildings still being used for public worship in this country. It is equally true of their internal arrangements and decoration. It was also mentioned that a move back towards a more 'Catholic' doctrine of the divine presence had particularly affected Anglican church buildings and, in part, many Non-conformist chapels. Some Anglican churches simply duplicated Roman Catholic church practice and many were partially re-ordered along these lines. Surpliced choirs were introduced and they were placed in the chancel beyond the screen and the clergy joined them. This meant that apart from the excursion to the pulpit for the sermon all worship was conducted from somewhere within the chancel. Now that the choir were in the chancel the laity's only incursion was to come to the altar rails at the time of Holy Communion.

These changes to churches were, nevertheless, all within Reformation and Counter-Reformation understandings of divine revelation. As was indicated in the last chapter, a fundamental new understanding is emerging with the Liturgical Movement which crosses denominational boundaries. The exact ordering of a liturgical centre, adapted to these insights still varies to some degree, dependant upon denominational tradition.

The modern Roman Catholic directives, which adopt the ideas of the Liturgical Movement, both indicate the Church is a place of

corporate life and a liturgical centre. It is

"A place where the people of God assemble
and that for several purposes."¹

and,

"The primary purpose of the church is to
serve the sacred liturgy."²

In both sets of directives, the church building is seen as enclosing sacred space. The divine presence is still linked with the physical. The Directives state that one purpose of assembling in church is,

"To render homage and adoration to the
presence of our Lord in the eucharistic
bread."³

In modern Catholic churches the altar is the liturgical centre, still made of stone symbolising its function as an altar, but free of many additional furnishings such as gradines and altar cards. It is normally a simple, clean undecorated edifice with candles upon it and a crucifix of due proportion above or behind it. It is placed in the front of, or in the midst of, the congregation. It is, in any case, away from the East wall to allow the celebrant to stand on the West side facing the congregation. The reserved sacrament is usually kept in a tabernacle on a small side altar. The chief activity of the

2. Directives. 1951.
3. The same wording in both sets of Directives.
gathered Catholic community in the room is to re-present the eucharistic sacrifice as a corporate body. As Jungman puts it,

"Modern church architecture lays stress above all on the community of the faithful. Hence one single well lit space for the people: an altar which is clearly a table of sacrifice situated near to the people so that it attracts to itself the attention of every one; side altars are relegated to the background; the church is a building orientated to a single centre so that the community of the faithful constitute a single choir able to celebrate the liturgy together in unity."

Something of the traditional denominational emphases are also still evident among Protestant churches involved in the Liturgical Movement. These originate in the experience of the divine being revealed through the proclaimed Word. As White says, modern Protestant churches share concern for activity at the liturgical centre.

"Our concern has been with how the buildings work in providing the setting for common worship in the belief that this is the most

important area of concern. Unless the liturgical factors are given first priority it is impossible to erect an adequate building."

Bieler has outlined the Reformed Protestant emphasis, "... the community gathered by the Lord Jesus around the holy table to hear His Word."

and,

"This is surely the congregation called together by the Word of its Lord, gathered round the table where He communicates with each of His members."

This view is endorsed by Barth. Bruggink and Droppers have studied Reformed Protestant architecture as influenced by the Liturgical Movement in Europe and North America and provide illustrations of liturgical centres which embody the Reformed view of revelation through Word and sacrament. Bieler gives a number of ground plans of Protestant churches where the congregation is gathered around such a liturgical centre.


As he says,1

"The new type of church sanctuary is meant harmoniously to enclose the community grouped convergently around that which gathers it — the Word of God and its visible sign, the sacrament of the Eucharist."

Recently constructed churches, or those re-ordered in the spirit of the Liturgical Movement, have sought to signify that which they are designed to contain.

"It is the place in which the Church, the body of Christ, is formed, and in which it grows and it is in consequence a symbol of that body."2

These churches are generally straightforward in design with a minimum of decoration internal or external. The main worship area is created as an open space so that the gathered community can relate as a body to the liturgical centre and to each other. Provision for baptism is made at the liturgical centre either, in the case of the Reformed Churches, by a portable bowl being brought to the table or, in the case of Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, by the font being

1. Ibid. p.81.
located near the altar. In many churches the occasions of private, or semi-private devotion, are provided for by separate chapels. In Roman Catholic churches this is the location for the reserved sacrament.

The sacred images, symbols and symbolic arrangements which have appeared in the English public place of worship have now been described in outline. As with other sacred forms further consideration will be given to them in the final chapter. We turn now to the sacred community which, in its various forms, has been associated with the place of worship, before looking at the community's actions there.
CHAPTER FOUR

Community and Individual:
Social and Personal Sacred Forms
In the introductory chapter to this study, it was argued that the sacred community was a covenant society in terms of its relationship to the divine. It was also suggested that the public place of worship was particular to the sacred community and not available to those outside it. This being so, the sacred community is therefore the gateway to the realm of the sacred. To be excluded from the community is, in every way, to be a non-being. It was also indicated, in the introductory chapter, that within the sacred community there are people who are particular channels of the sacred. Wach, as was described, gives evidence to suggest that the degree to which different categories of such persons reveal the sacred varies. In this chapter, these ideas will be examined in relation to the English. First, the sacred community will be studied with reference to entering it as well as life within it. Secondly, the categories of sacred persons, with reference to different types, will be outlined. These two forms of the sacred, like those of sacred word and action are closely linked. The community embraces all; the various categories of sacred person have particular roles within that whole. Accordingly, these two forms will be examined serially, first community and then the sacred person.

As with other forms of the sacred which have been investigated it is difficult to be precise about the pre-Christian English. The pre-Christian English sacred community clearly did have similarities to that within the wider Teutonic society but, once again, detailed evidence is lacking. The pre-Christian English sacred community
appears to have been based on birth and kinship. We do not hear, as is the case with religions in the Roman World, of converts coming from other races and cultures. The English do not seem to have attempted to convert the Celtic peoples to their religion or even coalesced with them in any way. Physical birth does not make one a member of the sacred community, it only creates the possibility.¹

There is always some form of initiation ceremony, connected with which there will be the giving of a name. In becoming a part of the sacred community one becomes a person. Grønbech gives us some indications of the individual's initiation into the clan in Teutonic society generally but we are bereft of clues as to whether this applied to England.²

We do know that Teutonic society led a vigorous life around the sacred place and this included much beyond formal sacred actions and worship. We know from Bede that the pre-Christian English had festivities linked to the festivals of the gods at which substantial animal sacrifices were made.³ We may also surmise from Grønbech and from what happened in the church and churchyards at a later date⁴ that such activities could well have included ball-games and wrestling.

Law-making was also an activity of the sacred community undertaken at the public place of worship. In Iceland the law-thing was consecrated by the priest and all the participants' holiness was augmented as the meeting depended on the highest frith.

The earliest Christian community was a minority group within the larger Jewish sacred community. The Acts of the Apostles provides the only evidence as to its nature, activities and the roles people played within it. The picture which we are given is of an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*. This community grew away from its Jewish roots very rapidly, not least as a result of Paul's insights and missionary activity.¹ In this process the Christian sacred community came to view itself as a continuation and a replacement of the Jewish ecclesia as the people of God. It became the New Israel, continuous with the old and taking up its role as the instrument of God's purposes in the world. Initiation into this community, from the very beginning, was by water baptism. At first this was by the route of becoming a member of the Jewish community but Paul's teaching led to any acceptable person being able to enter the community directly through baptism. Baptism had its roots in Jewish religious practice and was, in New Testament times, connected with the ideas of repentance and cleansing in anticipation of the dawn of the Messianic Age and the Reign of God.² Christian baptism

1. See especially Paul's letter to the Galatians.
seems to have grown out the practice of John the Baptist and his disciples. Although there are many statements in the New Testament literature concerning baptism we lack any detailed description of the rite itself. From the evidence of the New Testament we gather the following information. There was little formal preparation or instruction. It was performed by one of the appointed persons within the community. There was repentance and confession of faith on the part of the person to be initiated. Baptism was in water. This, at least on occasion, was performed in the water of a river or spring. The initiation was in the name of Jesus. It is not clear whether the Trinitarian formula was used from the very beginning. On occasions, at least, this was accompanied by the laying on of hands. The New Testament interprets this act as a burial and resurrection whereby the person dies as a son of Adam and rises to share the new life of Christ. In this process of being united with Christ the person is

1. Ibid.
4. Ibid. and 1 Corinthians 1: 14.
10. Romans 6: 3 ff.
grafted into His body the Church, the New Israel. Baptism was also a 'seal' of ownership by God marking the covenant relationship which is entered into and a sign of receiving the Spirit. Luke and Paul's writings reveal that it was possible to be excluded subsequently from the Christian community and therefore from divine benefits and blessings as a result of serious breaches of the ethical code.

In the period prior to the peace of Constantine the rite was gradually elaborated and formalised. By the third century Hyppolytus gives us an account of the rite at Rome which was quite complicated. The candidates underwent instruction over a period of three years which was accompanied by exorcisms and prayers. On the Thursday before Easter they bathed and then fasted on Friday and Saturday. Saturday night was spent in vigil which included the reading of scripture. The rite of baptism proper began at cockcrow. After the baptismal water had been blessed, the candidates removed their clothes and having renounced Satan were anointed with the oil of exorcism. The candidates then descended into the water; following the interrogations they were baptised. On ascending from the water they were anointed with the oil

2. 2 Corinthians 1: 22 and 3: 1 ff.
3. Acts 5: 1 ff and 1 Corinthians 5: 5.
4. 1 Corinthians 5: 5.
of thanksgiving and the bishop laid his hands upon them. Finally, consecrated oil was poured over the candidates' heads and the bishop exchanged the kiss of peace with each of them. Although Tertullian says that it does not matter in which location baptism takes place, specific baptistries were being built in the third century.

Exclusion from the sacred community became a pressing problem at this time due to the many lapses of Christians during the periods of widespread persecution. Previously it had merely been the problems of the heresy or grave moral lapse of a few. The difficulty was whether those who had denied their faith under the threat of torture and death could be re-admitted to the sacred community. This process was further complicated when those who had been baptised into a breakaway group holding a very rigorous view asked to be admitted into the main body of the church. The Roman Church decided that their original baptismal rite was valid but that they should undergo the second half of the rite, the laying on of hands by the bishop before they were admitted as full church members. Excommunication was very real in the early church and sometimes years of penance were needed before membership of the community was available once more.

The baptismal rite developed further in Rome in the post-Constantinian period. The additional items included the effeta ceremony, or opening of the ears, the placing of salt on the tongue

and the *tradiio* and *reditio* of the symbol (Creed). This latter action was undertaken during the final Lenten period of the catechumenate when the gospels were also read and expounded to the candidates.¹ Such was the rite of entrance to the Christian community which St. Augustine brought to the English.

There is not a great deal of evidence available about the Christian community's daily life outside of the liturgy after the early commune in Jerusalem.² We do read of the Corinthian Christians' gathering for the *agape* in conjunction with the Eucharist.³ Gradually, as church buildings were acquired, provision was made for the life of the community outside of the liturgy. Davies mentions eating and drinking (including the *agape*) synods and elections, legal proceedings (including the publishing of notices) storage and, finally, teaching and library facilities.⁴ As was mentioned above, a number of these activities took place in the English pre-Christian temples and no doubt there was an easy transition to these happening under Christian guise.

Two further moments were marked in the passage of life through the Christian community. These were marriage and death. The earliest


3. 1 Corinthians 11: 17 ff.

Christian marriages, if they were between Jewish couples, would have been according to the Jewish rites. It would seem that gentile couples followed the normal Roman practice, inasmuch as the later Western marriage services all follow the pre-Christian Roman pattern. Even the wedding cake seems to go back to the offering made to the gods. The rite was, however, 'christianised' and the vows previously made before the gods and sealed with sacrifice became vows made before the Christian altar and sealed with the celebration of the Eucharist. The celebration of the Eucharist also became associated with the death of Christians. We have already seen that the Eucharist, together with a communal meal, was part of the 'wake' ceremonies at martyrs' graves.

Just as the pre-Christian temples and festivals were adapted to Christian use a similar pattern of transformation will have obtained in part, in England, for initiation into the Christian community and the passage of life through it. The Teutonic custom of the father giving a family name to the new child would be changed to receiving the name of a Christian saint and doubtless it was thought that the 'luck' of the saint and the 'soul' of the Christian clan was thereby inherited.¹ Marriage ales and funeral ales continued for many centuries² and doubtless many other pre-Christian practices continued, tolerated by the Church authorities as not being entirely incompatible with Christianity.³

The entry into, and passage through, the Christian community in the Medieval Period is mapped out for us in the many medieval service books which are still available. The information is contained in the manuals and pontificals. The Roman rites of entry into the sacred community remained intact when the transition came from adult to infant baptism. The only difference was that the reality of the catechumenate disappeared while the ceremonies remained. In the period leading up to the Reformation the leading Use in England was that of Sarum. Although in practice the others such as York and Winchester varied little. The baptism service started with the arrival of the baby at the church door, brought by parents and godparents on the eighth day after birth. The service consisted of three parts, the making of a catechumen, the blessing of the font and the baptism proper. The order for making a catechumen was carried out at the church door. It commenced with the midwife being asked whether the child was a boy or girl and prayers were said accordingly. The priest then placed his right hand on the child's head and said three collects. There followed the exorcism in which salt was blessed and placed on the child's tongue. After a further prayer came the adjuration, exorcism and prayer of exorcism. The child was then signed with the cross on the forehead which was accompanied by a prayer for illumination. After a further prayer came the effeta ceremony. The making of a catechumen was completed by the Hail Mary, Apostles' Creed, Lord's Prayer and making the sign of the cross on the right hand.

The next section, the blessing of the font, commenced with the charge to the parents and godparents followed by the litany. After a prayer and preface, a prayer of blessing was said over the water, during which the priest divided the water with his hand making the sign of the cross. He then blessed the water in the name of the Trinity, making further crosses and casting the water in four directions. Then he breathed three times in the form of a cross on the water. Next he dropped wax from a candle in the form of a cross into the water and divided the water in the form of a cross with the candle. During the Easter and Lent seasons oil and chrism were also infused.

The last section, the baptism, started with the renunciation of Satan. The child's breast and back (between the shoulders) were anointed and after the parents and godparents had responded to the interrogatory creed, the child was baptised. This was by threefold immersion in the name of the Trinity. Finally the child was anointed with chrism on the forehead, robed in a chrisom and given a lighted candle.

The early Roman Use had been that those baptised were immediately confirmed and went straightway to their first Mass. The Sarum instruction was that, if the bishop was present, confirmation was to follow immediately, if not, as soon as the bishop was within seven miles. Although the delay in confirmation became normal, Henry VII's son Arthur was baptised and confirmed as an infant.
Women were excluded from church, after childbirth, and therefore from the sacred community. A simple re-admission service is to be found among the Sarum services. This consisted of Psalm, Gloria, Kyries, Pater Noster, and a collect followed by the priest aspersing the woman and then leading her by the hand into the church.

Augustine would have brought the Roman Burial Mass with him. The evidence shows that beliefs regarding death changed somewhat with the advent of Christianity among the English. The Sutton-hoo ship-burial is thought to have been the result of a transitional arrangement. A Christian king, possibly Raedwald, was first to be buried in the Christian manner. It is thought that later, some of his more conservative followers enacted a traditional burial but without the body. The change in belief is also indicated by the change in burial customs. Earlier English burials have grave goods; those from the Christian period do not.

The medieval office for the dead was in four parts, commendation of the soul, office for the dead, Mass and burial. The first part took place at the dead person's house. It included psalms, collects and vespers being said while the body was prepared. The body was then taken to the church in procession as psalms were said. At the church the

office for the dead, was said. Then followed, or on the next day
if it was late, the Mass for the dead. The body was then taken,
in procession, to the grave as psalms were recited. Further psalms
were recited as the body was buried and as the funeral party processed
back to the church.

We have seen that the early church not only guarded entrance to
the sacred community but kept discipline within it by imposing penance
and, on occasion, excommunication on those breaking its regulations.
The earliest known records of formal fixed ceremonies of excommunication
go back to the ninth century. The medieval English Use \(^1\) has four levels
of excommunication, from communion, from the prayer of the faithful,
from prayers for penitents and catechumens and from all entrance to the
church. This latter was a powerful weapon because it could mean
complete social ostracism. In the reign of King John Rome put the
whole of England under interdict and to retrieve the situation John
had to receive the kingdom back from the Pope. Not only could the
laity be excommunicated but the clergy could be degraded and offices
were provided for this.

Besides these official moments of passage and transition within
the sacred community there was a vigorous life in and around the
public place of worship in England during the medieval times.

1. Ibid. Vol. 2. p.CLXXI.
Church buildings, and the churchyard, were put to a great variety of uses. Even in the monastic churches, which were erected primarily for the performance of the opus dei, a wide range of activities were to be found in and around the precincts. Parish churches and cathedrals were the scenes of multifarious activities. Allcroft suggests,

"Among the oddest facts in ecclesiology is the variety of alien uses to which have been put the parish church and churchyard in the British Isles."

He goes on to note that some of these uses have survived into the twentieth century.

We have seen, in an earlier chapter, that Bede recalls that Gregory advised Mellitus to convert pagan festivals into Christian ones and to allow moderate activities at such a time. The non-liturgical uses to which the nave of the church, and the churchyard, were put during the Middle Ages can be summarised under four headings: habitation, recreation, trade and community activities. These had all occurred at the pre-Christian places of public worship.

The church was not a place in which people lived regularly. There were, however, certain categories who, on occasions, would be allowed to eat, sleep and live in the church. As they were entering the dwelling place of God, there were rites to set them apart and special dress was worn. The most permanent inhabitants were the anchorites. In addition, there were various categories of temporary inhabitants. Perhaps the most important of these were those seeking sanctuary. Hole gives a very detailed account of sanctuary during the medieval period. The sanctuary area not only included the church but the churchyard which was also consecrated ground. In certain cases the area of sanctuary was extended beyond this, as in the case of Beverley Minster in Yorkshire. In the case of these extended sanctuary areas people could live within them permanently. The number seeking sanctuary at various times was quite substantial. Another group given temporary accommodation in churches was travellers, especially pilgrims. Churches were also used to house the sick. Davies states that,

"Even at St. Thomas's Hospital it was the church rather than the ward that was the place of cure."

Others who were, on occasion, to be found living in the church included guardians, sacristans and clergy. Another group, who, while not living in the church, spent their whole life living within sacred precincts were the monks. Like anchorites and those seeking sanctuary there were special rites by which they entered this state. These will be examined when the various categories of sacred person within the community are investigated later in this chapter.

The nave of the church and the churchyard were used by the sacred community for a wide variety of activities. Baking and brewing both had a close connection, physically, with the church building. In the form of the 'holy loaf', the primitive Christian agape continued throughout the Middle Ages. This was distributed after High Mass and at weddings, funerals and at baptisms. Food was also distributed to the poor in church. Church ales were often held to raise funds and on these occasions food was also consumed. On festive occasions there was music, dancing, dramatic activities, games and sports. Much of this, as has been indicated, was of pre-Christian origin.

1. Ibid. pp. 44-45.
4. Ibid. p.47.
Trade was a regular occurrence. In nave and churchyard, fairs and markets were held on saints' days.\footnote{Davies, J. G. 1968. \textit{Op cit.} p.55.} The churchwardens were also, on occasion, tradesmen. Addy\footnote{Addy, S. O. \textit{Op cit.} chap. 15.} cites many examples of churchwardens selling goods and property. Addy\footnote{Ibid. chap. 16.} also gives examples of goods stored in churches, often for safe keeping.

The nave of the church was the location for many of the sacred community's legal activities. Many types of legal transactions were undertaken there.\footnote{Davies, J. G. 1968. \textit{Op cit.} pp. 57-73.} Transactions of land and mortgages took place at the altar, as did oaths of compurgation. Financial transactions took place in the nave as well as the exchange of contracts. Rents and tithes were also paid in church. Elections and courts of various types were also held there. Other types of local government transaction also took place there such as the publishing of notices.

The church was also a place of education. A number of churches had libraries. These included parochial churches, as well as monastic and collegiate. Naves were also used as schoolrooms.\footnote{e.g. at Weathersfield in Essex.} At Oxford and Cambridge degrees were conferred during Mass in church. Davies\footnote{Davies, J. G. 1968. \textit{Op cit.} p.95.}
provides us with an excellent summary,

"There can be no doubt that in the Middle Ages the Church was an all purpose building. It is difficult to think of any secular activity that had no connection with it ... In all there was no conscious irreverence. The Church was home from home, where people could sleep, live, eat, drink, play, act and meet. It was part and parcel of everyday life ... We are bound to conclude therefore that a knowledge of liturgy alone is insufficient to describe the use of medieval churches."

Swaan\(^1\) indicates that medieval cathedrals were used in similar ways. He says,\(^2\)

"Even the cathedral square, the parvis (from the French for 'paradise') was small, and with the centuries came accretions to the structure, not only oratories, chapels, sacristies etc., but shops, booths, even dwellings."

He continues,\(^3\)

"In the medieval town the Cathedral was the

2. Ibid. p.30.
focal point of civic aspirations. Here the citizens would gather for the great festivals of the Church ... Within its walls people strolled and chatted openly, not hesitating to bring their pet dogs, parakeets and falcons ... At goals of pilgrimage, people even ate and slept in Cathedrals. Civic meetings were regularly held in Cathedrals ...
The Cathedral was sometimes the scene of lawsuits, disputations and university graduation ceremonies and even of everyday business."

From the foregoing it will be clear that a great deal of the sacred community's life centred around the public place of worship in medieval England.

As we have seen, in an earlier chapter, the transformations which led to the Protestant Reformation arose from new understandings of nature of the revelation of the sacred. The new emphasis was on the interior, personal and spiritual nature of the apprehension of the divine. Previously, the Church had provided the outward and visible channels through which the sacred came to man and he to the sacred. For those following the path of reform these were either no longer necessary or, at best, secondary. Luther's doctrine of justification
by faith meant that every man was a priest\textsuperscript{1} in the sense of being a mediator of the divine and having access to the divine. The sacred community no longer provided the vehicles for making the journey but provided travelling companions. It became a fellowship of those who had entered the sacred realm. This is revealed not only in the rites of passage and the community's activities but also in the way certain categories of people within the community were regarded.

The rites of entrance to the community were greatly simplified.\textsuperscript{2}

The service of Baptism in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer is less complicated than that of the Sarum Use. It is to be communal in that the parents, having given prior notice, are to be at the church door by the last canticle of Morning or Evening Prayer on a Sunday. After prayer, in which Old Testament prototypes are mentioned (Noah, Crossing the Red Sea and the River Jordan), there is a collect followed by signing with the cross and exorcism. Then follow suffrages, a passage from Mark's Gospel with an exhortation, the Lord's Prayer, Apostles Creed and a collect. The service proceeds with an exhortation to the godparents followed by the renunciations, interrogatory creed and baptism in the name of the Trinity. Thereafter the child was anointed with chrism and the white Chrisom robe was put on. The service was completed by the saying of the Lord's Prayer and the godparents being exhorted to see the child, in due time, came to


confirmation. The book goes on to say that before children can be confirmed they must be able to recite the Articles of Faith, know the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments and be able to answer questions on the Catechism. The Confirmation Service remained simple. After opening suffrages and collect the Bishop makes the sign of the cross on the candidate and lays on hands. The rite concludes with a collect and a blessing. This rite was the gateway to full membership of the sacred community. None were to be admitted to Holy Communion without being confirmed or, in special circumstances, of desiring to be confirmed.

These services were further simplified in the later books of common prayer. The exorcism at the church door together with the anointing with chrism and robing in the Chrisom were omitted. The actual baptism was simplified to a single immersion and the signing with the cross was moved to after the act of baptism. In the Confirmation Services the signing with the cross was omitted.

The Marriage Service was little altered from its medieval predecessors. The vows were somewhat simplified and the whole service was in English, not just the vows. The rubric suggested that the couple should receive communion at the service or as soon after as possible rather than the rite being within the setting of mass. In 1549 the tokens of spousage were retained but from 1552 onwards only the exchange of a ring was kept.
The Service of Purification of Women after Childbirth was also kept but its title was changed in 1552 to Thanksgiving after Childbirth. As was said earlier the service was a rite of re-admission. In the Middle Ages it would have occurred just prior to the Mass. The service in the books of common prayer was little changed except for the omission of the asperging. The final rubric enjoins that if there is a Communion that she should receive it.

The Burial Service was simplified into a two-part rite. The first commenced at the churchyard entrance and continued in the procession to the graveside or in the church. This consisted of scripture sentences, a psalm and New Testament reading. The committal at the graveside consisted of collects, together with the casting of earth into the grave. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer emphasised that this was a rite of the sacred community. It did this by inserting a rubric to the effect that the unbaptized and excommunicate were not to be buried with the rite.

Those wishing for further reform of the English Church desired even simpler services. They disliked the signing with the cross at baptism, the exchange of a ring at weddings and other matters. Their views on these matters eventually found public expression in the Directory of Public Worship used during the Commonwealth Period.

The history of the practice enjoined in this book can be traced to that of Calvin in Geneva via the Waldegrave and Middleburgh service books.¹ The Directory instructs that baptism is to take place at Public Worship and is to be performed by the minister. The minister is ordered to give instruction as to the 'institution, nature, use and end of the sacrament' and is given an outline of the matters which he must explain. He is also to instruct the parents to bring the child up as a Christian. There is no set form of words for the service. The minister is to pray, invoking the blessing of baptism for the child. He is then to baptise the child in the name of the Trinity pouring or sprinkling water on him but without any other ceremony. In conclusion, he must say a prayer of thanksgiving, requesting that God's grace may continue in the child.

There is no formal service for marriage. However, there is advice for the minister. The instructions lay down that marriage is to be outside the prohibited relationships and that the couple are to be of years of discretion. Due notice is to be given publicly on the Sunday.

Those following the radical path of reform believed that one joined the sacred community by inward, spiritual change and not by outward rite. Zwingli, writing on Baptism² says,

"Therefore no external thing can make us pure and righteous."


He goes on to argue that everything outward and ceremonial should be abolished. He allows that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are enjoined in the New Testament but that it is the inward enlightenment, the baptism of the Spirit which is essential. Littell writing of the Anabaptist tradition\(^1\) suggests that it is the inner new birth which is essential. The New Testament knows nothing of infant baptism or dangers from not so doing. The Anabaptist view, he says, is that Christ's death saves infants from inherited sin until the age of discretion. Both the Roman Catholic and the other Protestant Reformed Churches, in slightly varying ways, saw the Christian Community and the political society as in some way co-terminous. The Anabaptists saw the sacred community as separate and gathered.\(^2\) In England the sacred communities following radical reform were the General Baptists and Society of Friends. The General Baptists kept the outward dominical signs. They, however, kept baptisms for adults only. The Society of Friends did away with all outward form.

There was a decline of the community's use of the public place of worship outside of its liturgical life in the post-Reformation period but, despite episcopal pressure to the contrary,\(^3\) many activities persisted tenaciously. Sanctuary continued, in an attenuated form,

until 1723\textsuperscript{1} when all such rights were abolished. Occasionally, and exceptionally, people still slept in church buildings, mainly in emergencies.\textsuperscript{2} Incubation, for healing purposes, died out.\textsuperscript{2} Henry VIII had forbidden eating and drinking in church\textsuperscript{3} and a Canon of 1571\textsuperscript{4} and Canon 88 of 1604\textsuperscript{5} forbade feasting, banquets, suppers, church ales and public entertainment in churches and churchyards.\textsuperscript{6} Stubbs\textsuperscript{7} complained of church ales in 1581 and Staley\textsuperscript{8} gives numerous examples of the persistence of this activity, and also of games and acting. The bishops were engaged in a prolonged struggle to suppress these activities throughout Elizabeth's reign and the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{9} The sale of goods on church premises declined, although the demise of this activity appears to have been the result of natural social factors rather than pressure from authority.\textsuperscript{10}

In matters of public affairs, rather than community activities, church buildings continued to be used. Civic elections, courts, publishing of notices and financial transactions continued, as did the housing of libraries and the use of the church building for teaching purposes.¹

Until 1689 Protestants who dissented from established religion were not in a position to have public meeting places. Two alternatives were open to them, to meet in the countryside or within domestic buildings.²

The principal activity at such gatherings was the preaching of the Word. However, food was frequently taken by those attending and a meal shared together.³ As long as dissenters saw themselves as in some way connected to the parish church, the non-liturgical activities taking place at the parish church both governmental, legal, and social, were seen as supplying their needs as well. Although many of the social activities taking place on Sunday after services, and at other times, were frequently abhorrent to them. Stubbes,⁴ if allowance is made for his rather extreme outlook, does reflect the underlying views

1. Ibid. pp. 172-185, 188-193.
3. Ibid. p.36.
of Puritans and Radicals,

"The Sabbath day of some is well sanctified, namely in hearing the word of God read, preached, and interpreted in private and public prayers, in singing of Godly psalms, in celebrating the sacraments and in collecting for the poor and indigent which are the true uses and ends for whereunto the Sabbath was ordained."

So far he has described the Protestant non-Anglican practice and view fairly accurately. He continues,

"But other some spend the Sabbath day (for the most part) in frequenting of bawdy stage-plays and interludes, in maintaining Lords of Misrule ... May Games, Church-ales, feasts and wakes, in piping, in bear-baiting, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting and suchlike, in keeping fairs and markets on the Sabbath, keeping courts and leets, in football playing and suchlike devilish pastimes."

In general terms, such activities would be disowned by all dissenters and would find no place in the church life of dissenting congregations.\(^1\)

Whittaker\(^2\) suggests that it was Bond's book that set the right observation of the Sabbath as the Mosaic law. He quotes Bond as saying,


"Upon the Lord's Day we ought to rest from all honest recreations and lawful delights ... be occupied in the hearing of the word and such other parts of God's holy worship and service."

He also quotes Baxter^ as supporting this view. During the Commonwealth Period the views outlined above were incorporated into legislation.2

Dissenters remained part of the larger community so that governmental and legal activities remained outside of their church community. In time, social and community activities did find their way into non-conformist church life, and educational activities have always paid a prominent part. The tendency has been for these activities to be held in rooms adjacent to the church, keeping the latter for the preaching of the Word. Young^ records that during the nineteenth century, eating, games, concerts, evening classes and charitable distribution all took place in Non-Conformist chapels and that libraries and schools, both day and evening, were also held there. Some activities, nevertheless, were firmly banned, such as dancing and cardplaying. Adult education had its place at this time. A programme of 1875 for Acoks Green, Congregational Church, Birmingham, reads as follows:4

1. Ibid. p.130.
2. Ibid. p.147.
4. Ibid. p.132. see also p.133.
5 October    Lecture - Epitaphs
12 October   Elocution
18 October   Electric light (with experiments)
26 October   Debate (That the character of Napoleon
             Bonaparte is worthy of admiration)
2 November   Elocution
9 November   Sharp Practice (sic.)
16 November  Lecture (particulars to follow)
23 November  Debate (Ought there to be a re-
             distribution of political power?)
30 November  Elocution
7 December   Annual Entertainment

We also learn that a chess club also met on alternative Thursdays.

English Catholics had even more difficulties in meeting publicly
for worship than Non-Conformists. There was therefore a break in the
community's traditions. Bossy indicates that there was a strong
continuation of the pre-Reformation traditions in Catholic households.
How this would have been affected by the Counter-Reformation if
Catholics had been allowed to have public places of gathering and
worship it is difficult to say. Chappell suggests that the Jesuit Il
Gesu church in Rome became the model for countless Counter-Reformation

churches. This was a single-celled, austere building designed so that all could hear the preacher and witness the Mass. Il Gesu and its successors were clerical edifices, rather than buildings controlled and used by the total Christian community.

Emancipation came for Catholics during the first half of the nineteenth century. Catholics adopted the pattern which we have already seen with Non-Conformists and which was also followed by Anglicans of erecting additional buildings alongside the church to accommodate what were now considered the secular activities of the sacred community.

Perhaps the most central insight of the Liturgical Movement is the understanding it has of the sacred community. Bouyer\(^1\) points out that it was when Israel gathered to renew Covenant and the Word was proclaimed that God was present. The re-ordering of liturgy and buildings, which the Liturgical Movement has engendered, has been in order to make the public gathering for worship of the sacred community conform to this understanding. The gathered community is seen as the focal point of revelation.\(^2\) The central point of that gathering is covenant renewal after the proclamation of the Word. Thus entrance to, passage through and exit from the sacred community are to take

place in the context of the Eucharist. This emphasis is apparent in the new services being used by major denominations in England at the present time.

The rubric concerning baptism in the Alternative Service Book of the Anglican Church says,¹

"Holy Baptism is normally administered by the parish priest in the course of public worship on Sunday."

Although elaborated in detail and written in modern English the service is the same, structurally, as that of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. This point holds good for the other services concerned with rites of passage. Provision is made in the cases of confirmation, marriage and funerals for them to take place within the context of a special service of Holy Communion. Except for the options of giving a candle to the newly baptized person, anointing of the candidate by the bishop at confirmation and both parties exchanging rings in the Marriage Service the sacred actions remain the same. In the case of the Funeral Service there is the re-introduction of the Office of the Dead. This can be said the day before, in church, when the body is brought there or at the house before the beginning of the funeral procession.

The United Reformed Church's Book of Services also enjoins that the baptism of infants should normally be administered in the presence of the congregation and that believer's baptism and confirmation should similar be performed congregationally, and preferably in connection with the Communion Service. The modern United Reformed Church Service Book, unlike its distant predecessor, the Westminster Directory, provides the forms of prayers and not just general directions concerning the services. The Service of Baptism consists of a hortatory introduction, followed by the parents and godparents accepting the Trinitarian faith and promising to raise the child in the Christian faith. Then comes a prayer for the child and baptism. The rite concludes with the presentation of the child to the congregation and prayer. A service for believing adults is also provided and this is linked with the rite of confirmation. This latter consists of the minister laying hands on the candidate and then reception by the congregation and concludes with prayer. The Marriage Service has the same structure as the Anglican Alternative Service Book, although there are variations in wording. The Funeral Service follows a similar pattern to the Anglican Service with Bible readings, sentences, psalms and prayers followed by the committal.

The new Methodist Service Book follows a similar pattern to the Anglican and United Reformed Church, being slightly closer to the

Anglican in precise form, for instance the sign of the cross and
donation of the candle are used at baptism. The rites of passage
are to be performed congregationally. Of particular interest is
the fact that the book starts, perhaps logically, with the rites
concerned with entry to the sacred community. One unique service
is included in the book which is of significance to the idea of
sacred community. This is the service of Renewal of Covenant.
This was first instituted in 1747 by John Wesley and stems from
his preaching of personal experience and conversion. The service
is a corporate expression of the renewal of the commitment inherent
in that experience.

The Roman Catholic Church has always set the great transitions
of the individuals life within the sacred community in the context of
the Mass. As we have seen, since the Second Vatican Council and the
subsequent liturgical reforms, this has become a much more corporate
action. The modern Roman Catholic initiation services are contained
in the Pontifical. This, it is stated, is to show that they are the
Bishop's prerogative even though he may delegate them to priests.
This re-emphasises the view held in the early church from the second
century onwards, that the bishop was the key to the christian community.¹
The Roman Catholic Church's liturgy has to be valid for many different
cultural and pastoral situations. Accordingly, the initiation services
are, in essence, rites for adults which may be modified so as to be used

with children. The modern rite of baptism has the same basic structure as that of the early Roman Church as exemplified in Hyppolytus.\(^1\) There is a definite catechumenate. The service for the enrolment of names takes place at the beginning of Lent. The baptismal service is ideally to take place at Easter. After the Liturgy of the Word the candidates are presented, the congregation are invited to pray and a litany follows. Then comes the blessing of the water and after this the candidates, or in the case of infants the sponsors, make their renunciations. The candidates are then anointed with the oil of catechumens and they, or their sponsors, make their profession of faith. They are then baptised by immersion, or aspersion, and anointed with chrism, clothed in a white garment and presented with a lighted candle. The essence of confirmation is affirmed as the anointing of the forehead with consecrated oil accompanied by the appropriate formula,\(^2\)

"Be sealed with the gift of the Holy Spirit."

The laying on of hands is acceptable but supplementary to this central action. The marriage and funeral services are structurally the same as their protestant counterparts and are to take place within the setting of the Mass.

Sacramental confession and penance has long held the dual role in the Roman Catholic Church of support for spiritual growth and a means of discipline. One particular development within Roman Catholic practice has been an office of corporate penitence and confession.

A very recent development has been liturgical provision for matters only partially occurring within the Christian community. The United Reformed and Methodist Churches both provide a service of blessing on a marriage which has taken place by civil ceremony. The Anglican Thanksgiving for the Birth of a Child now takes place within public worship. Although the rubric states that it is to be explained to the parents that this is not a baptismal service, some clergy are offering and using it as an alternative to baptism to parents who are not church members.

The changed understanding with regard to the sacred community, which has resulted from the Liturgical Movement's influence, has also affected congregations' activities within the public place of worship outside of their liturgical life. Modern churches built in conformity with the Liturgical Movement's ideas, or older churches re-ordered on these lines, are constructed to serve the community's corporate life. The German Bishops' Directives say that,

"The several parochial buildings ... should not ... be erected apart from each other in several localities. The ideal which should be desired is a juxtaposition of these second units so as to form one 'domus ecclesiae', a parish centre where the close interrelation of temple and priesthood, of Eucharist and

charity, of sacraments and education would be visibly expressed."

Numerous examples to be found in this country are reported in the Research Bulletins of the Institute for the Study of Worship and Religious Architecture. Professor Davies' book on the secular use of churches is also a manifestation of this movement. It is becoming accepted that the worship area may be used for other activities and K. White and Partners, a London firm of architects, have re-ordered a number of churches to this end. A frequent arrangement used by them has been for the rear of the nave to be screened off into a 'narthex', between the outside and the worship area. This area is then used for people to meet socially, having refreshments or any sort of group meeting. The screen is low and made of glass so that the two areas can be continuous when required. Some churches are purpose built so that liturgical and other activities can use overlapping space. Chelmsford Cathedral has been re-ordered so that a wide variety of activities can take place in the worship area.

Today the sacred community in England, in many instances, is beginning, once more, to live out a much greater part of its life within the confines of the public place of worship. As with liturgical rites of admission there is blurring of the boundaries. Sometimes it may be an entirely secular group using the place of worship or a group

3. e.g. The General Baptist Church, Mansfield, Notts., Christ Church (Anglican and U.R.C.), Colchester, Essex.

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consisting of those within and those without the sacred community.
In the past the exact relationship of any one individual to the sacred community would have been clearly marked ritually. This is no longer so, the boundaries are becoming more indefinite. Just as the boundary is not clearly marked for those outside so it is not so clearly marked for those inside. In the past the individual only had being within the sacred community. In modern western society, as it is in England, even those within a sacred community live much of their meaningful life outside of that community. This process has been in progress since the Reformation Period.\(^1\) Another way in which this is seen is in the matter of church discipline. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer specifically instructs the parochial clergyman to ban individuals from the Communion Table in certain specific circumstances of wrongdoing and thereafter to notify the ordinary. The latter was so that the normal Canon Law procedures could be put into operation. The church courts continued to be very powerful in the Post-Reformation Period.\(^2\)

They could and did impose public penance and penalties for moral disorder, disobedience and heresy. Excommunication was not unknown and the secular power would uphold this. It made the offender's social and economic life, as well as his religious life, virtually impossible unless there was local covert support for his cause. The recusant and dissenting communities imposed their own disciplines. Although the church courts still exist, in practice little incursion is made into the private life styles of church members.

Wach,\textsuperscript{1} in his analysis of the social expression of religious experience, suggests that there is first an expression of religion through the natural group. This we can see in English pre-Christian Teutonic religion. He then suggests another form of sacred society emerges, the founded religious community, which can in time come to equate with the natural or political society. We can see this process in the case of Christianity in England. Christianity starting as a small brotherhood grew into a large international ecclesiastical body. When the English were converted the political body, which was also the natural grouping, became co-terminous with the new sacred society. Unlike the previous situation the new sacred community was not indigenous nor restricted to the natural society of kinship and culture.

In time the sacred community can become ossified and Wach suggests that there is reaction to this in protest. He suggests that these movements, arising from a renewed experience of the sacred, result in one of two types of sacred community, the \textit{ecclesiola in ecclesia} and the successionist group, the sect.

Both of these types, in their various forms, have existed in England. The prime pre-Reformation example of the former were the monastic communities. The monks while remaining part of the major sacred community tended, after entering their narrower community, to be confined to private places of worship. There was, however, what

\textsuperscript{1} Wach, J. 1967. \textit{Op cit.} especially chaps. 4 and 5.
Wach calls a Collegium Pietatis in the form of the medieval guild. ¹

These guilds tended to be occupational communities and were the major founders of chantry chapels in the public places of worship. There have been many movements of protest which have set up independent groups, many of which have become independent communities. The Lollards were, perhaps, the most notable late Medieval group. They were basically what Wach calls a fraternitas although, as such, they acted outside of the main sacred community. The Reformation Period was one of general protest and many denominations which now provide the public places of worship for the English had their origins as protest movements during this period. One such is the United Reformed Church and a later example of the same tendency is the Methodist Church. Today there are a multiplicity of sacred communities. Some are indigenous bifurcations within English Protestantism, others are the result of migration. There are also a multiplicity of inner groups within the major religious communities. Perhaps the most widespread modern movement arising from the experience of the sacred is the charismatic movement.²

At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that within the sacred community there were particular categories of sacred person. We turn now to an analysis of the categories of sacred person which have existed in the various forms of sacred community which we have outlined above.

1. Anderson, M. D. Op cit. pp. 73, 83, 134-5, 162, 208 and 211.

We know that the Teutonic places of worship had their priests and that this was also true of the pre-Christian English public place of worship.¹ In some ways they appear to have been more like chaplains to the chief of the group whose place of worship they cared for and whose sacrifices they offered. On the Continent and in Scandinavia there were priestesses but no records of such exist for the pre-Christian English. The duties of priests included offering animal sacrifices, witnessing oaths and consecrating the 'law-thing'.

Another key sacred person in the pre-Christian English sacred community was the King. Chaney's² study gives us much detailed evidence. He shows that the pre-Christian English Kings traced their ancestry to the gods and that on their sacred power depended the peace and plenty of the people. It was this power which ensured victory, peace³ from the enemy and plentiful flocks and crops. A king whose power failed would be in danger of his life.⁴ His life would be offered in sacrifice. Equally his divine power dispensed justice and was the source of internal peace in the realm and of sanctuary.⁵ The king could also, at times, act as a priest and offer sacrifice.⁶

4. Ibid. p.113 ff.
5. Ibid. pp. 177 and 107 ff.
6. Ibid. chap. 11.
A further sacred figure in the Teutonic world was the Odin 'beserk'. This figure is known in pre-Christian England as well. The Odin 'beserk' was a warrior dedicated to the god Odin, who went into battle naked apart from a belt for his sword and a helmet.

Another, rather different, class of sacred person was the sacrificial victim. This phenomenon is recorded in Teutonic religion by Tacitus, Jordanes, Procopius, Ibn Rustah and Adam of Bremen and witnessed to in the Sagas and by archaeological finds. The victims were frequently slaves and prisoners of war. As, in some sense, they were non-persons, they were made sacred by being sacrificed and thereby made one with the sacred. We have no record of such in England but the Sutton-hoo burial is similar to ship burials in Teutonic societies elsewhere in which there was such a sacrificial victim. There was no sacrifice in the case of Sutton-hoo but its existence is evidence of such burials in this country.

A final category of sacred person was the hero. His deeds and life showed the presence and power of the sacred. We know from Beowulf and the Dream of the Rood that his category of sacred person existed among the pre-Christian English and that they were translated into the Christian environment.

3. Ibid. chap. 10.
We know that the Roman mission had a deliberate policy of adoption and adaption of pre-Christian things wherever possible and practicable. It is easy to see how the categories of pre-Christian sacred persons in the community could be translated into Christian parallels. The priests became the clergy, the King became, through coronation, the Christian prince, the 'beserks' the Crusaders, the heroes and sacrificial victims the saints and martyrs.

From the evidence supplied by the New Testament the key figures in the earliest church community were the Apostles. They appear, in the first instance, to have been the inner core of Jesus' disciples and to have been commissioned by him to proclaim the advent of the Kingdom of God. Subsequently, Matthias and Paul were added to their ranks according to the New Testament record¹ but we hear of no others. The next group to be given authority in the Church appear to be deacons.² Their original commission was administrative in order that the Apostles could devote their whole energies to preaching. We learn, however, that they too were soon engaged in evangelism and preaching.

The exact nature of the other special categories of people within the early Christian Community, as recorded in the New Testament documents, is unclear. There appear to have been two other categories appointed to lead the churches, presbyters (presbuteroi) and bishops (episkopoi)³.

It is not clear from the relevant passages whether these were distinct offices. It may be that largely Gentile churches used the term bishop or overseer and the largely Jewish churches that of presbyter or elder. Whatever the original situation a clear, threefold ministry emerges in the second century of bishop, presbyters and deacons.

At the same time Paul's correspondence with the church at Corinth gives evidence of what may be called a "charismatic" ministry. Rather than being selected by the church and its leaders, subsequent to prayer, and appointed by the laying on of hands the people to whom Paul refers appear to have acquired the status of sacred persons in the community by the exercise of gifts which were seen to be divine in origin. The gifts Paul mentions include healing, miracle working, prophesy, divination and ecstatic utterance. These categories of sacred person seem to have been short lived in the history of the early church, although the Didache does mention rules about hospitality for prophets and there was some revival in the Montanist movement of the second century.

There is little mention of women being set apart in the Christian Community in the New Testament. In Romans a woman called Phebe is described as diakonon tes ekklesias and in 1 Timothy we read of the enrolment of widows.

2. 1 Corinthians 12: 1 ff.
4. Romans 16: 1.
5. 1 Timothy 5: 9-10.
The clear pattern of those who were principally engaged in sacred things in the church emerged as bishops, presbyters and deacons.\(^1\) This is the pattern to be seen at Rome in the period prior to Augustine's mission to England. The charismatic ministries seem to have been regularised into the minor orders which appear to have been eventually accepted in Rome via the Gallican Church.\(^2\) Similarly, deaconesses were slow to emerge at Rome and were never prominent.\(^3\)

We get a clear picture of Roman practice in the third century from the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus.\(^4\) Concerning the ordination of Bishops it states that the Bishop is to be proposed to the people. Once he is accepted, neighbouring bishops, the local presbyters and laity are to gather on the Lord's Day and all the bishops are to lay hands on the candidate with the presbytery gathered around. There is silent prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit. The senior bishop then recites the ordination prayer as he continues to lay his hands on the head of the candidate. The ordination prayer which includes a request for the gift of the Holy Spirit, expresses the hope that he will feed the holy flock and be a high priest for them, propitiating the divine countenance, and that he will also offer the gifts of the Holy Church.

In the case of presbyters, the candidate is ordained by the bishop assisted by the college of presbyters. The ordination prayer depicts him as an elder sharing in the government of the church. Deacons are chosen and appointed in the same manner as the other orders. However, in this case, the bishop alone lays on hands. It is stated that he is not ordained to the priesthood but for the service of the bishop. The service indicates that he does not share in the same spirit as the presbyterate but in those things entrusted to him by the bishop. The deacon was the bishop's servant communicating between him and the congregation. He looked after church property, brought the peoples' gifts to the Bishop at the Eucharist, visited Christians who were sick or imprisoned for their faith.

The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus indicates that the charismatic ministries of the New Testament were in process of being regularised into what later became the minor orders. Certain orders are publicly appointed. Subdeacons are named, readers are handed a book, widows have their names enrolled, confessors are recognised as are virgins undertaking the role by personal choice. Gifts of healing are seen as self-authenticating and not requiring public recognition.

The Ordo Romanus Primus gives us a picture of the sacred personnel of the Roman Church at the period of the Conversion of the English.

1. Ibid. p.18 ff.
This is what would have been instituted in England by Augustine and his immediate successors. Ordinations of presbyters and deacons take place at the solemn Stational Mass on an Embertide Sunday. On the preceding Wednesday and Friday the congregation are asked, at the Stational Mass, about their suitability. The ordination consists of the laying on of hands by the Pope, with prayer and vesting in dalmatic or planet. A similar pattern is followed for a bishop.

The **Ordo** presents us with a fully developed pattern of minor orders, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers and doorkeepers. They, too, were appointed to their offices during the Mass. However, in their case the Mass was a private one in the **Schola Cantorum**. They were not ordained by the laying on of hands, as with the major orders, but by being handed their instrument of office such as a book of exorcisms or a copy of the scriptures.

In the third century a new group of sacred persons emerged within the Church. A group of men who sought a more sanctified life of communion with God by living ascetic lives as hermits in the deserts of Egypt. In time these men came to share the Sunday Mass and, later, to join together in a coenobitic life of asceticism and prayer.¹ Monasticism spread in both East and West and became a very important part of the life of the Church. Rules were drawn up for ordering the lives of these communities. In the West, that of St. Benedict was

adopted generally. St. Augustine of Canterbury, who led the Roman mission to the English, was a monk who lived by this rule as did his fellow missionaries.¹

The Christian community which Augustine established among the English had, therefore, three groups of sacred persons within it who were distinguished from the normal members. There were the major orders ordained and thereby having power and authority. There were the minor orders given authority to undertake certain tasks within and for the community. Lastly, those who had dedicated themselves to an ascetic and devout life either in community or as solitaries.

The Roman Church had shown its ability to regularise and to absorb within its system those who spontaneously arose as sacred persons within the community. This is shown by the transformation of the New Testament charismatic ministries into the minor orders and its ability to integrate the monks and nuns within the organisation of the sacred community. From the ranks of these three categories was drawn a further order, the saints. The sense of the sacred community, here and now, in this world being in union with the sacred community in the world beyond has always been strong in the Christian tradition.² The martyrs and confessors had interceded for their

weaker brethren, who had recanted their faith, with the church authorities. Gradually, their prayers were asked for in the litany at the Mass. As their names were included in the Canon so they achieved, after their death, a special status within the sacred community. Although lay persons could and have become recognised as saints, the vast majority have been drawn from those who were within one of the special categories of sacred person during their lifetime.

Bede's account of the early days of the Roman mission, and the subsequent life of the Church in England, shows that these various categories of sacred person existed in the English church. The effect of the Roman mission, with regard to saints, can be seen in the persistence of Roman saints in English church dedications and in the Calendar.

The liturgical rites performed, in connection with a person entering one of the categories of sacred person became very complex in the Medieval Period. Despite this complexity they shared a common and relatively simple underlying structure. A person who was to be set aside in some way within the church community would be instituted into his or her office at a High Mass. This would occur, depending

on the office, at the collect, after the epistle or after the gospel. The candidate would be publicly presented to the bishop who would be enthroned. After examination as to the persons' suitability and their public acceptance of the office and its responsibilities, they were symbolically instituted into their office. In the case of the minor orders this was by tonsure and the handing over (triditio) of the instrument of office. In the case of the major orders this process was more complicated. The congregation's assent was required first. Then followed the laying on of hands with a consecration prayer, the handing over of the instruments of office, anointing, vesting and in the case of the bishop enthronement. During this period a new category of sacred person arose within the Christian Community, the king. The medieval Coronation Service contains all the elements, except the tonsure, which are found in the ordination rites for the major orders. It occurs during the Mass. There are interrogations, the litany and veni creator, anointing of hands, a consecration prayer and anointing of head, vesting and triditio. If we compare the underlying structure of these rites for various categories of sacred person it is the same as that of baptism, the initiation rite of the sacred community.

The entrance to monastic life followed similar rites at the same point in the Mass. In the case of the monk he too would be tonsured.

1. They would already be tonsured, having proceeded through the minor orders.
His acceptance of the responsibilities of the new role was by way of reading the document setting out the rules of monastic life, signing it and placing it on the altar. After prayer and the *veni creator*, he was vested with the cowl and then installed with the other monks in the choir stalls. In the case of nuns there was a similar interrogation then the signing of the document setting out the rules of the monastic life. This was followed by prayer and the *veni creator* after which they were vested with the veil and a ring was placed on the fourth finger of the left hand.

Where the order continued in the West the deaconess was simply inducted by a blessing.¹ (The episcopal act which concluded all induction to special offices in the Church.) There was also a service for the immuring of anchorites.² These men and women would, however, already be within the category of those who had entered a consecrated life³ or would do so before the actual sealing in the anchorite cell. Where widows were enrolled, this was done privately.

During the medieval period, besides those who were set aside permanently to a sacred life, there were categories of person temporarily set aside in this way. They would be protected by the peace of the church during this period, just as the clergy and

1. Ibid. Vol. 1. p.86.

Profession of Virgins.
religious were. There was a parallel with the frith given to participants in the pre-Christian sacred gathering. Those set aside in this way were pilgrims, warriors on crusade and sanctuary seekers. Like those entering permanently sacred roles they would be inducted into their new role during Mass and would be vested and blessed.¹

It has already been suggested that the new understandings of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation brought change. Not only was there change but now there was variety rather than unity. These things were also true of sacred persons within the Christian Community.

The Anglican Ordinal of 1550² reduced the categories of persons specially set aside to three. These were the major order of bishops, priests and deacons. Within the rites for these orders certain important changes were made. The candidates now had to swear allegiance to the sovereign before their examination. Within the symbolic acts of ordination the vesting and anointing were omitted. In the later books of common prayer the handing over of the instruments of office was reduced to a Bible for priests, the chalice and paten being omitted. Similarly the bishop instead of having the Bible placed on his bowed neck and being handed the pastoral staff was, from 1552 onwards, simply handed a Bible. There was a slight note of

1. Ibid. p.92 ff.

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vesting reintroduced in the case of the bishop in 1662 when the rubric was inserted before the *veni creator* that the bishop should put on the rest of his episcopal habit.

Many aspects of the medieval ordination rites were retained in the books of common prayer and it is reasonable to assume that behind this lay a view of sacred persons within the reformed church as in some ways being similar to their predecessors. Many things were changed. Only two sacraments remained for Anglicans, baptism and communion. For Anglicans the clergyman's role in penance, viaticum, matrimony and marriage was not the same. Also, orders were no longer seen as a sacrament. The clergyman, while still (by canon law) wearing distinctive dress and having distinctive activities within the community which were his prerogative and responsibility, was not so separated from the laity as his medieval predecessor. He could be degraded, through the church courts action, as his predecessor but he was no longer immune from the secular authorities as his brother cleric of earlier centuries. The Anglican view was that the person was permanently of a new order. This is indicated by the consecration prayer for priests in the various English books of common prayer. It not only uses the term priest but goes on to say that the power of

2. See Canons of 1604.
remission of sins as well as the dispensation of the Word of God and
the sacraments is theirs as a result of the gift of the Holy Spirit.

If the Anglicans did away with minor orders and the religious
orders, those wishing further reform completely overturned the old
order. In Luther's and Calvin's views every member of the Christian
Community was a priest and needed no other personal intermediary with
God. Perhaps the most thoroughgoing reform was that of Calvin in
Geneva. Calvin, who possibly derived his views from Bucer's arguments
concerning the New Testament, instituted four orders of ministry,
namely pastors, teachers, elders and deacons. The first two had the
responsibility for the spiritual care and teaching of the community,
the latter two the pastoral care and discipline. The first three
orders were chosen by the pastors in conjunction with the magistrates
and approved by the people. The pastors, particularly, were to meet
once a week for devotional study and once in three months for mutual
admonition. Calvin's view as to ordination was that the minister
should be exhorted as to the duties and responsibilities of the office
and prayer should be offered for him but that there was no need for
any symbolic action such as the laying on of hands. Calvin's views

4. Ibid. p.75.
5. Ainslie, J. L. *The Doctrines of Ministerial Order of the
were espoused by those in England, during the Elizabethan and Stuart period, who sought a Presbyterian reform. Those holding an Independent understanding of reform had very similar views.

Those wishing to see further reform in the Anglican Church held to the view of the priesthood of all believers. They wished to see episcopacy abolished, which in fact was achieved during the Commonwealth Period from 1643 onwards. The Presbyterians attempted to introduce the classis system during the Commonwealth Period. This was not supported by the Independents and was only partially successful. Where they were established the local ministers, as at Dedham in Essex, met for devotional study of scripture and mutual admonition on the Genevan pattern.

The pattern of ordination established by the Westminster Assembly was of admission to a specific ministry and not to the ministry generally. The call was first tested, especially as to the candidates knowledge of appropriate languages. After the examination, there was an exhortation as to the duties and responsibilities of the office. This was followed by either the laying on of hands by ministers present or their offering the right

1. Ibid. p.8.
2. Ibid. p.8.
hand of fellowship.\textsuperscript{1} The laying on of hands was not considered obligatory by the Westminster Assembly.\textsuperscript{2}

Although the Anglican church had omitted vesting in its prayer book ordinal there was insistence on clergymen wearing the surplice. This was objected to strongly in Elizabeth’s reign.\textsuperscript{3} The order for reformed ministers was black gown and white ruff, the best dress of the better classes.\textsuperscript{4}

The greatest dissent between the Presbyterians and Independents during the Commonwealth Period was over the power of ordination. The Presbyterians held that this lay with the presbytery. The Independents claimed that the smallest church congregation could independently call and ordain ministers and appoint officials.\textsuperscript{5} Both were agreed that ordination does not confer an order. The call nevertheless was for life and desertion from the ministry could mean excommunication.\textsuperscript{6}

The Independent or Reformed Minister, like his Anglican counterpart preached the Word, administered the sacrament, officiated at weddings and burials, catechised and visited. Unlike his Anglican counterpart, although he undertook sacred functions, his status was not changed.

1. Ibid. p.156.
2. Ibid. p.180.
5. Ibid. p.188.
6. Ibid. p.196.
Among those adhering to Radical Dissent the General Baptists followed Independents' views. The minister was called by the particular church and ordained by them. On moving to a new congregation the procedure was repeated.\(^1\) His role was functional and temporary.

The Society of Friends have never had ministers as such, only elders who have the responsibility for discipline within the Society. The inner revelation may be shared by any member with the others. God's grace is experienced as inward and so no outward minister is necessary.

That part of the Western Church which remained loyal to Rome maintained the old order of sacred persons within the community. The Pontifical of Durandus became with some minor modification the Pontifical of Tridentine Rome. A major development of the Counter-Reformation was the development of new monastic orders. The monastic orders had been subject to reform at various points throughout the medieval period. The Counter-Reformation saw a rebirth of the monastic life.\(^2\) These orders were not like the original orders, concerned to live out an enclosed and sanctified life, nor like the mendicants to be just travelling preachers. Each of them set great store on personal sanctity while being active in the Christian life within the wider Christian Community. They put much emphasis on caring for the poor and outcast as well as teaching.\(^3\) Their

underlying status remained the same as their predecessors. They took
the same vows of poverty, obedience and chastity at the same services
as medieval monks and nuns. Their life was different in that it was
unenclosed, except for certain of the women's orders.

The life of the Catholic Recusants in England was very restricted,¹
not least with regard to the sacred persons of the Catholic Community.
Henry’s suppression of monastic life was permanent apart from a very
slight and short lived revival under Mary. Although, after a period of
archpriests, episcopacy was restored to the Catholics in the seventeenth
century, it was the middle of the nineteenth century before a diocesan
system was introduced.² The main body of sacred persons in the English
Catholic Community were the secular priests. One of the Counter-
Reformation orders, however, was present from the reign of Elizabeth
onwards, the Jesuits.³ The English Catholic Community also had its
own saints, particularly those executed during Elizabeth’s reign.⁴
It is equally true that, although not canonically established as such,
thanks to Fox⁵ in particular, the Protestant Christian communities
had their saints as well.

2. Ibid. chap. 14.
5. Ibid. p.113.
The Tractarian Movement within the Anglican Church during the latter half of the nineteenth century led, at least some within that church, to a more Catholic view of the sacred person within the Christian community. The outward signs of this were changes in clerical dress, especially when conducting services in church, the robing of laymen to fulfil the roles in choir and sanctuary once performed by the minor orders and monks and the reintroduction of monasticism. No provision was made liturgically for this change of view within a section of the Anglican Church. The only ordination services remained those of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. No official provision was made for the taking of monastic vows. During the present century the offices of reader and deaconess have been officially reintroduced, although neither count as a minor order.

The Liturgical Movement of the present century has been described and its results discussed in previous chapters. It has also had its effects with regard to the sacred persons within the various Christian communities. As with the other phenomena connected with the sacred there is a coming together of the different Christian communities.

The influences described in the previous two paragraphs are apparent in the Alternative Services Book of the Anglican Church. The basic services of ordination are in accordance with the principles

of the Joint Liturgical Commission but the variables and peripherals reveal the influence of the Tractarian Movement within the Church.

The Ordinal in the Alternative Services Book contains, as did the books of common prayer, three services of ordination. These are for deacons, priests and bishops. They have the same basic structure as their predecessors. The Communion Service proceeds as far as the Gospel in each case. Each rite commences with the presentation of the candidates by the Archdeacon. This is followed by the candidates' declaration of belief and commitment. In the case of the bishop a declaration of assent is also made. There follows the invocation of the Holy Spirit in the words of the *Veni Creator* followed by the litany. After this comes the ordination proper. In the case of deacons the bishop stretches his hands towards them saying a preface, then lays his hands upon them individually invoking the Holy Spirit upon them as he does so. He then prays for the newly ordained deacons and hands them a New Testament. The ordination of a priest follows the same pattern, but the wording of the preface and post-ordination prayer are different, and the priests in attendance join in the laying on of hands. A Bible, rather than a New Testament is given. Exactly the same pattern is followed for bishops, again with appropriate wording. The laying on of hands is by the Archbishop together with the other bishops in attendance and a Bible is given. The ordinations are concluded, as were their prayer book predecessors, by the completion of the service of Holy Communion.

The effects of the Tractarian Movement can be seen in rubrics four, seven and eight. Rubric four allows for local tradition and custom to be followed if it is within the rules of the service and allowed by the consecrating Bishop. Rubric seven reintroduces vesting. This, it is stated, may take place any time after the declaration. Rubric eight reintroduces the handing-over of the symbols of office, chalice and paten for priest and pastoral staff for bishop. This is to occur after the presentation of the Bible.

The effects of the Tractarian Movement can also be seen in the special collects and lections to be used at the Holy Communion Service on various occasions. These include sets for the blessing of an Abbot or Abbess or the installation of the Head of a Community, for those taking vows and for vocations to religious communities.

A service for the ordination and induction of ministers is included in the United Reformed Churches Book of Services. This has features which still reflect the views of those seeking further reform at the Reformation period. The preliminary note states that the Moderator will preside at or conduct the service or, in his absence, the District Chairman. The district council representatives are to enter the church as a body, both lay and ordained, and the moderator will then be asked by the district chairman to preside. The central point of the ordination is the laying on of hands which occurs after

the ministry of the Word, a statement of faith and the minister's affirmations. The ordination is followed by the induction to the particular pastorate together with prayer, the giving of a Bible and intercessions. Provision is made for the service to be followed by the Lord's Supper. The direction in the book, as to those who shall ordain says "those appointed" shall lay hands on the candidate. Ordination according to this rite is the result of a call from the local church as a whole, through its synod, and is based on a call to a particular ministry. The same service, minus the laying on of hands, is used at every new ministry the minister takes up. It upholds the views of those wanting further reform in Elizabeth I days that the minister should be ordained as a result of a call from a local church and not by episcopal appointment.

A similar service is provided for the ordination of elders.¹ It is suggested that it is appropriate that such ordinations take place during the Lord's Supper. The only difference in structure between this service and that of the ordination of ministers is that the ordination is by prayer alone. Other simpler services consisting of scripture reading, preface, affirmation and prayer are provided for the commissioning of lay-preachers and missionaries.

The most recent Methodist Book of Services² has a service for the ordination of ministers, also called presbyters. The ordination

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takes place within the service of the Lord's Supper after the liturgy of the Word. The ordination proper consists of the presentation of the candidates to the congregation and their acceptance, followed by an examination on church doctrine and discipline, to which they give their consent. There follows a prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit, after which the president, together with other ministers present, lays his hands on the candidate's head. As can be seen, apart from episcopal ordination and the lack of a threefold ministry, the service is structurally the same as the Anglican.

The present Roman Pontifical\textsuperscript{1} contains all but one of the services concerned with the consecration of persons in the community of the church, that of the profession of monks.\textsuperscript{2} It contains one major alteration as far as the clerical orders are concerned and this concerns the status of the minor orders. Those in minor orders are no longer counted as ordained. They are seen as lay ministries. Of the original orders only two remain, reader and acolyte. The first is to assist with the ministry of the Word and the second with the ministry of the sanctuary and altar. The service in which they are publicly commissioned is called an institution, not an ordination. The rite takes place during a public Mass. The candidate is called to present himself publicly to the bishop who preaches on the duties of the office. This is followed by prayer for the candidate and the handing to him, by the bishop, of the instrument of office.

The traditional pathway to major orders has been lost, that of tonsure followed by ordination into the various minor orders up to sub-deacon. In the place of this candidates for ordination have a service of admission to candidacy for orders. They are also encouraged to enter the lay ministries of reader and acolyte. The Pontifical draws attention to the decrees of the Second Vatican Council with regard to the restoration of the ministry of the diaconate within the church. The result has, in this country, been the ordination of some married men as permanent deacons. Those entering the diaconate as single men must take vows of celibacy and those entering the presbyterate or episcopal office must also be celibate.

The services of ordination for all three orders is structurally the same. The ordination takes place in the Mass after the Liturgy of the Word. The candidates are presented to the bishop and the congregation's assent is obtained. The bishop then outlines the duties of the particular order and briefly examines the candidate. Then comes a bidding to prayer, a litany, collect and the imposition of hands in silence followed by the ordination prayer. Then, in the case of priests their hands are anointed and in the case of bishops their heads are anointed. The candidates are then vested and handed their instruments of office. The ordination is concluded by the Peace and the newly ordained perform their particular function during the rest of the Mass.

A very similar structure is to be observed in the rites for those consecrating themselves to celibate lives either in the world or in
community. The candidates are called before the bishop, instructed in the duties of their calling and given a brief examination. This is followed by a bidding and litany. The profession to the celibate life is then made followed by a prayer of consecration, vesting with cowl or veil and handing over of the instrument of office. In this case, the liturgy of the hours. In the case of those living a celibate life in a community the rite also includes, at this point, the acceptance of the candidate into the community. After the consecration the Peace is exchanged and the Mass continues.

The Roman Pontifical also contains services for the blessing of an Abbot or Abbess. The structure again follows that of ordination, that is presentation, homily, examination, bidding, litany but instead of ordination or consecration prayer there follows a prayer of blessing. The rite concludes, as do the others, with vesting and the presentation of the instrument of office, in this case, the rules of the order. Again, the rite takes place in the setting of the Mass after the Liturgy of the Word.

The Roman Church has continued to mark the place of the saints within its community. Those who, it is thought, have shown indubitable marks of the presence of the sacred, in special ways, within them. The centralisation and formalising of the process of canonisation, begun in the Middle Ages, was consolidated at the time of the Counter-
Reformation. The missal of Pius V of 1570 reduced the number of saints to be publicly recognised in the Liturgy to one hundred and thirty. In the next three centuries this had doubled. Many of these additions coming in the first half of this century. The processes of canonisation continue in the Roman Church but the Second Vatican Council has revised the list of those celebrated within the Liturgy so that they are universal. Provision is also made for local saints to be celebrated.

A further development during the present century has been the pentecostal and charismatic movement. (In the earlier part of this century it led to the establishing of separate Christian communities where these 'gifts' have official recognition). In the last two decades this has led to a re-emergence of people in all denominations exercising unofficial ministries similar to those described in the New Testament.

There is one further category to be considered in this examination of sacred persons among the English and that is the sovereign. We have already noted the importance of sacral kingship among the pre-Christian English. This continued in the Christian period. The rite

2. Ibid. p.430.
of coronation was first used in England in the ninth century. The earliest rite was based on that of the coronation of the Pope, later rites on that of the Imperial Coronation. The medieval rite was translated and used in 1603. Substantially the same rite has been used in England ever since. Maskell reproduces both the medieval services for the coronation of a king or queen and also that used at the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1838. The structure of those services and that used of the present queen in 1953 is in three parts within the service of Holy Communion. First promises are made by the sovereign and he, or she, is acclaimed by the people. Then follows the consecration and anointing of the sovereign and finally comes the vesting, 'tradition' of the symbols of office and enthronement. The rite is completed by the people's homage and the rest of the Holy Communion Service. The similarity of this service with that of ordination into the major orders in the medieval period is apparent; so is the similarity with the modern Roman and Anglican (in their fullest form) ordinations.

As with the other categories of the sacred, certain very small groups have been left out in this very wide-ranging survey, such as the Family of Love and the Muggletonians and, in the present day, English Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist groups. This survey has shown that certain universal categories of sacred person have existed within the

2. Ibid. p.131.
English sacred community. These include the sacred king, hierarchical priesthood, the consecrated person and the saint. Each of these, as was described, existed in the pre-Christian English sacred community as well as within the English Christian Community. During the Christian era each of these has had a rite performed within the public place of worship whereby he or she was inducted into the sacred status. The charismatic self-authenticating, sacred person has been less in evidence, such as the shaman, seer, diviner and prophet. This has in part been because such manifestations have tended to be regularised by the church authorities. In the Medieval Period this was through the monastic life, particularly in hermit and anchorite life. The Protestant churches in England since the Reformation have similarly sought to regularise ecstatic movements. Both John Wesley and William Booth had manifestations of the ecstatic type as a result of their preaching and both of them organised their followers so as to channel their energies within the bounds of organisational propriety. In these cases, into lay rather than religious communities. The other group which have existed within the English sacred community are those having sacred authority but not being deemed sacred persons as such. These come within the categories which Van der Leeuw calls preacher and teacher and two others, which Wach includes with the preceeding, pastor and leader. These categories are particularly

2. e.g. Julian of Norwich.
apparent within the Non-Conformist communities such as the Baptists and the United Reformed Church.

As has been illustrated the sacred community gathers at the public place of worship to express all aspects of its life. Central to that expression of its corporate life is sacred action and, associated with this, the sacred word.
CHAPTER FIVE

Cultus: Sacred Action and Word
Sacred acts and words are often linked. For instance, the extending of the hand in blessing will be accompanied by appropriate words. Similarly, sacrifice is accompanied by prayer and invocation. This intertwining of sacred act and word is particularly true of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Bouyer\(^1\) has suggested that from Israel's earliest days it was as the community met for the sacred act of covenant renewal that the sacred word was proclaimed. In this setting the divine was present and revealed. This Covenant, it should be noted, was founded in sacrifice.\(^2\)

This tradition has continued in Christianity. The Eucharist\(^3\) has been the central act of worship at which the Word has been proclaimed as covenant was renewed and the foundation sacrifice recalled.\(^4\) Other sacred actions have taken place within this context. In the Western Protestant tradition the sacred word has been separated somewhat from the Eucharist and its attendant sacred actions. This was not the intention of such reformers and Calvin\(^5\) or Cramner.\(^6\) For them Word and sacraments were to be joined.

3. Eucharist is used here as a general term to cover Mass, Holy Communion, Lord's Supper etc.
The advent of the Liturgical Movement has reversed this tendency. Word and sacrament are joined together within the Eucharist and other sacred actions are also placed within this context.

Because of these close links between sacred act and word the material concerning them will be reviewed jointly. The way in which the two forms have been present in the English public place of worship will, however, be analysed separately in the final chapter.

Covenant and sacrifice are central to sacred action not only in Christianity but in religion generally as was indicated in the Introductory chapter of this study. In reviewing the evidence for the categories of sacred word and action we shall start, as in previous chapters, with the earliest pre-Christian English public place of worship in this country.

Sacrifice played a large part in Teutonic religion throughout the centuries\(^1\) and human sacrifice appears to have continued to the last.\(^2\) We have already noted\(^3\) that such sacrifice could have been a reiteration of the sacrifice of Ymir. The sacrifice of the archetypal man whereby heaven and earth were created. Tacitus says,\(^4\)

3. Chapter 1, p.34.
"Above all other gods they worship Mercury, and count it no sin, on certain feast days, to include human victims in the sacrifices offered to him."

Mercury, here, probably refers to Odin. Elsewhere in the same work he says,\(^1\)

"At a set time deputations from all the tribes of the same stock gather in the grove ... The sacrifice of a human victim in the name of all marks the grisly opening of their savage ritual."

Odin seems to have played a major role in death rituals. His were the noble warriors slain in battle. He was also god of the hanged. Even kings were offered to Odin, particularly when their 'luck' departed. It was to him that prisoners-of-war were offered.\(^2\) If Dumézil's thesis is right, then Ibn Fadlan's account of the sacrifice of the slave-girl at the Rus ship-burial must also be seen as a sacrifice to Odin. It is difficult to ascertain whether human sacrifice was in any way directly involved in the worship of Thor.\(^3\) The worship of Njord, Freyr and Freyja, the deities of fertility, certainly involved human sacrifice. If the identification of Nerthus with Njord is correct, then at Uppsala sacrificial victims were drowned to Freyr.\(^4\)

1. Ibid. chap. 39.
Animal sacrifice was also practised, as has already been mentioned. De la Saussaye\(^1\) and Grønbech\(^2\) both suggest that animal sacrifices were accompanied by feasts, a view also taken by Turville-Petre.\(^3\)

"Animal sacrifices were more common than human ones, and they often took the form of sacrificial banquets ... Some gods were more suitably honoured by sacrifice of one beast than another. The boar was considered a suitable sacrifice for Freyr ... The ox and the bull were also used as a sacrifice for Freyr."

One of the fullest expositions of sacrifice and the sacrificial feast in Teutonic religion is to be found in Grønbech.\(^4\) He emphasises the importance, to the Teutons, of the sacrificial feast,\(^5\)

"The sacrifice brought about a rebirth of life, the worshippers renewed their hamingja or luck and this renewal implied that the world was created afresh ..."

2. Grønbech, V. Op cit. chaps. 9 and 11.
5. Ibid. p.289.
and says further, that

"The blood of the victim was the means of communicating the power of holiness."

We can therefore see the importance of aspering the stallr, the ring, the afhus, the hall and the people. The blot recreates the primeval realities once more. 

"The present re-acting is as primary, as original as the very first acting, and the participants are not witnesses to the deed of some hero or god, but simply and literally the original heroes who send fateful deeds into the world ... Life and history start from blot ... Time begins over again ... the subsequent year or six months will flow out, made pregnant with the power in the events of the blot hour."

Along with the sacrifice went the community feast. At this, in some sense, men were experiencing Valhöll, here and now, on earth.

"In the festival ... The house is filled; the benches and the pillars, the fire and the atmosphere become living ... There are no men, neither are there, strictly speaking gods, but only god or divinity."

2. Ibid. pp. 210-211.
3. Ibid. p.222.
4. Ibid. p.219.
Grønbech asserts that the sacred round of ale, the minne drinking, was the central act of the feast, even though there were, in the hall, the steaming cauldrons of sacrificial meat.

"It is with good reason that the frith which embraces the parties at a feast is called an ale-frith and the feast day mungastór, i.e. ale-day."

He points out that these 'ales', duly modified, continued long into Christian times. Not only were the sacrificial feasts times of frith but also of sanctity, propitious times for the community to gather for social re-affirmation and political decision while gathered at the place of worship.

"We can safely say that the feast opened with a solemn consecration, declaring peace upon the participants. A feast and a law-meeting were related in their innermost being, in their dependance on the highest frith, and from all we can gather, they were allied in form. In Iceland, the priest "consecrated" the law-thing, and the effect was at once apparent in the thing-men's augmented holiness, which made an injury done to them twice as costly an affair as at other times."

1. Ibid. p.146. See also p.150.

2. Ibid. p.145.
Grønbech\(^1\) thinks that these feasts occurred two or three times a year and also in connection with rites of passage and at partings and home-comings.

Describing the ritual, he states\(^2\) that the ale was put into horns. The ancient drinking vessel being used instead of the more recent pottery. The ale was then drunk in a sacred circle around the hall. The horn passed from the highest to the lowest and each stood as he drank. Each round was dedicated to a god for blessing.\(^3\) The ceremony of consecrating the ale was called \textit{vigja} (from \textit{ve} - holy) and Grønbech thinks it was accompanied by manual signs or ritual. The result of participation was the receiving of blessing but one had to be present for the whole time to receive this.\(^4\)

There were other activities at the sacrificial feast. Grønbech\(^5\) sites ball-games, wrestling, and horse-baitings. He notes that the play was hard and that death could result and would be appreciated.\(^6\) We can see this as an enactment of myth. This was Valhöll on earth, the warriors feasting and fighting to death in the gods' presence. Referring to the myth of Thor's hammer and the giants, Grønbech

suggests\(^1\) that this could well be a burlesque of a wedding ale. If so, it gives us a vivid picture of such a sacrificial feast. Thor's visit to Utgard-Loki's hall\(^2\) may also reflect the games in the hall at the feast. It is to be noted, in this myth, that Thor and his colleagues are struggling, unwittingly, in the hall, under the guise of games, with cosmic forces.

Clearly the actions within the Teutonic place of public worship were a means of attaining harmony with the cosmic powers and therefore the sacred. It is also apparent that the sacred word in the form of the myths gave the appropriate structure for these actions. What is not clear is whether the myths were recited on such occasions or merely enacted. We do know that the public recital of myth, legend and story had a place in Teutonic culture\(^3\) but it is not clear what its exact place was in the cultus.

We know very little of sacred action and word at the English pre-Christian public place of worship in this country. We can say that it would be generically connected to other forms of Teutonic sacred action and word but we can say nothing about exact forms. Bede gives us evidence that the sacrificial feast was prominent.\(^4\)

1. Ibid. pp. 166-167.
This has some confirmation in the archaeological excavations at Yeavering. From Bede we learn that Raedwald sacrificed to his traditional gods as well as having an altar to Christ. In the previous chapters we have seen that there is clear evidence that the pre-Christian English in this country worshipped the traditional Teutonic deities. It was also noted that there are problems when any attempt is made to define the cycle of myths that were extant. It is clear that the central Teutonic myths were known and told but in what form it is impossible to say.

The central act of Christian worship, from the very first days, was the Eucharist. Although the Eucharist developed considerably over the early centuries in a variety of ways, its central structure was established from the very outset. In its essence the Eucharist was a linking of the Liturgy of the Synagogue (the Synaxis) with the Liturgy of the Last Supper. The latter was probably a form of the Jewish Hahurah which was essentially a domestic rite. The setting of the individual Eucharist was enhanced by the development of the Church's Calendar. Among other things this emphasised Christology, thus reinforcing the developing iconographic schema. As was explained earlier, the Eucharist was also the setting for the rites of status within the sacred community.

1. Hope-Taylor, Dr. B. Op cit.
In the post-Constantinian era Christian worship continued to develop. In particular the Eucharist, or as it became known in the West the Mass, was moving towards its fully articulated form. Western liturgy has been greatly affected by local practice at Rome, although Rome did integrate material from elsewhere into its Use.\(^1\) It seems likely that Augustine brought the local Roman Use to Canterbury.\(^2\) If he did introduce any Gallican elements these were probably only minor additions.

Dix\(^3\) has suggested that the Liturgy, both Eastern and Western, developed in two stages, giving four parts to its final shape. He is of the opinion that this final shape was achieved by 800 A.D. The four parts are the Introduction (second stratum), the old nucleus of the Synaxis, the old nucleus of the Eucharist and the Thanksgiving (second stratum). He suggests that later additions to the liturgy are only in the nature of embellishments to this final shape.

He offers the following as a reconstruction of the primitive Eucharistic liturgy.\(^4\)

4. Ibid. p.434.
Primitive Eucharist

Synaxis
Greeting and response.
Lections interspersed with psalmody.
Bishop's sermon.
Dismissal of Catechumens.
Intercessions of the faithful.
Dismissal of faithful (when there is no Eucharist to follow).

Eucharist
Greeting and response.
Kiss of Peace.
Offertory.
Eucharistic prayer.
Fraction.
Communion.
Dismissal.

Dix\(^1\) says that, at Rome, the preceding had grown to the following by 800 A.D.

Roman Mass. Circa 800 A.D.

Synaxis
Entrance chant.
Litany.

1. Ibid. tables pp. 432, 475 (and chapter 13).
Hymn (Gloria).
Greeting.
Prayer.
Lections.
Chants between lections.
Sermon.

**Eucharist**
Oblation.
Offertory prayer.
Eucharistic prayer with names.
Fraction and Pax.
Communion.

Dismissal after post-communion prayer.

Jungman's¹ and Klauser's² analyses of the Roman Mass at this period are in general agreement with the framework as given by Dix.

The Eucharist, or Mass, underwent subtle alterations as a result of the changed status of the Church. Dix³ says,

"The post-Nicene church had obviously every intention of conserving the pre-Nicene body of custom intact, and it does in fact form

the basis of the Eucharistic rites. But it soon began to be overlaid and accompanied by a variety of new customs."

Some of these, such as the solemn processional entry of the clergy at the beginning of the rite, were suggested quite naturally by the changed public conditions of worship in its new formal setting. This solemnity would be seen at Rome in the fifth to seventh centuries as the Pope, clad in the robes of a senior official of the state, accompanied by acolytes and a cross-bearer and followed by presbyters and deacons, entered the church at the beginning of the Mass.¹

As important as the changing ceremony of the Mass was the developing theology. Clearly, the Christological and Trinitarian doctrines predominated until the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D.² Nevertheless, the Church had to think out exactly what was taking place at the Eucharist. The action of the Eucharist as anamnesis was the starting point, linked to the ideas of sacrifice and covenant. At this stage, too, it was the whole Christian community, led by its bishop, which was engaged in the act of anamnesis. An important part of the developing doctrine of the Mass was the theology of consecration. In the West, this was deemed to be effected by the recital of the words of the Institution and the manual acts.³

3. Dix, G. Op cit. chaps. 9 and 10.
This opened the way to the idea that the bishop or his deputy, the priest, was the one who effected the consecration on behalf of, rather than in conjunction with, the congregation. This, together with other doctrinal developments, led to the transformation of the primitive Eucharist into the medieval Mass.

When we come to look for the earliest English Christian liturgical practice there is a similar lacuna in the case of these texts as there is for the pontifical material concerned with consecrations. It is the same reason in both cases, the depredations of the Viking invasions of a later period. The Anglo-Saxon material which is available dates mainly from the late period just before the Norman conquest.¹ Augustine brought the materials necessary for the celebration of the Mass from Rome, and he and his monks commenced a monastic settlement at Canterbury. It would seem fairly certain that this, too, was organised on Roman lines. The Roman pattern of celebrating the Mass, reciting the offices, following the Calendar and of private devotions and discipline, must have been followed by this group. Bede² says,

"They were constantly at prayer. They fasted and kept vigils; they preached the word of life to whomsoever they could ... On the East side of the city stood an old church, built in honour of St. Martin ... Here they assembled to sing the psalms, also to pray, to say mass, to preach and baptise ..."

He states that Gregory sent Augustine further requisites for worship at a later stage,¹

"They brought with them everything necessary for worship and the service of the church, including the sacred vessels, altar coverings, church ornaments, vestments for the priests and ministers, relics of the holy apostles and martyrs, and many holy books."

In the next sentence Bede points out that Gregory sent Augustine the Pallium; this would indicate that Augustine's status at Canterbury was to be similar to that of Gregory of Rome. It is therefore likely that he would have performed the same Pontifical Mass as Gregory. Presumably, Augustine's priests, when away from Canterbury in missionary situations, would have celebrated the same Mass as used in the stational churches at Rome when the Bishop was not present. It is unlikely, however, that rigid adherence to Roman practice was followed for any great length of time. Gregory's flexible policy, followed by his immediate successors in matters ecclesiastical, has already been noted. Augustine's question to Gregory on the Mass and the latter's reply are of interest in this connection.² Augustine asks,

"Since we hold the same faith, why do customs vary in different churches? Why, for instance, does the method of saying mass differ in the holy Roman Church and in the churches of Gaul?"

Gregory replies,

"My brother you are familiar with the usage of the Roman Church in which you were brought up. But if you have found customs, whether in the Roman, Gallican or any other churches that may be more acceptable to God, I wish you to make a careful selection of them, and to teach the Church of the English, which is still young in the Faith, whatever you can profitably learn from the various churches. For things should not be loved for the sake of places but for the sake of good things."¹

It is most probable, however, that Augustine established the Roman Use with little variation and that his missionaries spread this pattern. Undoubtedly, as the centuries progressed, elements were introduced from elsewhere and English peculiarities developed. Mayr-Harting² believes that the recitation of the Nicene Creed, an Eastern innovation, was possibly introduced into the Northern English Liturgy via the Irish Celtic Church. Willis³ thinks that the episcopal blessing of the people, before communion, was introduced from the Gallican Use. Theodore, of Eastern origins, is most likely to have introduced, when

Archbishop of Canterbury, some non-Roman customs and practice. The whole period of early English Christianity, until the Norman Conquest, was one affected by the liturgical interaction and growth in the West. Klauser makes a strong case for the significance of Franko-German influence on liturgical developments in this period. The rigid unification of the West, under Rome, was a later phenomenon. Thus the earliest English Liturgy was Roman, but its subsequent growth was affected by the general pattern in the West. Bede gives us a picture of the growing liturgical life. Mass was said daily, at about nine. Masses were also said for the dead. These and other services were chanted. The elements appear to have been reserved, chiefly for the viaticum. Bede gives instances of the monastic offices being said daily. The Calendar was also well developed, both that related to the life and work of Christ and that to the saints and martyrs.

The sacred actions and words, therefore, of the English Church at this period were those of the Church of Rome. The sacred language also remained that of the Roman Church, Latin. Until the Reformation

5. Ibid. p.240.
6. Ibid. p.239.
8. Ibid. pp. 225 and 244.
9. Ibid. p.213.
period the sacred words accompanying sacred actions were always spoken in Latin. Only when the laity were necessarily involved, as in the case of the vows at a wedding service, was English used at all.

The central sacred act, in the Middle Ages, was the Mass. Dix considers that the Western Mass attained its final quadrapartite form about 800 A.D. He suggests, however, that there was a "third stratum" added in the early Middle Ages circa 800-1100 A.D. He says, ¹

"These additions were not protected from change either by their structural usefulness, like those of the 'second stratum' or by immemorial tradition like the primitive nucleus; and in consequence the persistent innovating tendency of the clergy in all ages with regard to the details of the liturgy had comparatively free play with these, and also with other minor matters of ceremonial whose development or alteration goes persistently, in all rites, down to the sixteenth-seventeenth century."

Dix goes on to say that these innovations were devotional, "preparations and thanksgivings". This 'devotion to the Mass' was characteristic of both laity and clergy. ² This, of course, was a natural corollary to the emphasis, at this period, on the sacrificial aspect of the Mass. ³

As one beheld the miracle enacted which would allow one to avoid hell and purgatory after death, what more natural than to pour out love and devotion. Although there were various other Uses in England, during the Middle Ages, as time progressed, the Sarum Use began to predominate and was widely adopted.¹

The Sarum Mass² commenced as the priest vested and said or sung the Veni Creator, versicles and responses and the Collect for Heart Purity. As the altar was approached Psalm 43 was recited with the antiphon "Introibe ad altare Dei", and the Kyrie and Pater Noster were said. This preparatory section was concluded by the confession and absolution of the ministers, the psalm "Adiutorium nostrum ...", the Kiss of Peace and a prayer. The Synaxis proper began with the Gloria followed by the collect for the day, the Epistle and Gospel. The latter two were separated by a gradual, alleluia, tract or sequence according to season. After the Gospel came the Creed and sometimes a sermon. Then came the Liturgy of the Eucharist. First the Offertory and Prayer of Oblation, then came the Priestly Ablutions and Secreta. The central action of the Mass consisted of the Sursum Corda, Sanctus, Hosanna, Canon of the Mass, Fraction, Commixture and Elevation. If the bishop was present he would then give his blessing, after which the Pax and the Agnus Dei were recited. After the Communion and Post-Communion Prayer the Mass ended with the Dismissal.

2. Swete, H. B. Op cit. p.82.
The structure of the Mass was complete, except for the proliferation of peripheral devotions. The number of Masses, however, multiplied in the West. The Proper of the Mass was infinitely variable. Thus there could be a Mass for every occasion. Masses were of three sorts, those celebrating the Christological Calendar, those celebrating the Sanctoral and Votive Masses. The first sort, and some of the second, provided the High Mass for Sundays and Holy Days when the community as a whole attended.¹ The other saints' days in the Cantoral had their Masses but these were primarily a clerical responsibility. There was some growth both of the Christological Calendar and the Sanctoral in the Medieval Period.² The Cantoral continued to consist of the old Roman list, including the New Testament figures, to which were added the English Saints. This structure can also be seen in the pattern of English church dedications.³ Votive Masses were a different category to the other two. They arose from the expiatory nature of the Mass. The Votive Mass was said in order that the merit of the sacrifice might be gained for a particular person or purpose. Thus in the Sarum Missal there were Votive Masses for the salvation of friends, against temptations of the flesh, for sins, for penitence, for sailors, in time of war and many others.⁴

The Mass was still the central liturgical action and its use had, as we have seen, been extended. However, the element of communal worship which had been so strong in the earliest Christian days had virtually disappeared. The sermon, when preached, and the procession were the two occasions left when the whole community, clerical and lay joined in corporate liturgical action.\(^1\)

The daily offices, the 'opus dei' remained the responsibility of the clergy and monastic communities.\(^2\) Parochial clergy tended to say them in two or three groups, foreshadowing later developments. The offices underwent abbreviation and supplementation under Franciscan influence.\(^3\) Offices to Mary were introduced, in addition to the canonical hours.

At the period of the Reformation there were changed emphases. Covenant, sacrifice and sacrament were understood differently as was explained in chapter two.\(^4\) Anamnesis which had meant re-enactment in the present of Christ's sacrifice became, for the Reformers, a thankful recollection of a past historic event. However, it was still seen by all groups, as the universal and cosmic sacrifice making the sacred realm available to an alienated mankind. As was also explained,

4. p.91 ff.
the sacramental presence of the divine in relation to the communion elements was also variously re-interpreted. The mediatorial role of the church in connection with men's covenant relationship with the divine no longer existed for some groups among the Reformers. For them the individual could treat with God directly.¹

There was also a changed emphasis with regard to the sacred word. The Medieval Church had proclaimed, in various ways, the biblical Heilsgeschichte. The Reformers insisted that the actual narrative of the Bible be heard in the vulgar tongue. The proclamation of the Word in the form of the sermon still had a prime place.² Legend and myth, in the form of the lives of the saints, officially disappeared in Protestant circles. Such publications as Foxe's "Book of Martyr's" ensured that they stayed unofficially.

The first major changes in Anglican liturgical practice during the Reformation era took place in 1549.³ In 1543 an order had been issued for the reading of the Bible in English during Matins on Sundays and Holy Days followed by the publication of the Litany in English in 1544. As a final prelude to the first English Book of Common Prayer of 1549, an order of Communion, in English, was issued in 1548 to be used within the Mass. This order was a preparation for the reception of Communion, now to be in both kinds.

The 1549 Book of Common Prayer was followed by the book of 1552 which contained yet further reforms. During Mary's reign the use of the medieval service books was resumed. Elizabeth reinstated the 1552 Book of Common Prayer with certain modifications and this continued in use until the period of the Commonwealth, apart from a few minor changes in James I reign in 1604. During the Commonwealth period, from 1644 to 1660, a Genevan style liturgy was introduced via the Directory of Public Worship, sometimes called the Westminster Directory. With the Restoration and the reign of Charles II the Book of Common Prayer was reintroduced after the Savoy Conference, and revision by Convocation. Although the structure of the earlier Books of Common Prayer was maintained the 1662 Book of Common Prayer contained nearly six hundred detailed amendments. The effect of these being to move away from the more reformed position of the 1552 Book and to establish the Anglican via media.

For one hundred and thirteen years the shape of Anglican worship had been undecided. In 1662 the two streams within the national church, those seeking a via media of moderate reform and those seeking further reform along Genevan lines divided. The Westminster Directory of the Commonwealth period marked the high-water mark of those seeking further reformation. Henceforward, those holding these

views were placed outside of the ranks of the Established Church and joined the ranks of Non-Conformity. From this point in time the Anglicanism of the Book of Common Prayer was to be the established form. Indeed, until recent years, liturgical revision in the English provinces of the Anglican church has proved to be very difficult.

The aims of the composers of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer are contained in the Preface and in the section following, entitled "Of Ceremonies ..." The aims of the book, set out in the Preface, are to provide one Use for the whole Kingdom, which would be orderly but free from complex rules and written in the vulgar tongue. Further, that the contents of the book were to be the actual words of the Bible or entirely consonant with them and that nothing but this book and the Bible were to be used in public worship. A key feature of the services was to be the systematic reading of the whole Bible, in English, in public worship. The nature of the English understanding of the sacred word was clearly changing. Hitherto the formulae, be they prayers, blessings, exorcisms, readings, hymns had all been in Latin. Very largely these sacred words had Biblical origins already but, being in Latin, were not understood by the majority of the laity. The Bible was now clearly enunciated as the source of all sacred formulae and that these sacred words were to be said in English, the language of the people.

Concerning ceremonies used in public worship the compilers say that some, in the past, have led to abuse but others, although of human origin, have led to godliness and good order. Their overall aim, as they saw it, was to reinstate the straightforward, godly order of the early Christian Church. This opening was retained in the subsequent Anglican books of common prayer. The opening sentence of the 1662 Preface reads,\(^1\)

"It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since first compiling of the public liturgie to keep the mean between the two extremes."

This epitomises the Anglican view. A number of symbolic actions were matters of great contention, the signing with the cross at Baptism, the giving of a ring in marriage and kneeling at the reception of the elements at Holy Communion.\(^2\) These all had to do with the understanding of the nature of the divine presence. The so called "black rubric"\(^3\) illustrates the centre of contention. It states,

"Whereas it is ordained in this Office for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, that the Communicants should receive kneeling ... It is hereby declared, That thereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread and Wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal Presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood ..."

1. Ibid. p.27.
There were those who remained within the Anglican church who, while seeking separation from Rome, held to the traditional doctrinal view\(^1\) that Christ was physically present in the sacramental elements. At the other extreme were those seeking further reform who saw the physical sign as a mere outward confirmation of what was inward and without which the sign meant nothing.\(^2\) The Anglican view was a via media, as we have seen in an earlier chapter when considering the presence of the divine and the consecration of church buildings. The Anglican understanding was that the physical could be a channel of the sacred but any close and exact connection was denied.

The major regular public service in the medieval period, the Mass is entitled "The Lord's Supper or Holy Communion" in all the books of common prayer. This change of title was the result of a changed theology relating to the rite.\(^3\) It now became a corporate act. The service in all the books of common prayer open with a rubric to the effect that all who wish to communicate should notify the clergyman beforehand (people were not normally expected to communicate in the medieval period) and the 1552 and subsequent books contained a rubric\(^4\) stating that there should not be a celebration without communicants. Although the 1549 Communion Service\(^5\) was structurally the same as the Sarum Mass a fundamental and far-


\(^{3}\) Brilioth, Y. Op cit. chaps. 4, 5 and 6.


\(^{5}\) Ibid. Vol. 2. p.638 ff. See appendix for outline of 1548 and 1552 structures.
reaching change had taken place. Previously, the priest had performed the sacred action on behalf of the people. At the elevation of the Host by the priest Christ was present. Now clergy and people were united in the sacred action. The service was in English, the action corporate, and the climax was to be the reception of the elements of bread and wine. Both Mass and Holy Communion made a present reality of the vital saving act of Christian history. The Mass was a reenactment; the Anglican Holy Communion was a remembrance followed by the spiritual participation in the present blessings of that reality. The actions of the minister, with the laity, made the divine present but in an inward and spiritual manner. The distinctions between the actions were subtle but important. The Anglican clergyman broke the bread and laid his hand on the chalice and paten but did not elevate the host or genuflect as did his Catholic counterpart. The Anglican Prayer of Consecration made it amply clear that there had been one sacrifice and that this was a recalling in order to participate. As we have seen a similar interpretation was applied in the requirement for the laity to kneel at the reception of the elements.

The 1552 and 1662 Books of Common Prayer contain a rubric instructing the clergy to say Morning and Evening Prayer daily. In addition, parish clergy are required to say the offices in church at a convenient hour and to toll the bell in order to summon the laity to join them. The opus dei had been the priests' and monks' duty during the medieval period. In late pre-Reformation times it
had become the practice of the secular clergy to say the daily offices in two blocks, one in the morning and one in the evening.¹ Cramner,² in a series of drafts culminating in the 1549 book, transformed the seven medieval hour services into the prayer book services of Morning and Evening Prayer.³ The only subsequent major change to these two services was the placing of a penitential opening in front of the two services. Thus the *opus dei* passed from the 'religious' to the whole sacred community in modified form. The emphasis was on hearing God's Word as much as confession, praise and prayer.⁴ Provision was also made for a sermon or for one of the homilies to be read.

Another feature of pre-Reformation worship incorporated into the books of common prayer was the Litany.⁵ The English Litany of 1544, with the invocation of the saints omitted, was incorporated into the 1549 book and continued in the other books of common prayer with a few amendments. The 1552 and 1662 books enjoin that it shall be said at Morning Prayer on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

The liturgical pattern, which the prayer book reformers sought to establish was Morning Prayer, Litany and Holy Communion on Sundays and Holy Days with Evening Prayer in the afternoon.⁶ These were to be

4. Ibid. pp. 131-133 (Exhortations).
5. Ibid. p.174 ff.
corporate services of clergy and laity. In addition, there would be a daily recital of Morning and Evening Prayer, with the Litany on the two penitential days. As we have seen, members of the laity, who could, were to attend so that, in aspiration at least, these services were also to be corporate. The two pivots of Anglican worship were to be the hearing of God's Word read and proclaimed and the reception of the sacraments. In Anglican public worship there were to be two points of theophany, both spiritual, the meeting of Christ in the Word and the reception of Christ in the Holy Communion.

The latter half of the aspiration, the regular reception of Communion failed to become a reality. The medieval practice, except for the religious elite, had been the rare reception of Communion, often only at Easter. Persuading people to change this practice proved difficult.¹ The 1552 Book of Common Prayer included an exhortation in the Holy Communion which sought to persuade those present to partake rather than gaze.² The 1662 Book of Common Prayer added an exhortation to be read out when announcing a forthcoming celebration of Holy Communion when people were failing to attend. The 1552 and 1662 Books of Common Prayer commanded that every parishioner should communicate at least three times a year of which Easter should be one.³ This minimum became normal practice.⁴

3. Ibid. p.719 ff.
Morning and Evening Prayer, the former with the litany and 'altar' prayers, became the normal pattern of Anglican worship. It was the word which became the central point of divine presence and disclosure for Anglicans. When we remember the other activities which were also abolished concerned with the consecration of persons and things as well as ceremonies such as candles on Candlemass, ashes on Ash Wednesday, palms on Palm Sunday, and Creeping to the Cross on Good Friday, together with the whole ceremony of the Easter Sepulchre, the change becomes even clearer.

A uniting factor for those who looked for further reform beyond the Book of Common Prayer was the centrality of the Word of God. As we have seen in chapter two, for both Luther and Calvin God's Word was the point of divine revelation. This too became the standpoint of most English Dissenters. This was the one numinous moment and place. Vatja has suggested,

"Holy Scripture is the one and only foundation of Luther's theology of worship ... Luther's greatest concern in the reform of worship was the restoration of the Word to its rightful place ... the Word should have free course among Christians."

For the reformers God's Word was not simply the reiteration of the words of the Bible but a proclamation of the Christian Heilsgeschichte in the present, from the pulpit. Vatja says, again of Luther,

"... he insisted that the oral proclamation was the proper form of the Word. Originally the Gospel was not a book but a sermon."

Sacrament and proclamation were linked. The sacrament proclaimed the New Covenant. The remembrance of Christ's death and passion at the Lord's Supper was a proclamation of His saving acts for mankind.

The principles undergirding the efforts of those seeking further reform of public worship, from the time of the first Book of Common Prayer to that of 1662, were that it should centre around the preaching of God's Word and that it should not contain anything which could not be observed and verified as scriptural practice.

The practical implications of this belief both in terms of church government, church discipline and the worship of the church was systematically worked out by Calvin at Geneva. The transmission of this tradition in England, its establishment as the authorised form during the Commonwealth Period, and its continuation in Post-Restoration Non-Conformity can be fairly clearly traced.

1. Ibid. p.77.
2. Ibid. pp. 82-83.
3. Ibid. pp. 90-107, especially p.103.
The first steps of this process have been described by Maxwell.\textsuperscript{1} Calvin originally sought to establish a weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper\textsuperscript{2} but was frustrated by the Genevan magistrates in this purpose. Accordingly, Maxwell\textsuperscript{3} suggests that Calvin's 1545 Service\textsuperscript{4} was derived from a 'dry' mass developed by the Strassbourg reformers in 1539. The central part of this service was the scripture reading and sermon. The key moment of revelation is the sermon. One can also see Calvin's high view of God and the utter lostness of man.\textsuperscript{5} The revelation of the divine can only occur after very careful penitential preparation. Man must realise his complete dependence on God. It is then that the sacred is revealed through the word.

The same understanding is apparent in Calvin's 1545 order for the Lord's Supper.\textsuperscript{6} Calvin's intention was that this should be celebrated once a month after due and careful preparation.\textsuperscript{7} Once again, preaching as the mode of divine revelation is central. To quote Calvin,\textsuperscript{8}

"... the devil introduced the manner of celebrating the Supper without any doctrine."

He continues, quoting Augustine,
"He thereby means that the sacraments
take their virtue from the Word, when it
is preached intelligibly".

Calvin believed that given correct preparation of mind and heart there was a real receiving of Christ. He saw this in terms of parallels. The outward and physical presence of minister and elements were paralleled, where there was correct preparation, by the inward minister, the Holy Spirit and an inward and spiritual reception of Christ. As Calvin says,
"... the internal minister truly communicates
the thing proclaimed through the Word, that
is Christ."

Some Marian exiles returning to England, on the accession of Elizabeth, brought Calvinist theology and worship home with them, as well as Genevan views on Church government. Although not large in number many were appointed to key positions in the Elizabethan church, where they continued to work for further reform.

In 1555 John Knox had become leader of the English community in Geneva and in 1556 produced an English Service Book, for the community's use, based on that of Calvin. This service is

1. Ibid. p.173.
structurally and functionally the same as Calvin's. A penitential opening prepares the hearers for the moment of divine disclosure in the proclamation of the Word. In his form of service for the Lord's Supper, Knox again followed Calvin.\(^1\) It was to be a monthly celebration following the normal morning service. Knox, like Calvin, insisted on preaching to accompany the sacrament. A proper conception was essential to an effective reception, both sacred word and action were necessary.

The liturgical work of those seeking further reform in England took two paths. Firstly, critiques of the Book of Common Prayer and, secondly, the formulation of acceptable forms of service for public worship.

The most important critique, and perhaps the best known, was the "First Admonition to Parliament\(^2\) which Frere and Douglas\(^3\) call "The first open manifesto of the puritan party". The Admonition deals with many matters springing from the Puritans' central tenet that not only doctrine, but patterns of church worship and polity should conform to that which was evident and shown as practised in the "Word of God".\(^4\) From the point of view of the present discussion their concern over the absence of preaching and godly preachers is

1. Ibid. p.51 and p.121 ff.
3. Ibid. p.xi.
4. Ibid. See bottom pp. 10-11.
important. They wanted Parliament to "Appoint to every congregation a learned and diligent preacher". Further, they sought to have the Word administered with the sacraments, which should be publicly administered. The Admonition says,

"... which concerneth administration of sacraments. In the olde time, the worde was preached before they were administered ...
Then they were ministered in public assemblies."  

They also express their concern at the lack of 'fencing' of the Lord's Table.


Those waiting for further reform had to wait a long time before they had a duly authorised public service book, drawn up according to their views. In the meantime, English Puritans exiled in Holland, during Elizabeth's reign, printed adaptions of Knox's Service Book. These were the so called Waldegrave and Middleburg books. The former was used unofficially for a time, until suppressed, in parts of Northamptonshire. The latter was used exclusively by exiled congregations.

1. Ibid. See bottom pp. 11-12.
2. Ibid. p.12. See also p.102.
3. Ibid. p.13.
In the Middleburg book$^1$ the place of the proclamation of God's Word is clear, it is the central activity of public services. The Lord's Supper is published as a separate service and it is recommended, in the opening rubric, that it should be celebrated once a month. The lack of a sermon is explained by the fact that the Lord's Supper was celebrated, almost certainly, following the sermon in the normal service. Marriages were to be solemnised before the Sermon,$^2$ and the opening rubric$^3$ of the service of baptism states clearly that the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper$^4$ are necessarily annexed to the preaching of the Word. It also says that Baptism should occur on the day appointed for preaching and that it should take place in the congregation. This was so that the congregation could be,

"put in mind of the league and covenant made between God and us".

The service for the Lord's Supper also contains the long exhortation 'fencing' the Lord's Table.

The fact that the composers of this book followed Geneva in seeing the proclaimed Word$^5$ as the point of divine revelation is

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3. Ibid. p.42.
4. Ibid. p.51.
evident at other points in the book. We have already noticed that 
the sacraments were linked to preaching. The Marriage ceremony 
was also linked to the preaching service. Ministers are also 
instructed to meet once a week for the exposition of the scriptures. 
Genevan influence can also be seen in the book's ordinal. Throughout 
the exhortation in the ordination services, for each of the orders, is 
the injunction to teach or enforce sound doctrine based on God's Word.

The struggle for a 'completely reformed' liturgy was continued 
by the Puritans in the seventeenth century. Those seeking this end 
worked both from within and without the established church. During 
the period of the Laudian reforms in the 1630's controversy increased 
which can be seen in the growth of both publications and prosecutions.

The success of the parliamentary forces in the Civil War and the 
ensuing Commonwealth enabled those who wished to achieve a further 
reform to introduce further changes in church order, government and 
liturgy. The Presbyterians, who remained within the established Church, 
attempted to set up a completely Genevan style church polity. The 
rulers of the Commonwealth, however, were a conglomeration from various 
factions and, particularly with the emergence of Cromwell as the real 
leader, a more variegated reform emerged. This allowed freedom to

5. Ibid. pp. 201-206.
other more radical groups,\(^1\) besides the Presbyterians, to set up their church orders. The Anglican system, nevertheless, was disbanded during this period and Catholicism remained illegal. Episcopacy was abolished\(^2\) and the higher clergy dismissed. In place of the Book of Common Prayer a Parliamentary Directory of Worship was introduced in 1644,\(^3\) as was mentioned earlier. The Westminster Directory\(^4\) was drawn up by a commission selected by Parliament and known as the Westminster Assembly. It consisted mainly of Presbyterians supplemented by a minority of Independents. Some moderate Episcopalians who were invited to join the Assembly declined to do so.\(^5\) The Commission produced a form of church government, two catechisms and the Directory of Worship.\(^6\) The Directory was given Parliamentary approval on 3rd January, 1644.\(^7\)

The Preface to the Directory states that although the intention of the original reformers who drew up the Book of Common Prayer was good, the book had fallen short of what was required. In particular, it had caused "The great hindrance of the preaching of the Word".\(^8\) Accordingly, say the authors, an entirely new book had to be devised.

1. Ibid. pp. 207-218.
2. Ibid. pp. 201 and 203.
5. Ibid. p.407.
7. Ibid. p.5.
8. Ibid. p.11.
An examination of the contents illustrates that this book is a directory of worship, rather than a book of common prayers. It outlines what should be done, and how, but does not prescribe the words that are to be used.

The "Order for the Public Worship of God"\(^1\) commences with an invocation by the minister and is followed by the reading of scripture, the singing of a psalm and a prayer of confession. Then comes the text and sermon. The sermon is followed by prayer and intercession and the service completed by the recitation of a further psalm.

The Directory orders that the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are to take place, when celebrated, after the last psalm and before the Blessing.\(^2\) Although the service contains model prayers of invocation and confession, it leaves the minister free to use his own words. There are notes of guidance as to the congregation's behaviour and demeanor, on the reading of scriptures, on how the sermon is to be structured and directions as to appropriate matters for prayer and intercession.

The times and frequency of celebrating the Lord's Supper are left to the ministers and church governors.\(^3\) It is suggested that

1. Ibid. p.16.
2. Ibid. p.39.
there should be public preparation for the sacrament but no form of public exhortation is given for this, as in the Book of Common Prayer. The order for the Lord's Supper, which like its predecessors was linked to the preaching service, commences with a 'fencing' of the table. That is a warning to the people not to come to the table morally and spiritually unprepared. After the words of institution from 1 Corinthians 11: 22 there is a prayer of thanksgiving and blessing. This is followed by the fraction and the administration of the elements. The service concludes with a short exhortation, prayer of thanksgiving and a collection for the poor.

Once more, directions rather than specific forms are given. There is a model exhortation and prayer of thanksgiving. The only fixed words are those of Christ, to be used during the administration. The table is to be decently covered and placed so that the congregation can sit around it.

The Directory orders that Baptism is to be a public ordinance. The performance of the sacrament of Baptism either by private person or in a private manner is forbidden. It also commands that the sacraments are always to take place in conjunction with the public proclamation of God's Word. The Directory is also clear that there

1. Ibid. p.40.
are no other sacraments. Concerning the Solemnisation of Marriage it says,¹

"Although marriage be no sacrament, nor peculiar to the Church of God ..."

and similarly, of burial that it is to be

"without any ceremony ..."

Some allowance, however, is made for preaching on such an occasion,

"We judge it convenient that Christian friends ... do apply themselves to meditation and conference suitable to the occasion, and that the minister ... put them in remembrance of their duty."²

The family resemblance of The Directory to those of Calvin, Knox, Waldegrave and Middleburg is unmistakable. Only minor changes are apparent. Like its predecessors it indicates that the sacred will be revealed through the sacred word.

To prepare the way for the restoration of the monarchy, Charles II issued the "Declaration of Breda" on 4th April, 1660. This declaration gave the Presbyterians some hope. They were granted an interview with Charles and presented a document containing proposals which they thought necessary for a comprehensive settlement.

1. Ibid. p.55.
2. Ibid. p.68.
The proposals listed the key objections which those seeking further reform of the Book of Common Prayer and the Anglican church polity had wanted since the earliest Elizabethan times. The Presbyterians were, however, prepared to accept episcopacy and a common prayer book within this new order. The Independents, by this time, had rejected both of these items and took no part in the discussions.

The sequel to these preliminary discussions was the Savoy Conference of 1661. The Presbyterian objections to the Book of Common Prayer were drawn up in great detail and presented to the bishops. The latter, however, were unwilling to make any substantial concessions. In the meantime, Baxter was preparing an alternative liturgy. It was drawn up in fourteen days, a point on which it has often been criticised but, as Davies points out, Baxter was in fact committing to print what had been his practice at Kidderminster for many years. Baxter's liturgy was accepted, with a few minor changes, by the Presbyterians but rejected by the Savoy Conference. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer while reinstating Anglican worship

2. Ibid. p.142.
3. Ibid. p.146 ff.
5. Ibid. p.153.
is not without some minor marks of Commonwealth Period influence.¹

The Savoy Liturgy as Baxter's book is known, was reprinted by Hall.²

Baxter's book³ and the services it contains is clearly Calvinist in its fundamental theology. It does, nevertheless, allow the minister freedom to use his own words in many places and, by providing alternatives, makes concessions to the Independents. Also by lengthening the content of the services, providing set forms and including such things as a service of thanksgiving at childbirth, it does allow for Anglican sensibilities. Despite the foregoing, it was neither Anglican nor Independent, it was Calvinist. It went to great lengths to support every item by scriptual references. It did, however, move away from Calvin a little in lessening the emphasis on man's creatureliness and divine sovereignty by bringing in many elements of adoration. The pattern of detailed confession of original and particular sin to be found in the introductions to earlier Puritan liturgies is also modified.

Baxter's liturgy, while having no real effect on official Anglican practice, does indicate the developing pattern of one strand of English post-Reformation worship. The Anglican Book of Common Prayer of 1662 was imposed very firmly and non-conforming

1. e.g. The Service of Prayers for those at Sea.
3. Ibid. p.80 ff.
clergy and congregations underwent considerable hardships immediately after 1662.\textsuperscript{1} This situation continued until 1689 and the passing of the first Toleration Act. In that year Non-Conformists were allowed freedom to worship and the inevitability of public division acknowledged.

Davies\textsuperscript{2} is of the opinion that the failure of Baxter's attempted compromise, together with the harsh imposition of the subsequent Anglican settlement, led to the rejection of written liturgies amongst all types of non-conforming Protestants. In his view, extempore prayer and liturgical freedom became the hallmark of Non-Conformity.

The characteristic of those groups, following the pattern of Radical Protestant Dissent as seen in their worship, was the emphasis on the Spirit's leading. Thus, they rejected set forms of worship or prayers and also the unique role of the minister. Helwys,\textsuperscript{3} leader of the first English Baptist group, explained,

"We alreddy as in prayinge, so in prophesinge and singinge Psalmes lay aside translacion, and even suppose yt will prove the truth, that All bookes even the originalles themselves must be laid aside in tyme of spirituall worshipp, yet still retayninge


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the reading and interpreting of the Scriptures in the Church for the preparing for worship, judging the doctrine, deciding of controversies as the grounds of or faith or whole profession."

Davies\(^1\) suggests that Baptists made three contributions to English Separatists' worship, Believers' Baptism, opposition to set forms of worship and running, or interpolated, exposition of the Bible.

During the Commonwealth period several other radical groups emerged in England\(^2\) but one which has persisted and shared much of the Baptist view of authority and revelation in matters of the divine was the Society of Friends.\(^3\) Watts suggests that many of Fox's ideas were common among radicals in the sixteen-forties.\(^4\) Fox believed in the priority of the leading of the Spirit over the letter of the scriptures,\(^5\) a similar view to that of the Baptists. The point of liturgical division between Baptists and Friends was that of outward ceremonies and signs. Both groups emphasised that true reality lay with the interior experience of the divine. The Baptists, however, kept the outward signs of the Lord's Supper and Believers' Baptism, which the Quakers rejected.

3. Ibid. p.186 ff.
5. Ibid. pp. 189-191.
With the advent of the Quakers the revolution was complete. There was now no particular external means by which the sacred was revealed, the discovery of the sacred was internal, individual and personal.

General Baptists and Quakers both exercised considerable freedom in their practice of worship. A picture of the General Baptists' worship is available from a letter describing the practice in Helwys' congregation in Holland in 1608. He writes,1

"The order of worshippe and government of our church is 1. we begynne with a prayer, after reade some one or two chapters of the bible, gyve the sence thereof, and confer upon the same, that done we lay aside oure books, and after a solemne prayer made by the 1. speaker, he propounds the same text out of the Scripture, and prophecieth owt of the same, by the space of one hower or three quarters of an hower. After him standeth up a 2. speaker and prophecieth owt of the said text the like time and space, some tyme more some tyme lesse. After him the 3 and 4 and the 5 etc., as the tyme will give leave. Then the 1. speaker concludeth with prayer as he began with prayer, with an exortation to contribute to the poore, wch collection

being made is also concluded with prayer ...
last of all the execution of the government
of the church is handled."

We do not possess a description of the early General Baptists'
celebration of the Lord's Supper but the General Baptist Confession
of Faith of 1651 makes it clear that they held a memorialist view,
"The Lord Jesus took bread ... which
practice is left upon record as a memorial
of His suffering to continue in the Church
until His coming again."

We know, also that the General Baptists incorporated into the Lord's
Supper two actions recorded in the Gospels, not generally practised
by other denominations at that time, those of feet washing and the
love-feast or agape.

The most striking difference between General Baptists and other
Protestants, whether Anglican or Non-Conformist, was their practice
of adult public baptism by aspersion or immersion in public rivers
or ponds. As Davies indicates, this was an act of public iconoclasm
challenging both Anglican and Puritan practice and order.

As has been previously stated both General Baptists and Quakers
agreed on the complete inwardness of religion. The Baptists kept

1. Ibid. p.503.

2. Ibid. p.504.

3. Ibid. p.505.
certain outward signs and sought in these to conform to what they conceived as being the biblical pattern of things. The Society of Friends, however, rejected outward signs in worship. Barclay, an early Quaker, said,

"All true and acceptable worship to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of His own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times or persons. All other worship then, both praises, prayers and preaching which man sets about in his own will, and at his own appointment, which he can both begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone as he himself sees meet: whether they be prescribed form as a liturgy or prayers conceived extemporarily, by the natural strength and faculty of the mind; they are all but superstitious, will worship and abominable idolatry in the sight of God; which are to be denied, rejected and separated from the day of His spiritual arising."

From its outset Quaker worship set store by silence. Although individuals might sing psalms, read scripture, exhort and pray, the centre of Quaker worship was, and always has been, the waiting upon

1. Barclay, R. Apology for the True Christian Divinity. 1678. chap. XI.
the Inner Light. In this seeking of the divine presence there had never been division of person or sex. Thus for the Friends there cannot be a particular sacred act. God is not present in the particular but forever ready to be discovered inwardly and in everything. As the revelation of the sacred is inward, the Friends have never had any sacraments or sacramental worship. The only outwards form that has ever existed was the exchange of vows and signing of the contract at a marriage, which are civil and secular actions.

The Counter-Reformation brought about uniformity and conformity in the Mass. The attempt was made to regain the pristine Mass of Gregory's Rome. The effect of the Council of Trent's deliberations and the issue of Pope Pius V's missal was, as Howell says,

"From 1570 onwards the liturgy entered a period of stagnation. Nothing in the liturgy itself could be changed or developed. Every word printed in black had to be uttered, every action printed in red had to be performed. Thus, and thus only, was the Mass to be celebrated, and a vigilant Sacred Congregation of Rites ensured that it was so."

2. Ibid. p.520.
3. Ibid. p.521.
The effect of this on Catholic Liturgy is made apparent in Fortescue and O'Connell's book\(^1\) on the ceremonies of the Roman Rite which has over two hundred and fifty pages devoted to describing the ceremonies of the Mass and twenty-one ground plans. As Howell\(^2\) once again says,

"In one sense it is true to say that there is no history in the Mass liturgy between the Councils of Trent and of Vatican II. There is history only of the ways in which the Tridentine liturgy was performed. The 1570 Missal fixed the texts and rites, and the Sacred Congregation of Rites was founded for the express purpose of preventing any changes."

The Counter-Reformation Mass, therefore remained what its medieval predecessor had become, an entirely clerical affair. The laity were to attend and be present and to give devout attention at the consecration, otherwise they could pursue their own private devotions.\(^3\)

The renewal of Catholic piety was one of the marks of the Counter-Reformation.\(^4\) One popular manifestation of this was the growth of the devotion to the Sacred Heart. This renewal of devotional life, at a popular level, also manifested itself in the devotions at Mass.

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laity, having no part in the action, needed to be instructed in, and provided with, suitable private devotions. A good number of recusant publications,¹ during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were manuals of instructions for devotions in and around the Mass. Two examples of such writing are Heigham's² A Devout Exposition of the Holy Masse and Richeome's³ Holy Pictures of the Mystical Figures of the most Holy Sacrifice and Sacrament.

Heigham goes through the Mass, item by item and phrase by phrase, interpreting its meaning for the lay person. Richeome takes a series of Old and New Testament incidents (his 'pictures') such as the Pascal Lamb, Manna in the desert, Miracle of the Five loaves and two fishes and bases meditations of the Mass on these for his readers. Dix,⁴ as was mentioned earlier, has suggested that the fourfold shape of the liturgy was complete by the Middle Ages. He further suggests that subsequent growth of the liturgy was by the addition of previously external devotional material.⁵ The effect of the 1570 Roman Mass was to encourage the further development of such additional and external material. This was particularly true with regard to the adoration of Christ present in the Sacrament, reserved on the altar in the Tabernacle.⁶ The Catholic view of the

¹. Many are reprinted by the Scolar Press in their Early Recusant Literature series.


³. Richeome, L. Holy Pictures of the Mystical Figures of the most Holy Sacrifice and Sacrament. 1619.


⁵. Ibid. pp. 524-525.

presence of the sacred is particularly emphasised in these practices. Much of the polemic or didactic writing of the recusant priests was concerned with maintaining the reality of Christ's corporal presence in the sacrament.¹ For instance, Peter Canasius wrote,²

"This Sacrament contains thrie things, the visible formes, the veritie of our lord's bodie and blood, and ye verteu of spiritual grace."

Becanus,³ writing of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament says that there are four ways in which He is present, by faith, signified as present by bread and wine, by spiritual work of signs of faith, and Christ's actual presence. He goes on to say that it is in the last of these four ways that the controversy lies.

It is now possible to examine how the work of the Council of Trent, affected the structure of the Medieval Mass. As Theisen suggests the Counter-Reformation Mass sought to correct abuses but not to institute any basic changes.⁴

"The Council conceived its task as one of purification. It wished to eliminate superstitions - legendary texts which were found in votive mass formularies,

1. See various volumes in Scolar Press, Early Recusant Literature series.
2. Canasius, P. Ane Catechisme. 1588.
orations, tropes, sequences and prefaces.
The way the Council chose to eliminate these abuses and to prevent their reappearance was the formation of a uniform missal."

In achieving this latter aim Theisen says that the reformers sought to return to the practice of the apostles both in verbal formulations and ceremonies. This, they felt, was encapsulated in the pristine practice of the Church in Rome.

The outline of the 1570 Mass was as follows:

Preparatory prayers.
*Introit (and kiss altar).
Kyrie and (usually) Gloria.
*Collect(s).
*Epistle (or lesson).
*Gradual and Alleluia or Tract.
Munda cor meum.
*Gospel.
Creed (sometimes).
*Offertory verse.
Preparatory offering of bread and wine.
Lavabo.

1. Ibid. pp. 20-36, 30 ff, 66 and 82.
2. Ibid. p.111.
Prayer to Trinity and "Orate fratres ..."

*Secreta.

*Preface.

Canon.

Pater Noster ... and Libera nos.

Fraction.

Agnus Dei ...

Preparation for Communion.

Communion.

Ablutions.

(*items thus marked vary in content with the day - the "Proper of the Mass").

A comparison of this with the Medieval Mass, outlined earlier in this chapter, show that they are virtually the same.

The Tridentine High Mass varied from this Low Mass in three ways, preliminary asperging at the principal Mass on Sundays, the censing of the altar, sacramental elements and participants and, finally, a variety of ministers, including priest, deacon and sub-deacon.

The exigencies of the English situation during the penal period meant that the full Roman ceremonial could rarely be performed. Low Mass with a portable altar could easily be celebrated anywhere.
Only the priest needed to vest\(^1\) and his liturgical requirements were minimal. The frontispiece of Heigham's book\(^2\) provides evidence concerning such a Mass. The priest, in a chasuble, is before an altar which has two candlesticks, a crucifix and a Mass book. There are two further candles in floor-stands by the altar and a wooden stool holding the cruets. The server appears to be in lay dress.

Two Mass books,\(^3\) both abbreviated, still exist from the early seventeenth century. One of them also contains the sacramental rites such as Baptism. The Missal Parvum pro Sacerdotibus provides the Tridentine Mass in the Low Mass form. Something of the situation in which it was used is indicated in the section, "praeparatio ad missam" where "pro opportunitate sacerdotibus facienda" is added. The section concerned with the propers is also indicative of the restricted liturgical opportunities of the penal period. The propers of time cover the main Christological Calendar but the propers of the saints are severely restricted as are the Votive Masses. The section headed "various prayers" (Orationes Diversae) also indicate the pastoral needs of an underground church, they include prayers for the sufferings of saints, persecutors of the Church and for those in trials and tribulations.

   Bellarmine, R. A Short Catechisme. 1614. pp. 56, 68 and 91.
3. Missale Parvum pro Sacerdotibus in Anglia Itinerantibus.
   Ordo etiam baptiandi ... S. Omer. 1623.
   Missae aliquot pro Sacerdotibus Itinerantibus in Anglia.
   Ex missale Romano reformatio. S. Omer. 1615.
English Catholic manuals of the sixteenth and seventeenth century are at great pains to teach the real physical presence of Christ in the Sacrament. The community are at a physical point of divine presence even though it was not located in a recognisable public place of worship, a duly consecrated church.

The choir offices, contained in the Breviary, remained entirely a clerical matter. The attendance at Mass, with the appropriate devotions, was the central act of lay worship. As Catholics became emancipated in England further devotions could develop centred on the sacrament reserved in the tabernacle on the altar.

For English Catholics, since the Counter-Reformation, their public place of worship has been a place in which the central activity has been sacred action. All has been centred on the Mass and within this on the action of making the divine present within the elements and re-offering the cosmic sacrifice. All other actions and words, however, sacred have been secondary to this.

The insights of the Liturgical Movement, which were described in chapter two, have also changed the emphases with regard to sacred action and word as they have the other forms of the sacred.

The new Anglican services in the Alternative Services Book reflect this, especially in the services for the Holy Communion. These services are in modern English. At several points the prayers are said corporately. Only the Collect, Absolution, Prayer of Consecration and the Blessing are said by the president alone, the other parts may be delegated to others. At the beginning of the service, at the Peace and at the Prayer of Consecration the president and congregation greet each other. It is noteworthy that the minister is called the president, thus emphasising his corporate role. The Rite A Communion Service restores the traditional structure lost in Cramner's re-ordering of the service in 1552. It is ordered around what Dix calls the original two part nucleus of Synaxis and Eucharist. These are called the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Sacrament. They do, however, contain within them the second stratum material of Introduction and Thanksgiving. In addition, Cramner's preparation of 1548 is retained in a modern form with alternative locations. The Rite A Service of Holy Communion commences with a section called The Preparation. This starts with a greeting and response and continues with the Collect for Hearty Purity, Prayers of Penitence, Kyrie, Gloria and finishes with the Collect of the Day. The next section is entitled The Ministry of the Word. It begins with an optional Old Testament reading, the Epistle and Gospel. These may be interspersed with psalms, canticles or hymns. Next comes the Sermon followed by the Nicene Creed on Holy Days,

intercessions, Prayers of Penitence if not said in the Preparation and the Prayer of Humble Access. The final section, The Ministry of the Sacrament, commences with the Peace, Preparation of the Table, Offering and Offertory Prayer. After a greeting and response comes the Eucharistic Prayer, which is in three sections which are interspersed with acclamations. (Four alternative Eucharistic Prayers are provided.) This is followed by the Lord's Prayer, Fraction, Agnus Dei (which is optional), and the distribution of the elements. The service concludes with a Post-Communion Prayer, Blessing and Final Greeting and Response. This structure shows that sacred word and action have an equal and related importance and that they are related to corporate activity. Rite B follows a similar structure and is in modern language. The main difference being that the internal matter of prayers is traditional.

Apart from being in modern English and having additional canticles, Morning and Evening Prayer remain unaltered. This indicates the lesser place that they have in modern Anglican worship. Nowadays many Anglican churches have made the Holy Communion their main parish service and sacred word and action are once more linked and receiving equal emphasis within the community's central liturgical activity. The various forms of sacred word, prayer, sermon, scripture, creed and blessing are conjoined with sacred action which incorporates sacrifice, sacrament and covenant renewal.
In the case of non-conformist churches there are problems because of the lack of written liturgies. It would take a considerable study involving a great deal of personal observation to be able to speak authoritatively. The liturgical re-ordering of non-conformist churches indicates that changes are taking place. Two major non-conformist churches, however, the United Reformed Church of England and Wales and the Methodist Church have published Books of Services.

Although the United Reformed Church Book of Services allows the minister and congregation to have an extempore service notes are given on the order of worship which clearly indicate the structure to be followed. The printed Order of Worship follows this structure supplying forms of words. The note given on the pattern of worship is of interest.¹

"This order of worship consists of two parts: 'The Word and the prayers' and 'The Thanksgiving and the Communion'. Because the normative order for worship in the Reformed tradition is a service of word and sacrament, what follows is offered as a pattern for the main Sunday worship in our churches."

This is both in agreement with what Calvin hoped to achieve and in line with the thinking of the Liturgical Movement.

The first part of the United Reformed Church Service is called 'The Word and The Prayers'. It begins with a greeting and response and continues with a sentence from scripture, a prayer of approach, hymn or psalm, confession and words of assurance, Gloria or Kyrie, and a collect for grace. Then follows the Old Testament and New Testament lessons with psalm, canticle, hymn or anthem between them and the Sermon. This part is completed with a hymn, notices, any special acts such as Baptism or Ordination and then intercessions. The second part is called 'The Thanksgiving and The Communion'. This begins with an invitation and the Gracious Words followed by the Peace. After the Offertory there is a hymn. Next comes the Narrative of the Institution, Statement of Intention, a greeting and response then the Thanksgiving Prayer which includes the Trisagion and Acclamations. There are three alternative versions of this prayer as well as seasonal prefaces. The Prayer of Thanksgiving is concluded by the Lord's Prayer after which the elements are distributed. The service concludes with an acclamation, Post-Communion Prayer, a hymn, Dismissal and Blessing.

There are propers for the season at the beginning and end of the service and, as has been mentioned, at the Thanksgiving Prayer. The seasons observed are the main Christological ones together with All Saints, Harvest and New Year. The Calendar and Lectionary is that of the Joint Liturgical Group. It is therefore the same as the Anglican Alternative Services Book. The collects, introductory and post-communion sentences of scripture are not, however, included.
The book reflects various trends. A move towards the Liturgical Movement with an emphasis on the centrality of the Communion service, a concern about pastoral matters in a secular society, e.g. blessing of a civil marriage, and a move towards a less radical view about some matters, for instance a service to dedicate a church is provided. Like the Anglican Alternative Services Book it places a greater emphasis on sacred action than in the past. Although the sign of the cross and the giving of a lighted candle at baptism are still firmly excluded, rings are exchanged at marriage, there is a clear rubric for the fraction at communion, ordination is by laying on of hands and there is the provision for the laying on of hands for the sick. Also by the many services it provides the areas where sacred action and word are appropriate are extended.

The Methodist Service Book\(^1\) shows many of the trends visible in the Anglican and United Reformed Church's recent service books. The Methodist church is perhaps different to the other, earlier, Non-Conformist Churches in that the division with the Church of England arose on grounds of religious experience and piety in the first instance rather than doctrine or church polity. Accordingly, the introduction to the Service Book emphasises the influence that the 1662 Book of Common Prayer has had on Methodist liturgy. It states that the Communion Service of the 1936 Book of Offices was virtually that of the Book of Common Prayer. It acknowledges,

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however, the effect of the Ecumenical Movement and liturgical research and states that the book

"... will serve as a link not only with the Church of England but with other communions also."

Regarding the main worship of the church on a Sunday the Book of Services says,

"The worship of the Church is the offering of praise and prayer in which God's Word is read and preached, and in its fullness it includes the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion."

The service is to be congregational, laymen are to share in the various activities and actions. Normally an ordained minister will preside but a duly accredited layman may do so as well.

The service has three sections which correspond to the same parts in the Anglican Rite A. The first part is called The Preparation. It commences with the Collect for Heart Purity and continues with the Commandments (which are optional), the Confession and Comfortable Words, the Collect for the Day and finishes with a hymn. The next part is called The Ministry of the Word. It begins with an Old Testament reading, or the Epistle, or both. Then comes a hymn followed by the Gospel and the Sermon. Next there are intercessions and the

1. Ibid. p.viii.
The third and last part is entitled The Lord's Supper. It starts with the Peace and the recital of the Nicene Creed. Then, while a hymn is sung, the elements are brought and prepared and the table set. There is a single Prayer of Thanksgiving which is said next. After this comes the Breaking of the Bread and the Distribution of the Elements. The service concludes with a final hymn, prayers and Blessing. No prefaces of season are included although the 1936 Service which is included as an alternative does contain them. The collects, lessons and psalms are those of the Joint Liturgical Group. Special readings are given for Watchnight, Aldersgate Sunday, Education Sunday, Harvest Thanksgiving and similar occasions.

The Methodist book reflects the origins of Methodism in a combination of Anglicanism and evangelical experience but also shows the convergence which the Liturgical Movement is bringing about. The Communion is set forth as the central sacred action. This is to be central and other sacred actions such as Ordination, Baptism and Confirmation are to take place within this corporate action. This is also the trend of the Roman Catholic Services which have emerged since the Second Vatican Council, which we shall now examine.

For Roman Catholics the Mass has always been the central act of worship and had become primarily a sacred action done on behalf of the laity. Whereas the Liturgy of the Word was paramount among Protestants, the proclamation being the key point of revelation, for
Catholics it was the Liturgy of the Sacrament culminating in the consecration of the elements which was the moment of sacred revelation. The Mass had from very early days in Rome been in Latin and the Consecration Prayer unaltered since the time of Gregory the Great. The fact that the Mass is now said in English as a congregational rite and that there are four Eucharistic Prayers is indicative of a considerable change.

The present English Mass for Catholics is divided into three sections which parallel those of the Methodist and Anglican services. The first part is called The Introductory Rite. It begins with the Entrance of the Ministers during which a hymn may be sung and then the altar is reverenced and may be censed as well. After the Invocation of the Trinity which is accompanied by the Sign of the Cross there is a greeting and response followed by the Corporate Rite of Penitence (for which alternatives are provided). The section ends with silent prayer and a collect. The next part is called the Liturgy of the Word. It starts with a scripture reading followed by a psalm. This can be followed by an optional second reading. Then comes the Alleluia or Chant during which the minister bows and prays quietly before the reading of the Gospel. Before the reading, the Gospel Book may be processed, accompanied by lighted candles held by acolytes, then censed and the Sign of the Cross made. The Gospel Book is kissed after the reading. This section is completed by the Sermon, Nicene Creed (on the prescribed days) and intercessions. The last part is called the Liturgy of the Eucharist. This commences
with the Offertory and Altar Preparation during which the elements and the people may be censed. Next comes the Lavabo and the Corporate Offering of the Sacrifice. There are four alternative Eucharistic Prayers, together with the Seasonal Prefaces. The ensuing items are termed the Communion Rite which consists of the Lord's Prayer, Peace, Commixture, Agnus Dei and finally the reception of the elements. The last items of this part of the service are called the Concluding Rite and include announcements, Dismissal and Blessing.

It will be seen that the basic structure of the modern Roman Rite is similar to those previously outlined of Protestant origin. Although there are some detailed disparities such as the point at which the Peace is exchanged. One major difference, apart from differences of theological emphasis, is the far greater number of symbolic actions enjoined in the rubrics compared with the other rites. There are innumerable instructions with regard to bowing, extending the arms in prayer, joining the hands, making the sign of the cross and censing objects and people.

Traditionally, many Roman rites have taken place within the setting of the Mass. The fact that this is now a more corporate action also makes the associated sacred actions more communal. The modern Roman services include detailed lists of readings from scriptures for every rite. As all services are now in the vernacular so are the readings. The sacred word has a very real and public part
in modern Roman worship. This is also seen in the production of part of the Breviary as "Morning and Evening Prayer". ¹ This is intended for lay people and those religious not bound to the full canonical performance of the divine office and for congregational and community use. It consists of psalmody, the reading of scripture and intercessions. Unlike the Liturgy of the Word in the Mass the main emphasis is on psalmody rather than scripture reading.² Nevertheless, it does emphasise the private and public reading of scripture in the vernacular and that by laity as well as the religious.

As was mentioned earlier there has been great bifurcation among protestants and only a sample has been taken to investigate the present situation.³ Also that during recent decades there has been a great increase in the representation of religions other than Christianity in this country and forms of Christianity not indigenous to this country.⁴ The numbers of English people involved in these are not, as has been previously stated, large and therefore have been omitted from this study of sacred action and word as with the other forms.

2. Ibid. p.xvii.
At the beginning of the chapter it was suggested that sacred act and word are frequently combined. It was stated that, accordingly, the two forms would be considered together. In studying the cultus at the English public place of worship a great deal has been said so far about the various categories of sacred word and rather less about sacred acts. It was, however, pointed out that during the Christian Period in England many sacred acts have taken place within the setting of the Eucharist.¹ Many of these sacred acts have been mentioned in earlier chapters and these must now be considered further. Before this is done some reference is necessary to the sacred acts dealt with already in this chapter.

Normally sacred acts have to do with binding or loosing things or people to or from the sacred. The categories of sacred act which have been considered, particularly, in this chapter are covenant, sacrifice and sacrament. Each of these words has a root meaning linked with the ideas of being bound to or joined together. The covenant is the act whereby the community and the individual are joined together with the sacred, frequently on the basis of sacrifice. Sacrifice is the means whereby the sacred becomes available to man. The sacrament is the physical means whereby the sacred is conveyed to men. These three sacred acts have been present within the English Christian Eucharistic tradition. The ideas of sacrament and sacrifice have been differently understood and covenant has not

¹ Eucharist in this context is used to cover a variety of terms such as Mass, Lord's Supper, Holy Communion etc.
always been prominent, nevertheless each element is constant,\textsuperscript{1} as is also the presence of the sacred as a result of their enactment.

During the Christian Period the Eucharist has been the normal setting for further sacred acts whereby things and people were bound to, or loosed from, the sacred. A number of such acts have been mentioned in earlier chapters. In the pre-Christian period, as has been noted, places and people were experienced as being sacred through theophany but we have no record of consecrations. We have seen that Coifi,\textsuperscript{2} however, by an act of profanation released a Teutonic temple from being bound to the gods.

The consecration of both things and persons within the setting of the Eucharist follow a similar structure.\textsuperscript{3} The person or object is first released from the power of evil and profane life and then purified and joined to the sacred. In the case of initiation into the community, and sometimes of church buildings,\textsuperscript{4} the purification and joining to the sacred is through baptism (by immersion or aspersion). The joining to the sacred is also accomplished through blessing which can be by the laying on of hands or by anointing with oil. In the case of things used within the church for sacred purposes and special categories of sacred person\textsuperscript{5} the blessing is the means whereby they

\textsuperscript{1} Brilioth, Y. \textit{Op cit.}
\textsuperscript{2} Bede. \textit{Op cit.} p.125.
\textsuperscript{3} See chaps. 2 and 3 for churches, and 4 for persons.
\textsuperscript{4} See chap. 1, p.87.
\textsuperscript{5} Henderson, W. G. \textit{Op cit.}
Wickham-Legg, J. 1901. \textit{Op cit.}
are consecrated and the baptism is omitted. We have also seen that the conclusion of the consecration of persons can include the tradition of the instrument of office and robing. In the case of the church this equates with the robing of the altar and the lighting of the building ready for use.

In the case of the consecration of persons, in the Christian Period, there has also been the element of covenant. This is seen in the promises made after the release from their previous state and before they are joined to the sacred in their new role. Although, like the act of baptism, this is not present in the act of consecrating things, it is paralleled in the case of church consecrations where there is a contractual handing over of the land and building by the original owner to the church authorities.

Not only can things and persons be joined to the sacred they can be loosed and made profane once more. The Medieval Pontificals provided for the reinstatement of places of worship and objects which had been profaned.\(^1\) In the previous chapter it was pointed out that not only were people inducted into the sacred community, they could be excluded. Not only could they be bound, they could be loosed. People have been cursed as well as blessed.

From this summary of the sacred acts referred to in previous chapters, as well as those described in this chapter, various

categories of sacred act linked with binding and loosing associated with the English public place of worship have been described. One further category remains to be briefly considered, that of divination.\(^1\) Again word and act are associated, divination can be by symbol or word. Two instances of Teutonic divination have been observed, that of the Viking chief casting his temple pillars in the sea and that of the pre-Christian English nine-twigs charm. In the section of the previous chapter where sacred persons in the early Christian Church were considered attention was drawn to the charismatic ministries. These included divination.\(^2\) At the Reformation those seeking Radical Reform, represented in this country by the General Baptists and the Society of Friends, sought direct divine guidance. As we have seen, placing immediate divine guidance before scripture.

In the next chapter, where sacred time will be examined the practice of those seeking further reform of the Anglican Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with regard to days of fasting or thanksgiving will be examined. Signs of divine approval or displeasure were seen in the fortunes of the individual or community and days were set aside accordingly. The Westminster Directory makes provision for the public observance of these days.

1. Divination is taken to mean not only knowledge of future events but the discerning of the divine will in ascertaining how men should act.

2. 1 Corinthians 12: 8-11.
In the present century, the Pentecostal Churches and Charismatic Movement have revived the practice of the exercise of charismatic gifts and, accordingly, divination.

From the foregoing study it can be seen that sacred act and word have had an important place in the activities at the English public place of worship. Sacred word and sacred act are always closely associated but this is particularly true within the Christian tradition as the sacred actions have usually been embodied within the Eucharist. There have been variations. There has at times been emphasis on the sacred words being uttered in language counted appropriate as in the Latin Mass. Since the period of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation English Protestants have, in varying degrees, rejected sacred actions and put great emphasis on the sacred word, read and proclaimed in the vernacular. At the same time the English Catholics have put greater emphasis on sacred action, particularly that of the Mass. In recent times, as we have seen, there has been a coalescing through the events which we call the Liturgical Movement.

In our preliminary survey of previous major phenomenological studies it was pointed out that there are appropriate sacred times for sacred acts and words. We turn now to a consideration of these.
CHAPTER SIX

Time: Sacred and Secular
In the introductory chapter it was argued that a phenomenological examination of time within religious experience led one away from a modern secular understanding of time as mechanical duration to a binary view. There is ordinary time and sacred time when the real and sacred world is present once more. As Turner\(^1\) points out for many people the only real time has been, and indeed still is, sacred time when the 'timeless' real events manifest themselves again. At other times the world is in decline. There is no conception of the Western idea of history either sacred or secular.

It is impossible to be certain as to exactly what the pre-Christian English believed with regard to sacred time. Was the ordinary passage of time purposeful history or a cyclical decline awaiting the revival of life by the advent of sacred time once more? Turville-Petre\(^2\) suggests that the versions of the myth of Ragnarök known to us may well have been influenced by Christian thought so that any idea of history may have been a late introduction. Grønbech's\(^3\) account of Thor's trickery at marriage and his suggestion that the myth was closely linked with Teutonic marriage customs may indicate that sacred time was likely to have been the only real time at least until outside Christian influences were felt. Further, if Dumézil's\(^4\) thesis is right the Teutonic religion would share a common

origin with other Near-Eastern religions of time being cyclical and declining between times of divine renewal. In a previous chapter, when examining Teutonic sacrificial feasts, Grønbech's view was noted that seasonal observance and rites of passage were a re-entering of sacred time and an occasion when normal time was renewed.

If the argument that there was a continuity within the Teutonic culture, and that English pre-Christian religion resembled that of Scandinavia and Germany is correct, then it is reasonable to suppose that Grønbech's reconstruction of the sacrificial meal, and its attendant activities, must have had its counterpart in England. A view supported by the evidence of Bede. Chaney thinks that there were festivals three times a year in Scandinavia. The mid-winter sacrifice for good crops; the sacrifice for victory which was the great sacrifice to Odin to mark the commencement of the war-year at the beginning of Summer, and Winter's Day which marked the beginning of Winter. A New Year's festival for peace and plenty may also have existed. Adam of Bremen says, that in Sweden, sacrificial offerings were made to Odin in wartime, to Thor in plague or famine and to Freyr for fertility at wedding nuptials. Quoting Bede to the effect that there were two divisions in the Saxon year, Winter and Summer, Chaney argues, with Phillipson, that these two seasons were matched by two agricultural 'high'

3. Ibid. p.56.
occasions – planting and harvest. Chaney then proceeds to argue that the Saxon festivals of Bede can be equated with those of Germany. Chaney summarises his argument,

"These holy days or seasons ... occur in November the month of blot; late December and early January the nights of modranect and plough ceremonies; February or solomonath ...; in March when offerings were made to the goddess Hred; mid-Summer a light and fertility feast; and September the halegmonath. The relationship and common origins of Anglo-Saxon and Continental Germanic heathen festivals is, although perhaps expected, quite clear."

That the English pre-Christian Calendar was related to other Teutonic sacred calendars is clear but, once again, the complete relationship of English pre-Christian religion to the total Teutonic system is elusive and unclear. Although from Chaney's analysis given above, we can see the place that Vanir deities would have, it is not clear at which points the Aesir deities, such as Odin and Thor, would take their place. However, they did have their especial times

1. Ibid. p.60.
as is instanced in the survival of Anglo-Saxon names for days, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday (the days of Tiw, Odin and Thor).

As we have seen in previous chapters, the earliest Christians continued to follow their Jewish practices of worship as well as those of their Christian faith. By the time of Christ the cyclical view of time in the Jewish round of festivals, whatever may have been originally the case, was muted. The day of the Lord of the eighth century prophets had become the eschatalogical day when the present age would end. This had developed as sense of linear time from creation to the end of present time when there would be a new heaven and earth. These ideas can be seen in the New Testament. The Jewish Calendar like the Teutonic Calendar has its origins in the agricultural seasons. It is built round three great feasts at which, Torah instructs, Israelites are to present themselves before the Lord. Passover (Pesach), a nomadic festival which coalesced with the agricultural festival of unleavened bread, Shavuot the wheat harvest which became associated with the giving of the Covenant at Sinai and Succoth which was the vine and olive harvest but also came to celebrate the wilderness soujourn. Although Israel's festivals were originally to do with flock and field and their fertility they became associated with historic events. Thus the festivals were not a re-entering of mythic time and the re-living of the timeless cosmogonic events but a celebration of God's saving acts in history. Jewish festivals are

2. Deuteronomy 16: 1-16.
not a recall to the pristine quality of life of mythic time but to the pristine life when the Covenant (Berith) was first made at Sinai and a reminder that God's saving activity in history is now as it was then.

The earliest Christian proclamation presented Jesus as the culmination of this divine saving activity in history.¹ Jesus is presented as a crucified Messiah who triumphs over death in the resurrection and is now the ascended lord in heaven. This proclamation formed the basis of both the weekly and annual sanctification of time for Christians. From earliest times the sacred day for Christians was Sunday the day of resurrection,² not the Jewish Sabbath. The starting point of the Christological Calendar was the Easter-Pentecostal cycle coinciding in time with the Jewish Passover and Feast of Weeks. The earliest records show that a short period of fasting preceded the Easter festival which was kept with celebration as were the fifty days leading on to Pentecost.³ The Christological Calendar developed steadily, particularly in post-Constantinian times. Cyril of Jerusalem (circa 350 a.d.) developed the liturgical devotions of Easter Week and we have a contemporary description of these by Etheria a Spanish nun.⁴ Pilgrims like Etheria spread these practices from Jerusalem to other churches. The pre-Easter fast

1. e.g. Acts 2: 14 ff, 1 Corinthians 15: 1 ff.
3. Ibid.
developed into the forty days of Lent\(^1\) which was, in the first instance, the final period of the catechumenate.

The Advent-Christmas-Epiphany cycle of the Christian year are post-Constantinian. They are based on the solar year unlike the Easter-Pentecost cycle which uses a lunar base derived from their Jewish antecedents. This cycle appears to have two roots. These were a desire to combat Arianism and the provision of Christian alternatives to traditional religious festivals, linked to the Winter solstice.\(^2\) The original proclamation of a crucified Messiah developed during the New Testament. In Gentile circles particularly, Jesus was depicted as a cosmic and divine figure coming to take the role of the human messiah.\(^3\) The nativity cycle of stories in the New Testament provided a basis for the liturgical expression of the orthodox faith in the Christmas and Epiphany seasons. Advent, a Gallican and Roman practice, analagous to Lent, grew as a preparation for Christmas. Thus by the time that Augustine's mission came to England the complete, Advent to Pentecost, Christological cycle of feasts and festivals was in being. The earliest and the central part of the Christian Calendar therefore shares with its Jewish predecessors the celebration of God's saving activity in history.

3. Dunn, J. D. G. *Op cit.*
The other major part of the Christian Calendar was the Sanctoral that is the saints' days. The practice arose, in the West, of observing the anniversary of a martyrdom by the celebration of the Eucharist and a meal (refrigerium)\(^1\) at the tomb. This was not a celebration by the whole church, only those connected with the person. In the West, especially at Rome, there was reluctance to deposit the bodies of Christians, even martyrs, in church. The depredations of the fifth century, however, led to changed practice. The anniversary Mass began to be celebrated in church, with processions and sermons.\(^2\) Along with the martyrs, the lives of the major New Testament figures were also celebrated. To these were added additional days honouring the Virgin Mary after the Council of Ephesus had vindicated the idea of Mary as theotokos. To this list were added, from time to time, the outstanding figures of the church.

As we have said earlier, Augustine would have brought the local Calendar of the Church of Rome with him to England. It was this Calendar that triumphed at the Synod of Whitby. The Celtic Church which followed the Eastern Church's method of dating Easter lost the day. Henceforth the Roman pattern would be followed.\(^3\)

The Calendar of pre-Christian English religion did not match the Christological Calendar. The Winter and Spring festivals could be

realigned as Christmas and Easter. The observance of days to the
gods could be substituted by the 'station' days of Wednesday and
Friday as well as the day of Christ-Sunday. There was also ember
days and rogation-tide, this latter introduced by the Western Church
to provide Christian replacements for traditional ceremonies.
However, with the Sanctoral Calendar the Christian Church had a
flexible instrument for transforming and assimilating non-Christian
festivals. On this problem Gregory wrote to Mellitus,¹

"Since they have a custom of sacrificing
many oxen to devils, let some other solemnity
be substituted in its place, such as a day of
dedication or the festivals of the holy
martyrs whose relics are enshrined there.
On such occasions they might well construct
shelters of boughs for themselves around
churches which were once temples, and
celebrate the solemnity with devout
feasting."

The 'Christianising' of what were essentially non-Christian festivals
ensured that they persisted for many centuries, indeed into post-
Reformation times.² The present popularity of such local customs as
well-dressing ceremonies show the persistence of such customs. The
Visitation Articles of the time of the Reformation show how strongly
many non-Christian ceremonies and practices persisted.³ The popularity

   1975. also
of harvest-festival services standing outside the Christological and Sanctoral Calendars show how tenacious non-Christian sentiments can be. In broad terms, however, just as Augustine's mission led to sacred space being brought within a Christological framework so too with sacred time. It was God in Christ who was to be revealed in sacred time and space.

There was some growth both of the Christological Calendar and the Sanctoral during the medieval period but, in the main, this was a rounding out of what already existed. The sanctoral continued to consist of the old Roman list, including the New Testament figures. To this was added a certain number of English saints. This overall structure was reflected in the pattern of church dedications.

The new understandings of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation were reflected in new calendars. The Anglican via media is to be seen in the calendars in the books of common prayer. The Anglican Calendar resolves the types of day into two. The first type are red-letter days. These were to be observed as holy days and had special collects, epistles and gospels allocated to them. The second, black letter days, were to be merely noted and have no special liturgical provision.

4. From the fact that like rubrics they were originally, and sometimes still are, printed in red in the Book of Common Prayer.
Both Frere\textsuperscript{1} and Lowther-Clarke\textsuperscript{2} speculate that the retention of the black letter days was purely for secular convenience and note the bishop's answer to the puritan divines in 1661 to this effect.

The black letter days are derived entirely from the Sanctoral. The red letter days consist of the Christological Calendar supplemented by the days from the Sanctoral celebrating the key New Testament figures, mainly the apostles. The Anglican liturgical year is thus essentially a Christological one. In accordance with Anglican thinking, the Calendar is based on the Bible while not being entirely derived from it. The only days with specific celebration, however, are derived from New Testament figures and incidents. The Calendar is concerned with making the key historic salvation event a present reality.

The understanding of sacred time for those seeking further reform is to be seen clearly in the instructions of the Parliamentary Directory of Worship, introduced during the Commonwealth Period, with regard to the Calendar and liturgical year.\textsuperscript{3} Clarke,\textsuperscript{4} who has made a special study of Puritan holy days, suggests that the Puritans saw the divine in action now, whereas the Anglican Calendar of feasts and festivals was a renewal of foundation events.\textsuperscript{5}

Commonwealth period the Calendar was abolished. The only vestige of the traditional Calendar was Sunday, now called the Lord's Day. Holydays were replaced in two ways. Regular days were allowed free from work for recreation and days appointed, from time to time, for public thanksgiving or fasting. These latter days were in response to what were seen as marks of divine favour or displeasure. Accordingly, The Directory has a section named "Of Solemn Public Fasting", and another, "Of the Observation of Days of Public Thanksgiving". The opening of the former says,

"When some great and notable judgements are either inflicted upon a people ...; as also when some special blessing is to be sought."

It then goes on to give direction as to how the fast days are to be conducted privately and publicly. Of the public part it says,

"So large a portion of the days as conveniently maybe, is to be spent in public reading and preaching of the Word."

It also provides guidelines for preachers on these days. Concerning days of Public Thanksgiving the Directory says that these are to be announced beforehand. Once again, the congregation is to assemble for preaching, psalm singing and prayer.

At the end of the Directory there is an appendix concerned with the time and place of public worship. It says,

1. Ibid. p.49.
2. Ibid. pp. 69 and 73.
"There is no day commended in Scripture to be kept holy under the gospel but the Lord's Day which is the Christian Sabbath, Festival days, vulgarly called Holydays, having no warrant in the Word of God, are not to be continued. Nevertheless, it is lawful and necessary upon special emergent occasions, to separate a day or days for public fasting and thanksgiving, as the several eminent and extraordinary dispensations of God's providence shall administer cause and opportunity to His people."

This encapsulates the views of those seeking further reform. Anything within the church must have scriptural precedent. Thus the only recollection of past sacred events in time was the Lord's Day. The Commonwealth Calendar and its underlying rationale marked a very real change of understanding of the sacred and time. Firstly, it introduced the idea of secular holidays and secondly, the observation of God's present and passing action rather than His past and eternal action. The idea of non-religious holidays for recreation introduced a separation of life into sacred and secular. Legislation was introduced relating to Sunday activities, forbidding travel, recreational and trading activities on that day. Abuses, as Puritans

2. Ibid. pp. 147-150.
saw them, which they had long attacked. Sunday was for them a day of prayer and the study of God's Word. Publicly in the congregation and privately at home.

The Calendar, as well as the liturgy, of the Commonwealth Period emphasised the belief that the sacred was not more fully present at any special time. God revealed Himself to man at one point only, in the preaching of the Word, and brought him back to obey that revelation through the providence of daily life.

For those, such as the Society of Friends, seeking radical reformation there could be no particular sacred time, not even the Lord's Day. For Fox, Sunday was merely the first day of the week, without special significance. God was present and active at all times.

The Roman Calendar of 1570 was a rationalisation of medieval calendars. The Sanctoral was fixed by central authority, with mandatory propers, although provision was made for the celebration of local saints' days. Although, in the first instance, the number of saints' days to be celebrated was reduced, in time the number grew

This increased the tendency, ever present in the medieval period, for the Sanctoral to interfere with and displace the Christological Calendar.  

The observance of the Calendar for English Catholics had to be private. Celebration with feasting, and penitence with fasting and abstinence, continued domestically. Medieval tradition held strong and was not quickly destroyed. The Catholic womenfolk saw to it that Fridays, Lent, Ember days and vigils were observed with fasting and abstinence. As Bossy says,  

"There is fairly unanimous testimony that this ascetic regime was the branch of pre-Reformation religious practice held on to most firmly by Elizabethan Catholics."

Similarly, the festivals were observed domestically in the traditional ways with feasting, dancing and games.  

The sanctification of the hours of the day, the hallmark of medieval monasticism, was first restricted by the closure of monasteries and convents between 1536 and 1540 and after the Anglican changes became the concern of the recusant Catholic clergy alone.

1. Ibid. p.428.
4. Ibid. p.110 ff.
5. Ibid. p.111.
In recent years, the Liturgical Movement's insights have led to new expressions of the sacred and time. The Roman Catholic Church has sought to restore the Christological Calendar so often set aside for the Sanctoral. The Second Vatican Council decreed,

"The proper of time must be given the preference which is its due over the feasts of saints so that the entire cycle of the mysteries of salvation may be suitably recalled."¹

Various other changes strengthen and emphasise both the Christmas and Easter cycles. The rest of the year is counted as ordinary time and the Sundays are simply numbered and not designated as after Epiphany or after Easter.² The Council also revised the Sanctoral with a view to making it more universal and more accurate.³ The Sanctoral has been divided into solemnities, feasts and memorials. The first two of these, with the exception of the feast of St. Lawrence, are biblical and have propers. The memorials cover the non-biblical saints. Many of these are optional. Specific propers are not provided for the memorials.

The Joint Liturgical Group set up in 1963 have made proposals which have been accepted in their entirety by the English Free Churches and, with some modification, by the Anglican Church. This acceptance marks a radical departure in understanding of the sacred and time for the Free Churches. The Reformation emphasis on present

2. Ibid. p.418.
3. Ibid. pp. 429-430.
revelation is set aside in favour of a didactic approach. Cobb says,

"They depart radically from the traditions of the early Church and show little appreciation of the theological meaning of the Christian year as a means of participating in the mystery of Christ."

The approach of the proposals is not based on the sacred revealed in time but systematic teaching. In many ways it is a secular calendar emphasising another aspect of the understanding of those seeking further reform in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that of the need of systematic teaching and preaching of the gospel.

The new Calendar, and associated lectionary and themes, divides the year into three sections, a Christmas cycle, an Easter cycle and a Pentecost cycle. It is Trinitarian where the traditional Christian Calendar is Christological. The Christmas cycle commences before Advent, so that the themes and their readings cover the Christian Heilsgeschichte from Creation to the revelation of the human Christ. The Easter cycle commences before Lent and the themes run through the human life of Jesus to the Ascension. The Pentecost section starts with the gift of the Spirit and then has a series of themes to do with the quality of life in the Church. The new Methodist Service Book and the United Reformed Church Book of Services contain the Calendar and its attendant lectionary. The Free Churches have not adopted the Sanctoral but the above books provide a proper for All

Saints Day. The other days observed and given propers by the Free Churches show the didactic nature of the Calendar. The days provided for include, Christian Mission, Remembrance Sunday, and Harvest.

The Anglican Church has not abolished the 1662 Book of Common Prayer and so the traditional Calendar can still be used. The Alternative Services Book, which incorporates the Calendar of the Joint Liturgical Group, is an alternative. In addition to the new Calendar, the Alternative Services Book contains the traditional Anglican New Testament Sanctoral together with provision for Ember Weeks and Rogationtide. It also provides general propers for 'black letter days'. A similar choice is available to the Free Churches. Their books, incorporating the new Calendar, are optional.

Although there is now a considerable outward convergence in the Calendars of the churches, one senses that there are still fundamental differences. The Roman Calendar seems to emphasise that there are times when it is particularly appropriate and right for the sacred to be experienced in a particular aspect. The Anglican Church seems to have tried to have retained this insight while accommodating to other views for the sake of unity. The Free Churches seem to have adopted something foreign to their own theologies for didactic purposes.

Earlier forms continue as they have at previous periods of change. Traditional experience of sacred time is still present in an apparently
secular society as can be seen at such times as Christmas and Harvest.
The recent presence, in England, of migrant groups following both
Christian and other forms of religion will also doubtless lead some
English people to celebrate sacred time in new ways.

The forms of sacred phenomena which have been manifest at the
English public place of worship have now been reviewed. We turn
to a consideration of this evidence as a whole.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
In the review of major phenomenological studies in the Introduction an outline of the major forms of sacred phenomena was given. This was related to the public place of worship. In the succeeding chapters the ways these forms have been manifested at the English public place of worship have been examined, including particular types within the forms. A review and analysis of the foregoing material will now lead on to the conclusions to be drawn from this study.

Among the English, sacred space has been defined in four ways. These are by theophany, consecration, use, and the presence of the sacred community. Many sites which were experienced, in the earliest times, as locations where the sacred was present, have been in continuous use for worship ever since. This has been through times of conversion, reformation and change. This, of course, is a widespread phenomenon.¹

Within the English tradition space, in the form of churchyard, church buildings and the cells within them, has been made sacred by consecration. So also have the objects associated with or attached to them. Sacred space must not be profaned. In fact, during the medieval period there were services for the reversal of profanation. The consecration of sacred space has normally involved sacred action or word and frequently both. Sacred action in connection with the sanctification of space can take various forms. It can be by the duplication of a heavenly prototype.² This can involve complex ritual

1. e.g. Jerusalem, Mecca.
action in setting aside, preparing and laying-out the site.\(^1\) There is no direct evidence of such activity in England but there are aspects of both pre-Christian English temples and of the later churches that suggest the idea of heavenly duplication. 'Bringing to life' is another form of consecration.\(^2\) The theme of death and resurrection has been central in English medieval and Catholic consecration services. These services are a combination of a Requiem Mass and a Baptismal Service. They articulate the idea of an earthly death followed by a heavenly life. Touching, particularly in the forms of the sign of the cross and anointing, also feature in these services. There have also been rites of 'bringing to life' in the sense of bringing the divine presence into the objects associated with worship in Christian churches in England. Circumambulation is another way of marking-off space so that it becomes sacred and this has been part of the ceremony for consecrating churchyards in England. The utterance of the sacred word can consecrate space. Prayers of consecration have been important in many English rites, not least those of the Anglican Church. The performance of sacred rites has also been a path to the sanctification of space. As was indicated, the performance of the Eucharist was the earliest form of Christian consecration of buildings for worship and this practice became integral to the Anglican seventeenth century services and their successors.

2. Davidson, S. *Op cit.* chap. 3.
Within the Judaeo-Christian tradition two forms of sacred space have existed. The first has been permanent and associated with specific locations. The second has been temporary, being the space where the sacred community was gathered at any one time. Both of these have existed and do exist in England. In the case of the second, even when the congregation has to meet in a building on a regular basis this does not permanently sanctify the area or the buildings. The sacred is present only when and where the community is gathered. In one sense the sacred community is most truly itself when it gathers into sacred space, whether physically or socially defined.

Whichever category is examined, theophany, consecration or presence of the sacred community the purpose and the end is the same space, once profane, has become the realm and possession of the sacred.

Having reviewed the sacralisation of space among the English, it is possible to examine the forms of sacred space which have existed in England. We have noted that sacred space always has a temenos, a clearly defined boundary either physical or social. Within that boundary, however, there can be gradations of sacrality and alternative categories of sacred space. It is likely that among the pre-Christian English the afhus of the temple, with its staller, was more holy than the main hall with its pillars, sacred nails and
images. This division was certainly true of the medieval Christian churches in England. The sanctuary was the place of the divine presence, located in the host and the chancel was the place for especially sacred persons. The nave was for the laity and the churchyard, the place for all, including the departed and those seeking sanctuary. On occasion too, the church, in the medieval period, could contain other forms of sacred space such as the chantry chapel, the anchorite's room, and the shrine. It was noted also that there were various forms of church associated with sacred space in Medieval England. These were the parochial church, the pilgrimage church, and the monastic church. On occasion one building could accommodate more than one of these types. There was a gradation of sacrality with these as well. The monastic church was restricted to consecrated persons. Shrines were places made venerable by the remains of saints and there were rites for setting aside in temporary sacrality those embarking on pilgrimage. The post-Reformation Anglican church, while retaining sacrality, lost these divisions. The process of interiorisation at the period of the Reformation led to further changes. It led to a re-emphasis on sacred presence being defined in terms of the location of the sacred community and, particularly with the Society of Friends, the recognition of the divine presence everywhere.

Within sacred space, in which public worship takes place, are sacred objects. These can take the form of boundaries and buildings
further defining the sacred space, but can also be images, symbols and signs. These like sacred space can differ in how they are, or have become, sacred and the level of sacrality they reveal or contain. The image, be it three dimensional or two, statue, icon or painting is a man-made object. If it is to be a symbol rather than a sign, that is to reveal the sacred rather than point to it, it will be consecrated. It may also be ritually constructed if it is to be a symbol rather than a sign. The image has featured largely, especially in iconographical schemes, in English religion. Even among staunch Protestant groups in post-Reformation England images have re-emerged in verbal form in sermons and devotional books, such as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

The symbol can either be a natural object or man-made. In the former case, the symbol will be sacred because men have experienced its innate numinous qualities. In the latter case it will have been consecrated. Symbols have featured both in pre-Christian and Christian places of worship in England. Signs can be iconic or aniconic. Non-Conformist places of worship provide many examples of the latter. As we have seen many of the chapels and meeting houses with plain walls and benches were saying things very elegantly about the sacred without being either images or symbols. The places of worship resulting from the Liturgical Movement are examples where signs are iconic without being sacred in themselves.
The images, symbols and signs at the English public place of worship have always had the purpose of revealing the sacred and man's path to it. In other words they have revealed the path of salvation. Whether this has been in the pre-Christian English temple, medieval church, post-Reformation church and chapel or church organised in accordance with the ideas of the Liturgical Movement. Image, symbol and sign are always linked to sacred story. This, of course, is widespread in religion.

Universal forms of iconic representation and symbols are present within the English tradition. These include symbolising the place of worship as the axis mundi and the gateway to heaven. Images and symbols echoing the revelation of the sacred through natural objects have also been present including such items as sky, water and tree.

The universal forms of the sacred community as outlined in the Introduction have existed among the English including tribal, founded and protest (both internal, ecclesiola in ecclesia, and external such as the sect). In England, as elsewhere, entrance to the sacred community is not by birth but by initiation. Until the person is initiated, and thereby gains a community name, they do not exist as far as the community is concerned. As Eliade, in particular, has shown death and resurrection are the keynotes in ceremonies of initiation into the sacred community. In the Christian era, among the English, Baptism has been the central rite of initiation.

Death and resurrection are the central themes of this rite. The structure of the rite and the ceremonies accompanying Baptism are parallel to those used for special categories of sacred person within the English sacred community such as priest and king.

The community's life at the place of public worship in England has not just been confined to cultus, the whole gamut of the community's life has been lived out within it.

At death the members total passage into the sacred realm has been ensured by transitional rites connected with burial. This has included interment of their bodies within the sacred space. Where internalisation has occurred these rites have become truncated or disappeared altogether.

The boundaries of the community and its sub-communities have always been guarded not only by entrance rites but by rites of exclusion and re-admittance. The breakdown of these clear boundaries in the present day has been noted.

The various categories of sacred person in the pre-Christian English sacred community have been described. With the exception of the king, it is not clear whether any of the categories was an hereditary caste. The Anglo-Saxon rulers did originally trace their ancestry back to the gods, but in the Christian era the hereditary English king has been made sacred through coronation.
It was pointed out that there was a continuity of sacred person among the English through the period of conversion to Christianity. The similarity of structure of the various medieval rites for consecrating the differing categories of sacred person was also indicated. Wach has suggested that there is a hierarchy of sacred persons, the founder being the most replete with sacred power. This declension is most marked in the reformed churches in England. The priest becomes the pastor and teacher or even elder. This is counterbalanced however, with an emphasis on the priesthood of all believers.

Sacred action has been an integral and central feature of cultus at the English public place of worship. It has been concerned with binding to and excluding from the sacred. Sacred acts have always been closely associated with the sacred word, particularly those actions which have been most central. These have been sacrifice, covenant, and sacrament. Through these the life of the sacred has been renewed both for the sacred community and the individuals within it.

Sacrifice was an essential part of Teutonic religion as was also sacramental communion with the gods in the form of minne-drinking. There is no reason to think that this was not also true of the pre-Christian English. The Eucharist, in its various forms the Mass, Holy Communion and Lord's Supper, has, in Christian times in England, been the focus for sacred action. The three themes of sacrifice, covenant and sacrament have always been present. Although, of course,

they have been expressed with varying emphasis at different times and places.

During Pre-Christian and Christian times a variety of other sacred acts have taken place in the public place of worship within the setting of the Eucharist. These have included the consecration of people and things, bringing them into the sacred realm and also the degradation and exclusion of individuals from the sacred community. In the Christian era a variety of activities have been associated with these sacred actions; exorcisms, purifications, anointings, laying on of hands, robing and the giving of symbols.

Movement as a type of sacred action in the form of bodily posture, dance and drama has been dealt with very little in this study. Circumambulation as an act of making space sacred has been mentioned, as has pilgrimage as a journey to the sacred realm. We have also noted that dancing, drama and games have had their place within the sacred space of church and churchyard and that these activities had also occurred at the pre-Christian English temples and sacred areas. One activity which particularly links sacred action, in the form of bodily movement and posture, and sacred word is prayer. It is a key act whereby man and sacred are joined.

The sacred word has had a central function in the English public place of worship. Although we lack direct descriptive evidence, the circumstantial clues make it clear that myth, legend and epic were
important in pre-Christian English religion. The sacred word has always been of prime importance in English Christian worship. The Liturgy of the Word was the first section of the Mass. It remained so in the Communion Service of the Books of Common Prayer. Even those reformers desiring extensive modifications of liturgy retained the Liturgy of the Word as the key stone of their worship. Fundamental to this Liturgy of the Word has been the Bible. The reading of the Bible in a sacred tongue (Latin) or profane tongue (English) has always occurred. The sacred word, like iconography, revealed salvation to man. The Bible has been the basis of two other forms of sacred word, the sermon and prayer in liturgy. The written liturgies and directories of worship in Christian England have been heavily dependent on the Bible both for the expression of ideas and forms of words. The creed, as another form of sacred word, has had a place within Baptism from earliest times in Christian England and since the eleventh century within the Mass and later the Anglican Communion. The sacred word of consecration has, as has been shown, an important role in the activities at the English public place of worship.

Myth, Legend, Epic and Saga have had a prominent role as forms of sacred word in English pre-Christian religion. They were also prominent in medieval English Christianity. This is witnessed to by the iconography, church dedications, and the Sanctoral. These forms of sacred word have continued in protestant circles in informal ways of which Foxe's Book of Martyrs is an early example.
Sacred formulae have always been present in English religion. The English Christian liturgies are replete with sacred formulae, and as we have seen, not least in those of consecration. Sacred oaths, curses and vows were linked with the priest, his ring and the stall in pre-Christian times and the altar in Christian. Sacred oaths have had their place in pre-Christian temple and Christian church, in connection with legal matters. Vows, connected with Baptism, Ordination and Marriage, were uttered in churches. The sacred curse has been less prominent but the Commination Service of the books of common prayer is one example.

As has been alluded to before, the charismatic expression of the sacred has not been prominent among the English. Sacred praise, lallation and silence have had their place. The Quakers moving from lallation to silence in their early period is one group. We have also noted the modern charismatic movement where these forms of sacred word are to be found among the English.

There are propitious times, replete with sacred power, when it is appropriate to engage in sacred action and to utter the sacred word. As was described, sacred time in primal religion is the life of mythic time made present here and now. This appears to have been the case in pre-Christian English religion although an element of sacred history may have been present as well. The fluctuations of the seasons have also been indicators of times when sacred power is most replete or absent. The pre-Christian Calendar was certainly seasonal and this element has never been entirely absent from the English Christian year.
The calendar is important if one is to tell beforehand which times will be replete with sacred power. From a seasonal calendar the English, on becoming Christians, moved to a calendar which was based on the historical foundation events of the faith. This calendar indicated when past sacred history would once again be a present reality in all its plenary power. A secondary calendar of lesser sacral power has also been present in English Christian religion. This is the Sanctoral. In historic time the original power of the foundation events have been re-manifested in individuals. The saints' days are moments of re-manifestation of this secondary sacrality. Once again the saint is present in the sacred community.

Those seeking further reform, as has been described, emphasised the presence and action of the sacred in present time. This was not a re-appearing of mythic time or salvation time but a pristine manifestation of the sacred here and now. Those committed to radical reform internalised sacred time. Every moment was replete with the presence of the sacred for the believer. To those outside, time was secular and mechanical. From this latter tendency has arisen the didactic aspects of modern liturgical calendars.

The foregoing summary of this study has indicated that universal forms of the sacred can be identified within the phenomena of religion associated with the English public place of worship. Even when there have been new infusions of religious experience and insight they have tended to persist, even when transformed or interiorised. There has
been a continuity of the major form: sacred space, object, community, person, action, word and time.

This study has been a general initial investigation necessarily covering a wide range of material gathered from a considerable period of time. It has also had a restricted field of enquiry, that is, the English public place of worship. As a result of these factors it has had to be selective. Liturgical materials which present themselves as eminently practical starting points for a phenomenological study connected with the place of worship have provided the prime source for enquiry. Besides the large amount of material in this field which has had to be by-passed there is much other material available for the phenomenological investigation of English religion. This includes biographical and devotional material, sermons, doctrinal writings, drama and art, as well as recorded eye-witness accounts.

Attention has been given to the major groups and movements. There have been many minor groups and activities which have not been considered. Further, little attention has been paid in this study to comparison with religion elsewhere. Brief reference to this material was made in the Introduction in the survey of major phenomenological works. The English evidence concerning the forms of the sacred needs to be studied alongside, and compared with, material from elsewhere. There is a very full field of study to be undertaken in comparing the forms of sacred phenomena which have been examined in this study with parallel forms elsewhere, as well as work in much greater detail on the forms of the sacred in English Religion.
The problem of going beyond an external morphological description to intentionality was discussed in the Introduction. To gain an apprehension of the inward knowing experience, except with living witnesses, is impossible in terms of obtaining any verification. On the evidence which has been reviewed all that can be said is that there appears to have been continuity through processes of transformation. However, that is not to say that an examination of externals does not increase our understanding. By examining the structure of the phenomena something of the essence and meaning of religion can be discerned. This study, as has already been stated, has shown that the phenomena connected with English religion at the public place of worship exhibits features which are universal. This provides a very useful basis for further research.
APPENDIX A

Who were the English?
Hodgkin suggests that a passage in Bede is the starting point of any investigation into the question, "Who were the English?". This passage is also taken by Stenton to be of prime importance. The English translation of the text is as follows:

"Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations in Germany - Saxons, Angles and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent and the Isle of Wight and those in the province of the West Saxons who are to this day called Jutes, seated opposite the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, from that region which is now called Old Saxony, come the East Saxons, the South Saxons and the West Saxons. From the Angles, that is, from that country which is called Angulus and which is said from that time to the present day to have remained deserted (between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons) are descended the East Angles, the Midland Angles, the Mercians, all the race of the Northumbrians ... and the other nations of the Angles."

How accurate is Bede's statement? To answer this historians have turned to information in other written sources, philology and to the

work of the archaeologist. That there were three distinct groups, Angles, Saxons and Jutes and that they came from northern Germany seems to be without doubt. Hodgkin\(^1\) illustrates the arguments in his text by a map. He suggests that all three groups had settled for a period prior to migration in Schleswig-Holstein between the rivers Elbe and Weser and then migrated to England via Frisia. Stenton\(^2\) agrees in general terms, with this conclusion and says:\(^3\)

"When all allowance has been made for the fragmentary evidence its general trend seems clear and consistent with the tradition preserved by Bede."

Two further points need to be clarified concerning the origin of the English people, "Were they closely inter-related on the Continent and how soon did they become an English nation once they had settled here?" The latter question is, perhaps the more easily answered. Although the settlers set up a number of kingdoms, Anglo-Saxon, or rather English, has come down to us as a unified language, even though there are regional dialects. Despite the fact that the separate kingdoms were not an amphictyony they shared a common religion\(^4\) and culture.\(^5\) The terms Angle and Saxon soon became

interchangeable. Chadwick\(^1\) says,

"The invaders of Britain belonged not to three
but to two distinct nationalities, which we may
call Jutish and Anglo-Saxon ... The Anglo-
Saxons may not have originally been a homogeneous
people ... but there is no proof that any
fundamental difference survived at the time
when they invaded Britain."

Hodgkin\(^2\) agrees, in general terms, with Chadwick quoting the use of
\textit{Angelcyn} indifferently for Angle or Saxon and \textit{Englisc} as the common
language. He quotes Bede's statement,

"gens Saxonum sive Anglorum."

Despite regional differences the Angles and Saxons recognised themselves
as the English nation into which the Jutes were readily absorbed. Even
though the regions were politically separate the sense of nationhood
is exemplified by the ease with which the Roman mission established an
episcopal hierarchy and organisation. This contrasts with the
difficulties encountered by the Roman mission in establishing a similar
form of government among Celtic Christians in the British Isles.

The evidence for a close continental association of the Angles
and Saxons seems strong.\(^3\) The origin of the Jutes is more problematic.\(^4\)

1. Chadwick, H. M. \textit{The Origin of the English Nation.}


All shared a common Germanic heritage.\textsuperscript{1} Even after the conversion this sense of Germanic origin continued strongly, as can be seen in the large part played by the English missionaries in the conversion of the Germans.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1} Hodgkin, R. H. \textit{Op cit.} pp. 19-35.

APPENDIX B

What Influence did Celtic Christianity have on English Religion and Culture?
The traditional picture is one of extermination of the Britons by the Saxons. This view has been derived mainly from Gildas. The suggestion of Gildas that the Saxons first arrived as foederati seems likely to have been true. We know that the Saxons had been marauding Eastern England during Roman times and that a "Count of the Saxon Shore" had been appointed. Extensive fortifications had also been built and a fleet raised. The practice of allowing foederati to settle within the borders of the Empire and to allow them to serve in the Roman army was an established practice. There is evidence of Saxon mercenaries having served on Hadrian's Wall towards the end of the Roman period. It would seem entirely likely that the Romano-British officials of the civitates would invite Saxons and possibly others to settle as foederati.

Did these newcomers remain separate? It has been suggested that the heavier Saxon plough, allowing them to plough heavier soil in the valleys, made for some natural division of land occupation. Be this as it may, the Saxons were slow in spreading westward. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 682 A.D. records that King Centwine drove the Britons in flight to the sea. Hodgkin suggests that this refers to,

"the conquest of the country at least as far as the Quantocks."

This is some two hundred and fifty years after the most likely time for
the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon migrations and nearly a century after
Augustine's mission.

The place names on the map of England are another guide to the
survival of the Britons and their culture as the tide of the Saxons
came steadily westwards. Some Roman towns survived, such as Colchester,
Leicester and York. This perhaps indicates that the Romano-British
populations of the towns survived longest. Hodgkin\(^1\) quotes Collingwood,
however, saying

"A handful of de-Romanised Britons, squatting
among the ruins of a Roman town ... from the
point of view of the social, economic and
political historian are discontinuity incarnate."

Turning to the rural population, Hodgkin\(^2\) points out that air photography
shows that the discontinued Celtic settlements in Salisbury Plain and
elsewhere, are quite distinct in location from the later Saxon ones.
A map\(^3\) indicates that the Celtic field system only persisted in Devon,
Cornwall, Wales and Strathclyde. Examining evidence from surviving
Celtic river and place names, Hodgkin\(^4\) draws similar conclusions.
Some Celtic river names\(^5\) persist in the East but few, if any, place
names, even in the West. Whatever happened to the Britons who did not

1. Ibid. p.164.
2. Ibid. pp. 165-167.
migrate westwards, whether it was extermination or absorption, there is little evidence that they transmitted their cultural ideas to the Anglo-Saxon settlers.

The Christian mission to the English came from two directions, from the nearby Celtic church and more distantly from Rome. These two missions are well documented and described elsewhere. The three cultures and religions, Teutonic, Celtic Christian and Roman Christian met and came to a turning point at the Synod of Whitby in 664 A.D. Clearly, in outward terms, the Roman mission emerged the victor and the subsequent work of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury ensured that Roman discipline and practice were followed throughout the kingdom.

Undoubtedly Celtic Christian practice lingered on, particularly in Northumbria, but this does not seem to have affected the English Church in any widespread or significant way. One would expect to find this in church architecture, liturgy and sacred art. Concerning the latter, Kendrick has claimed to have found traces of Celtic influence in the Lindisfarne gospels. His views, however, do not appear to have great support. Brown finds much northern Teutonic influence, particularly in the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses, but makes little mention of Celtic influence. A comparison of Celtic and

English liturgies and calendars seem to indicate that in this area of religious life\textsuperscript{1} also, there was little Celtic influence. In this connection it should be noted that the date of observance of Easter was central to the discussions at the Synod of Whitby. The same appears to hold good in matters of church building. The Celtic church was, in many ways, a monastic church. The heritage of early Celtic Christian building is monastic.\textsuperscript{2} The churches are one-called oratories used by the monastic priests. Here they would say Mass with the laity gathered at the door. The Saxon churches, by way of contrast are two-celled, having rooms for priest and laity.

The life of the Celtic church centred on its monasteries. From these issued independent and itinerant missionaries. Celtic Christianity seems to have lingered on in the Northumbrian monasteries, but it is difficult to see where even these, apart from their preliminary missionary work, had any real influence, on English Christianity. Theodore's imposition of Roman discipline appears to have finally been supreme. Concerning the important area of liturgy, Deanesley\textsuperscript{3} says,

"The liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon church from Augustine's time to the Norman Conquest may be said to have been Roman with minor Gallican embellishments."

1. Inter alia vide. Dawson, W. \textit{Op cit.}
Hardinge, L. \textit{Op cit.} chaps. 3 and 4.
Wright, T. \textit{Op cit.}


One must conclude that Celtic influence on the English was minor and of no lasting effect.
APPENDIX C

Anglican Church Consecration Services 1960-1980
ANGLICAN CHURCH CONSECRATION SERVICES 1960-1980

(Analysis of key items included in Twenty Services)

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<td>Mark Church with Cross</td>
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<td>Consecrate altar</td>
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<td>Anoint altar</td>
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<td>Vest altar</td>
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<td>Sign altar with Cross</td>
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Abstract of Thesis

The English Place of Worship: A Phenomenological Study

This study was chosen, firstly, because of the lack of any previous overall phenomenological study of English religion; secondly, for the importance of the findings of such an enquiry for the development of religious education in state schools in this country, and, thirdly, because thereby a phenomenological investigation could be undertaken within a geographical, cultural and historic whole.

Phenomenology as a method of studying religion is first discussed, as are the reasons for choosing it rather than other disciplines. The work of a number of leading phenomenologists is then reviewed with reference to the forms of sacred phenomena found at the public place of worship. The evidence concerning these forms (sacred space, object, community, person, action, word and time) at the English public place of worship, and its antecedents, is then presented. As the material available is so considerable, particular attention is given to certain periods and movements of religious change, the Conversion of the English to Christianity, the Reformation and the Liturgical Movement. In the concluding chapter this evidence is reviewed and analysed. It is argued that, although there has been transformation and change of emphasis, the major forms of the sacred have existed continuously at the English public place of worship in this country, as have many of the categories within the forms. It is suggested that these findings provide a clear structure and basis for further phenomenological and historical study of English religion.