Church History

Medieval Church

(*RVS Notes*)

Early Middle Ages (500-1000)

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Early Middle Ages Notes

I. Historical Milieu

A. In General—

§2-101. Generally— The collapse of the Roman Empire in the West and the shift of the Eastern Empire from a dominant Mediterranean force to a more localized power in Greece and modern Turkey had a significant impact on Christianity. The collapse of the Western Empire was followed by a syncretistic period where elements of the Roman civilization were combined with the customs of the new Germanic overlords. In the East, Constantinople continued understanding itself as Roman, even though its culture was essentially Greek. In addition, the political situation was complicated by the rise and rapid spread of Islam.

In Church practice and thought, the Latin West continued in the pragmatic tradition of the Romans. The Greek East showed greater interest in mysticism and speculative theology. The two grew apart and were increasingly isolated from each other even as missionaries from both brought the faith to northern and eastern Europe. Key concerns in this era were:
- How the Church established itself in relation to the dominant powers of the day;
- The rise and spread of Islam;
- Theological developments in the East and West and the rise of monasticism and popular piety.

B. Century by Century—

§2-103. Sixth century—The Germanic tribes carved up the remains of the Western Empire. They went from looters to settlers. The Ostrogoths took Italy, the Franks Gaul, the Burgundians the Rhone Valley, the Visigoths Spain, and the Vandals North Africa. The Lombards moved into northern Italy later in the century. The amalgamation of the various Germanic cultures with the Greco-Roman culture began immediately. Continuity with the Roman past was strong in Visigothic Spain and Ostrogothic Italy in the 6th and into the 7th centuries. The Franks in Gaul adopted the Latin language, embraced Roman urban lifestyles, and maintained the Roman governing structure. In other areas, the Germanic culture was more evident. The upshot of this was that the Germanic conquerors of the Roman West were themselves Romanized. They adopted both the Christian religion and name, as well as many aspects of the earlier Greco-Roman culture.

Justinian (527-565) came to power in Constantinople and made a final effort to regain the Western Empire. For a short period, control was regained over North Africa, Italy, and parts of Spain. However, this overtaxed the resources of the Byzantine state and within a century Constantinople was pushed to the brink—first by the Slavs to the north and the Persians to the east and then by the incredible rise and spread of Islam.

§2-104. Seventh century—There was a disintegration of central authority in the West and a great recession of the Byzantine power in the East. The central political/cultural/religious reality of the day was the spectacular rise and expansion of Islam. By the end of the century, more than half of the former domain of the Roman Empire was under the sway of the crescent. However, Constantinople survived a major Arab siege and its own "Dark Age" and continued as a regional power in Asia Minor and the Balkans. Though greatly reduced, it was still the chief Christian state and something of a Christian citadel.

§2-105. Eighth century—The Franks emerged as the preeminent power in Western Europe. Charles

Martel stopped the Islamic advance at Tours in France, and the Carolingians replaced the Merovingians on the Frankish throne and allied themselves closely with the Roman pontiff. Charlemagne dominated Latin Western Europe and initiated the Carolingian Renaissance. During the eighth century, the Scandinavians mastered the art of ship building and began sailing in the neighboring seas in their long boats. As the Carolingian Empire disintegrated, the Vikings raided towns, abbeys, and lands throughout Europe sacking them for booty and slaves. They started with the British Isles and northern France but grew ever more daring. The Byzantine Empire continued its life and death struggle with Islam surviving another Arab siege. However, it soon plunged into the turmoil of the Iconoclastic controversy.

§2-106. Ninth century—Following Charlemagne's rule, the strength of the Franks diminished as Europe became increasingly fragmented due to internal conflicts weakening central control, combined with the ongoing and highly destructive Viking raids. Commerce grounded to a halt, money almost completely stopped circulating, and Europe moved to a barter economy. The main source of wealth was land, and kings and lords paid for services by granting land to those they wished to reward. Feudalism was born. It was a hierarchical system based on land holdings. Each feudal lord, while receiving homage from those who owed their lands to him, paid homage to the greater lord, to whom he owed his lands. At first, grants of land were for life, but they soon became hereditary. This resulted in the political and economic fragmentation of Europe and the decline of all central power.

Around the same period, Europe faced invasions from the east by the Maygars. The Latins referred to them as "Hungarians" because they were reminiscent of the ancient Huns. Their attacks ceased when Henry the Fowler and his son Otto I of the Holy Roman Empire defeated them decisively in 933 and 955. The Hungarians assimilated into the Germanic and Slavis cultures. In the East, a second round of the Iconoclastic controversy finally burned itself out and, with the ascension of the Macedonian dynasty, the Byzantine state began a political and economic recovery.

§2-107. Tenth century—Following the fall of the Carolingian dynasty in the West, Western Europe became dominated by local nobles acting as warlords, sheltered in castles spreading across the continent. The 10th-century represented the nadir of the Roman pontificate. Described by some as the pornocracy and as the Saeculum Obscurum (dark age) of the papacy, it was an era of deep corruption and chaos. Powerful Roman noble families controlled papal elections, often installing their immoral relatives, and instilling practices that led to simony, violence, and a low moral standing for the office. The papal scepter by seen by these petty, squabbling, ruthless Roman aristocratic families as their inherent right. However, towards the end of the century, the Ottonians rose in Germany and Christendom took new hope in the rise and increasing power of the Holy Roman Empire. Cluniac reform captured the ecclesiastic vision of church prelates and that reality shaped the central events of the next century.

This century marked the zenith of the Byzantine state in its Middle period. Constantinople, the queen of cities, was a hub of trade and commerce and the Empire reached its greatest territorial extent and political muscle under the able Emperor Basil II (976-1025). Likewise, the Fatamid caliphate at Cordoba and the Abbasid caliphate at Baghdad were enjoying their respective heydays.

§2-108. Chronological chart—

Chronology: Only the names and dates of the most important rulers, popes, and events are listed.

West emperor	*East emperor*	*Popes*	*Events*
Honorius (395-423	Theodosius II (408-450)	Innocent (401-417) Celestine (422-432)	Sack of Rome (410) Augustine (d. 430)

			Council of Ephesus (431)
	Marcian (450-457) Leo (457-474)	Leo (440-461)	Council of Chalcedon (451) Leo & Attila (452) Sack of Rome (455)
Romulus Augustulus (4475-476)	Zeno (474-491)	Felix II (483-492)	Odoacer ends Western Empire (476)
	Anastasius (491-518)	Symmachus (498-514)	Clovis baptized (496)
	Justin (518-527)	Hormisdas (514-523) John (523-526)	Boethius (d. 524) Theodoric (d. 526)
	Justinian (527-565)	Vigilius (537-555) Pelagius (579-590) Gregory (590-604)	Belisarius in N. Africa & Italy (530s on) 2 Council of Constantinople (553) Lombards in Italy (568) Racred converts (589) Augustine in England (596-597)
	Heraclitus (610-641)	Honorius (625-648)	Muhammed takes Mecca (630) Muhammed (d. 632) Isidore of Seville (636) Synod of Whitby (663)
	Constantine IV (668-685)		3 Council of Constantinople (680-681)
	Justinian II (685-711)	Sergius (687-701)	Moors in Spain (711)
	Leo III (717-741)	Gregory II (715-731) Gregory III (731-741)	Tours (732)
	Constantine V (741-775) Leo IV (775-780) Constantine VI (780-797) Irene (797-802	Zacharias (741-752) Stephen II (752-757) Adrian (772-795) Leo III (795-816)	Charlemagne's wars of conquest (770s on) 2 Council of Nicea (787) Charlemagne crowned (800)
Charlemagne (800-814) Louis the Pious (814-840)	Nicephorus (802-811)		
		Nicholas I (858-867)	Vikings take Paris (845)

			Photius as patriarch (857) Cyril & Methodius in Moravia (863)
Charles the Bald (875-877) Charles the Fat (881-887)			
			Bulfgarian czar (917) Bulgarian patriarch (927)
Henry (933-936) Otto (936-973)			Olga of Russia converts (950)
Otto II (973-983) Otto III (983-1002) Henry II (1002-1024) Conrad II (1024-1039) Henry III (1039-1056)	Basil II (976-1025)	Sylvester II (999-1003) Leo IX (1049-1054) Victor II (1055-1057)	East-West schism (1054)

II.   Western Church in Post-Roman World

A.   In General

§2-111. Generally; idea of Christendom—When the barbarians destroyed the Western Empire, it was the Church that established a new order. Christianity continued to spread and took the lead in attempting to establish a rule of law, the pursuit of knowledge, and in forging a new culture. The main idea was Christendom—the shared community of Christians and the cultural, political, and social world where Christianity played a leading role. The result was a unified "Christian world", as least in concept, with strong ties between faith and government. This was especially evident in medieval Europe in this historical era where Christian values, institutions, and the Church heavily influenced identity, governance, and daily life. Christian faith was as a unifying factor across European societies, often envisioned as a spiritual kingdom on Earth. This idea crystallized with Charlemagne in the 8th century and grew with greater intensity in the early days of the Holy Roman Empire.

B.   Byzantine Resurgence and Decline

§2-112. Reconquest of the Western Empire—Within fifty years of the fall of the Western Empire, Justinian, the emperor of the Eastern or Byzantine Empire, undertook the ambitious project of reconquering the West. In the early 530s, he negotiated peace with the Persians, which released his armies for the campaigns in the North Africa, Italy, and Spain. In 533, his general, Belisarius, won two smashing victories over the Vandals and retook North Africa. In 535, the campaign against the Ostrogoths for Italy began. Belisarius initially scored several decisive victories, but the campaign bogged down into a war of attrition. During the 540s, renewed threats from Persia forced Justinian to redeploy much of his military forces and top generals to the Eastern front. Plague broke out in Italy and took a terrible toll. This was the first of numerous outbreaks of plague in the Middle Ages.

§2-113. Devastating results—The war in Italy dragged on until 552. While it resulted in a Byzantine reconquest, this proved a short-lived victory and devastated Italy and much of the West. It had

disastrous results for the Byzantine state as well. The war bankrupted Justinian's empire, severely diminished its military forces, and exposed the imperial frontiers to the north and east to new invaders. Within three years following the death of Justinian, the Lombards seized control of the majority of northern Italy from the Byzantine overlords.

§2-114. Ongoing ecclesiastical consequence; birth of the power of the Papacy—What the campaign did accomplish was a lingering Byzantine influence over the church, especially the church at Rome for the next two centuries (approximately 550-750). There were several consequences:

- First was the Byzantine practice of caesaropapism, a system in which the secular ruler has absolute authority over both church and state. The Byzantine emperor expected to control the selection of popes and to decisively intervene in church affairs at his whim. At that time, a pope in Rome would not be confirmed until receiving approval from the emperor in Constantinople. Most popes during these two centuries were Greek and sought guidance from Constantinople. Second was the failure of this Byzantine reality to continue. The Byzantine state did not control the church in the west as it did in the east. A significant part of this was influenced by what happened during that period. Soon after the reconquest, the Byzantine Empire found itself fighting for its own survival. In the early 7th century, this involved a struggle with the Slavs to the north and the Persians to the east. The Emperor Heraclitus (610-641) heroically saved the empire. But just when these menaces diminished, the Islamic tide rose and almost absorbed the Byzantine Empire in its entirety. Thus, the events of the day kept the emperors in Constantinople preoccupied with affairs in the east. Constantinople had little time and few resources to devote to its shrinking western provinces.
- North Africa proved far easier to conquer than to rule. Mutinies and rebellions soiled Byzantine rule for decades before Islam swept across the region like a tsunami. The North African Church, vibrant and intellectually influential in the days of Late Antiquity, disappeared. Likewise, in Italy, the Lombards seized northern Italy and hemmed the Byzantines into a corridor between Ravenna and Rome. Byzantine control of the southern part of the peninsula also waxed and waned.
- Into this political void stepped the Roman papacy, the only institution with the resources, prestige, and wherewithal to meet the crisis of the day. The power of the Papacy was born in the crucible of these early centuries after the fall of Rome and the failure of the attempt to reestablish the Empire.

C.   Rise of the Franks

§2-116. In general; early period from 500 to 750—At the beginning of the 6th century, the domains of the former Roman Empire in the West were in the hands of Huns, Alemanni, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Franks, Angles, Lombards, and Vandals. These Germanic tribal nations were either overtly pagan or had been won to Arianism by the aggressive proselytizing during the 4th century and following. But one by one, these groups fell by the wayside. The Huns were fierce warriors but lacked the wherewithal to administer a viable state. The Alemanni waned in influence as well. The Visigothic kingdom collapsed before the Islamic onslaught in Spain (711-716). The Byzantines defeated the Vandals and the Ostrogoths. The Angles turned north. By the mid-8th century, the Lombards governed Italy, the Franks ruled Gaul, and England was under Anglo-Saxon control. It was the Frankish kingdom that was destined to be the most influential.

§2-117. Rise of the Merovingians—Clovis (481-511) was the most important early Frankish ruler, establishing the Merovingian dynasty which ruled until 751. He subjected various groups of Franks

(Salian Franks, Ripurian Franks etc.) to his control. He extended Frankish power from northern Gaul into the southern regions at the expense of the Goths. In 496, Clovis converted to Catholicism at his Burgundian wife's urging, and thousands of his warriors joined him in baptism. This was one of the earliest of many instances of mass conversions (so called) in the Middle Ages.

It's difficult to overstate the importance of Clovis' conversion for the future of what medievalists call New Europe. Arian missionaries had made a substantial early impact on Germanic tribes. But as Frankish power and prestige grew, other barbarian rulers followed Clovis' lead in abandoning Arianism for Catholic Christianity. The disappearance of Arian Christianity and the preeminence of the Catholic Church within the emerging European culture was a key feature of the early centuries of this era.

§2-118. Rise of the Carolingians—The Merovingians routinely divided up their territory among their sons, who became warring rivals. Thus, Merovingian Francia quickly devolved into several smaller Frankish kingdoms – Ncustria, Austrasia, Burgundy etc. The internecine warfare caused the Merovingians to lavish money and lands on the Frankish aristocrats to support them in their bids for ultimate control thus reducing, over time, their own resources. By the late 7th and early 8th centuries, a family known as the Carolingians had grown in wealth, power, and prestige and served as mayors of the palace (chief administrative assistants) for the weak and increasingly ineffectual Merovingian kings.

§2-119. Charles Martel and his successors—Charles Martel, one of the Carolingian mayors of the palace, led the Frankish armies to a crucial victory over the invading Islamic forces at the battle of Tours in 732. The prestige from this victory and an alliance with the Roman papacy by Charles' successor, Pepin the Short, enabled the Carolingians to push aside the Merovingians and establish themselves as the ruling family in Francia. The Church was instrumental in giving the Mayors of the Palace the approval to take over from the Merovingians. With the waning of Byzantine power in Italy, the popes were looking for military aid against the increasingly dominant Lombards. Popes Zacharias (741-752) and Stephen (752-757) negotiated a deal with Pepin I, called the Short. They would recognize Pepin's seizure of power as king of the Franks in return for his campaigning on behalf of the papacy against the Lombards.

Pepin campaigned against the Lombards in Italy, campaigns continued by his son, Charlemagne. About this time a document entitled the *Donation of Constantine*, a forgery, surfaced claiming that Constantine in 315 granted the Pope control of the Lateran Palace and all the western regions of the Roman Empire. The document appeared to legitimize the papacy's control of the Western church.

D.   Charlemagne and Carolingian Revival

1.   Charlemagne (742-814) and his successors

§2-121. Charlemagne's succession and Frankish expansion—Charlemagne was an effective warrior who expanded the Frankish realm significantly. He waged war year after year and by the end of the eighth century the entire Latin Christian West except for Britain and Ireland was part of the Carolingian realm. He moved his capital to Aachen, on the border of present-day Germany and the Netherlands, and made it a center for learning. He insisted that both the secular priests and the monastics learn Latin, finalized the Apostle's Creed as a tool to educate the clergy, and promoted education. The stage was set for the Carolingian Renaissance which commenced in the ninth century.

Charlemagne was crowned by Pope Leo III as emperor and Augustus in 800. The coronation cemented the alliance between the papacy and the Franks, saw an increase in the Pope's prestige and power (he claimed that the Pope legitimized an emperor's coronation, just as the Pope had legitimized Pepin's

claim to the Frankish crown), and increased the rivalry between Rome and Constantinople (where the actual "Roman" emperor was already enthroned).

§2-122. Defender of the church; enforcing religious demands—Charlemagne saw himself as defending the Church from barbarians, pagans, and heretics. The emperor felt called to rule his people both in civil and ecclesiastical matters. He appointed bishops as readily as he named military leaders. He mandated preaching in the local language, designated Sunday for worship and rest, and required tithes to be gathered similarly to taxes. From Britain, Charlemagne brought Alcuin of York to head his palace school and to reintroduce to the Franks the learning that had been preserved by the English and Irish monasteries. From Spain, he brought Theodulf, who he made bishop of Orleans, and required him to institute a school in every church of his diocese open to the rich and poor alike. Other bishops followed Theodulf's example and a significant revival of learning occurred aided by scholars who flocked to Charlemagne's court. He supported Anglo-Saxon missionaries who worked among German pagans east of the Rhine River and used force to produce conversions. Here we see again the troubling assumption, born in the age of Constantine, that the Church had the right, and even the obligation, to exercise the power of the State to enforce its religious demands and to further its work of salvation at the edge of the sword.

§2-123. Church-State concerns—Carolingian control over the church was strong. They regarded their control of the Church as vital because of the spiritual influence over the populace wielded by clerics and because they relied on clerics, virtually the only literate group in the 8th and 9th centuries, to staff their governmental bureaucracy. The Carolingians exerted control over papal elections. Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious (814-840), formalized this control in the *Constitutio Romana* in 824 which gave Carolingian rulers the same veto/approval power over papal elections and consecrations as the Byzantine emperors once enjoyed. Carolingian rulers summoned and presided over church councils and synods, sometimes forcing bishops and even popes to reverse themselves on ecclesiastical and theological issues. For example, Charlemagne convoked the Council of Frankfurt in 794, which condemned the agreement between the Pope and the Byzantine emperor relating to a policy concerning the use of icons in accord with the Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicea in 787. The Pope was forced to renounce this agreement. The Carolingians actively intervened in ecclesiastical affairs to promote the reform of the clergy. They sought to elevate the education of bishops and priests. They regularized and extended the parish system throughout continental Europe, trying to guarantee that all Christians in the empire had access to priests and religious services. The Carolingians strongly supported monastic reform. Louis the Pious took the lead on this issue. In the 810s, he made a determined effort to extend the reforms of Benedict of Aniane in imposing the Rule of Benedict of Nursia on monasteries throughout the empire.

§2-124. Charlemagne's coronation establishes troubling precedent—Charlemagne was crowned emperor in 800 at Rome. His coronation as emperor solidified Frankish-Papacy alliance. The implication in this event was that the Pope had the right to confer temporal authority on secular rulers. The argument was that Popes crowned emperors because the spiritual rule was superior to the temporal one. The political reality behind the actual crowning (Charlemagne had rescued the pope from his own folly and was put out with having to do so), got lost in the historical mists and ignored in the Papal authority hype.

2.   Carolingian Renaissance

§2-126. Generally; driving motivation—The fear that the obvious educational deficiencies of the people of the Carolingian Empire were jeopardizing the salvation of souls and interfering with the ability of people to call on God, drove the Carolingian Renaissance.

§2-127. Effect on Latin; Romance languages—The scholars of the Carolingian Renaissance attempted to rid the Latin language of the changes that had occurred since the heyday of the Roman Empire and to establish accurate and standardized copies of crucial texts, such as the Bible. In attempting to restore old Latin, the Carolingians unintentionally finished it off as a spoken vernacular language. In the centuries before the Carolingian Renaissance, Latin had been evolving into the modern Romance languages of French, Spanish, and Italian. By "improving" spoken and written Latin, they drove a wedge between Latin and the vernacular tongues that even the Carolingians had to recognize as separate, independent languages later in the 9th century.

§2-128. Aachen palace school—Charlemagne, although a man of very limited education, had a genuine interest in learning and assembled a group of scholars around him that launched the Carolingian Renaissance. He established a palace school at Aachen and recruited scholars from throughout Europe to join him there. If there was a leader of this movement, it was the Anglo-Saxon scholar, Alcuin of York (740-804). These scholars (all clerics) had a twofold agenda: to establish correct, legible, and uniform copies of crucial religious texts and to raise the general level of education in the empire. Their understanding of education involved the study of Latin and the acquisition of critical skills. These scholars influenced morality of their day by increasing the awareness of sin and fostering practical piety. However, their efforts had little intellectual impact (except at the highest ecclesiastical levels, bishops and archbishops).

§2-129. Curriculum; trivium and quadrivium—The curriculum consisted of the trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and logic (dialectic)), and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy). The critical skills developed were devoted, almost exclusively, to Bible and theology. Monks and priests were responsible for learning and scholarship, focusing their efforts primarily on matters related to the Church. The trivium and quadrivium became the basic educational curriculum throughout the Middle Ages.

§2-130. Theological activity and controversy—The Carolingian Renaissance bore fruit throughout the ninth century. The greatest thinker of the day was John Scotus Erigena. Well versed in Greek, he translated into Latin the works of the false Dionysius the Aeropagite. Someone in the fifth century had written these works which were purported to be from the Dionysius of Acts 17, the account of Paul on Mars Hill in Athens. Erigena's translation was read with an air of apostolic authority. The works expounded Neoplatonic mysticism and this was confused with Paul's theology. Erigena's master work, *On the Divisions of Nature*, followed along in the same Neoplatonic vein. However, his style was so erudite and his speculation so abstract that few read the work and fewer still understood it and followed it.

A controversy, known as the Mozarabic controversy, occurred during this time. This arose in Spain among Christians who remained under Moorish rule. They kept their ancient traditions and resisted the Franks' attempt to replace them with those of Rome. One of the Mozarabic bishops, Epilandus of Toledo, adopted an understanding of the person of Christ which insisted on a distinction between the divinity and humanity of Jesus and of speaking of two types of sonship, one eternal and one by adoption. Although Epilandus was found guilty, he did not renounce his beliefs; since he lived under Moorish rule, he was protected from church punishment. The controversy only died out after the deaths of Epilandus and those following him.

There arose a controversy over predestination in this period. Gottschalk of Orbais, a monk who was a careful student of Augustine, concluded that the Church had departed from the teachings of Augustine, particularly on the matter of predestination. His understanding may have been on point, but his assertions were framed in a bitterness that did not reflect the attitudes of Augustine. He was convinced

that people who disagreed with him were reprobates and destined for eternal damnation. He made many enemies, was declared a heretic, and was imprisoned in a monastery. He allegedly went insane prior to his death in prison.

Another controversy involved the presence of Christ in communion. The monk Radbertus of Corbie asserted that, in communion, when the bread and wine are consecrated, they are transformed into the actual body and blood of the Savior. The king was troubled and asked Ratramnus of Corbie to clarify this for him. Ratramnus replied that while the body of Christ was truly present in communion, it was not the same sort of presence as that of the physical body. In any case, the Eucharistic body of Christ was not the same as the historical body of Jesus, which was sitting at the right hand of God. The controversy would continue until the 13th century when the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) would result in the proclamation of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

E.   Medieval Missions in the West

§2-131. Generally—Christianity was born and reared in the politically stable world of Rome. For the first four or five centuries of its existence, most Christian growth was within the Empire. However, by the sixth century, Europe's unity was shattered by the influx of Germanic tribes, and the Church was confronted with a new set of socio-political realities:

- Many of the new governing Germanic tribes were Arian Christians. The Arians, defeated in the Empire in the fourth century, had taken their message to the Germans. Ulfilas (or Wulfila) was the great Arian missionary to the Germans.
- Few of the Germanic tribes adhered to the Catholic faith. The conversion of Clovis was a very important exception to this.
- Many of the Germans were still pagans—Saxons in northern Europe, Slavs and Avars in the East, Picts, Scots, and Angles in Britain.

§2-132. Storyline; methods—Medieval missions is the fascinating story of the Christianizing of the new masters of Europe. The Germans came to Christianity either directly from paganism or indirectly from Arianism with little cultural or intellectual subtlety. Medieval missionary methods were blunt and straightforward. Medieval preaching was in vernacular, featuring unflattering comparisons between Christianity and paganism, with vivid descriptions of heaven and hell, and was marred by weak and invalid theology. The involvement of the state was taken for granted. The conversion of the national, tribal, or local leader was sought first, and the conversion of the people was expected to follow automatically. Mass baptisms and forced conversions were customary practice.

§2-133. Missionary monks—For missionaries, the Church relied on monastic communities. The missionary teams were small, well-disciplined, and closely bound to base communities for financial and spiritual support. They established monasteries wherever they went so that monasticism and evangelism and follow-up (in our modern terminology) were intricately bound together.

In documenting this re-evangelization of Europe, we will start from the fringe (England and Ireland) and work back to the continent because that is the way the evangelization pattern worked. English and especially Irish monks were vital in the conversion of new Europe.

§2-134. England and Ireland—By 4th century, the ecclesiastical structure in what we now call the British Isles looked like other places in the Empire. By the time of the Council of Arles (314), the offices of bishop, presbyter, and deacon were operative there. Invasions of pagan Saxons, Angles, and Jutes in the early 5th century occurred after the Roman legions left in 409-410. The survival of the Christian faith was very much in doubt. After the Roman evacuation, the British Isles were re-

paganized. In the sixth and seventh centuries, within a span of approximately one hundred years, England was re-Christianized.

Pope Gregory I sent a team of monks led by Augustine (not the bishop of Hippo) to England in 596. The Celts under Colomba and Iona worked in the south and the Latins under Augustine worked in the north. They were originally suspicious of each other. The Celts regarded the Latins as arrogant and authority-driven, and the Latins regarded the Celts as quasi–helpers that needed the correct imprimatur of Rome. The Celts had a distinctive liturgy which the Latins looked down on. In the re-Christianization of England, a common pattern arose involving the conversion of the rulers of various areas followed by the mass baptism of the ruler's subjects.

However, due to Roman arrogance, there was a Roman and Celtic split (recorded by the Venerable Bede in the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*). A reconciliation occurred at the Synod of Whitby (664) after which the Celtic church began to cooperate with the Roman mission. Cathedral and monastic schools became cultural and intellectual centers in the British Isles from this time. Monasticism was popular and monastic centers spread. They become sending agencies for missionaries. The monastic culture produced monks like Boniface, who took the gospel to Germany, and Alcuin of York, who headed up Charlemagne's palace school at Aachen in Germany.

The Roman missionary effort was the organizing arm for the re-Christianization of England. A church diocesan order was established by around 700. Pope Gregory had established a policy of flexibility regarding local customs, which reduced the resistance to Christianity among the native pagans. In addition, Gregory established a fourfold use of what came to be a mandatory tithe. The tithe was divided between the bishop (diocesan support), the local priest (local clergy support), church upkeep, and relief for the poor. This became the medieval pattern for the use of church monies. Canterbury and York were established as bishoprics. It is interesting to note that they remain the most important bishoprics in the Anglican church in England today.

Patrick (432-461), called the "Apostle to the Irish," was a 5th-century bishop who converted many Irish people to Christianity. He was born in Roman Britain and kidnapped and brought to Ireland as a slave. After escaping, he became a priest and later returned to Ireland as a missionary in the 430s, facing many difficulties and imprisonment. He is credited with establishing monasteries, churches, and schools, and ordaining priests, and is recognized as the patron saint of Ireland. His work occasioned a substantial religious awakening among the Irish. Ireland would become a vibrant monastic and missionary center in the early Middle Ages. Irish monks (*peregrini*) carried the gospel to northern Europe after the collapse of the Western Empire before the Germanic incursions. English and Irish church (really the monks) were the instruments God used to evangelize the rest of northern Europe.

§2-135. France (Gaul)—A key event was the conversion of Clovis (481-511). Clovis was the first king to unite the Franks under one ruler, changing the form of leadership from a group of petty kings to rule by a single king, and ensuring that the kingship descended to his heirs. He was the founder of the Merovingian dynasty which ruled the Frankish kingdom for the next two centuries. His was the first of many conversions of rulers in the early Middle Ages followed by mass conversions and baptisms of the ruler's subjects. However, by the early 6th century, the church had fallen on troubled times during the slow breakdown of the Merovingian dynasty. The church was assailed by heretics, was lukewarm in devotion, and thoroughly corrupt. The faithful gave and the faithless ripped them off.

Gaul (France) was the first stop for waves of English and Irish monks in the 7th and 8th centuries. These monks chose a voluntary exile from their homeland for a missionary purpose. Missionary clusters moved into an area, established churches and monasteries, gave the church some order, and

moved on. Columban (543-615) was a splendid example of how they operated in Gaul. He evangelized many communities and established approximately forty monasteries for continuing ministry. Columban taught an Irish monastic rule and penitential practices for those repenting of sins, which emphasized private confession to a priest, followed by penances imposed by the priest in reparation for the sins.

§2-136. Low Countries—Willibrord labored in what is now Holland and Belgium and established his headquarters at Utrecht. Willibrord came from a devout English family and had his early training in a monastery school. He embarked for the Low Countries in his early 30s with eleven companions. This deliberate mimicking of Jesus and His disciples was characteristic of the English and Irish missionary monks. He collaborated closely with the Frankish king, and his mission grew increasingly successful with the increasing power of the Franks in the region. He became the archbishop of Utrecht, the center of this outreach and an important church post throughout the Middle Ages.

§2-137. Germany—Wynfrith (later called Boniface "doer of good") was the apostle to Germany. He first came to the continent to aid the endeavor of Willibrord. He too reached his early training in monasteries (near Exeter and Winchester) where he displayed qualities of scholarship and devotion. He labored for a while in the Low Countries before returning to England in 716. He returned to the continent in 718, first going to Rome to receive papal approval for his mission, before going on to Germany where he labored until his death in 754. It was to Boniface that the Carolingians committed the task of reforming the Church in the Frankish domains. He died a martyr at the hands of a band of pagan Frisians, the people among whom he had spent his earliest missionary years. His power encounter at the oak of Jupiter is the stuff of missionary legends. In the wake of his many travels, he established ten monasteries and the custom of utilizing monks to evangelize and monasteries to support the work and lead in the follow-up of new believers. He also established an episcopal center at Mainz circa 747. Note one historian's tribute to Boniface—

> Humble, a man of prayer, self-sacrificing, courageous, steeped in the Scriptures,
> a born leader of men, a superb organizer and administrator, he was at once a
> great Christian, a great missionary, and a great bishop.

The conversion of most of the Saxons in Germany was accomplished by the most unfortunate precedent of armed force by Charlemagne. He subjugated the Saxons and insisted on their baptism. It was convert or die, a rather compelling altar call.

§2-138. Scandinavia (Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland) and missions in Eastern Europe followed the pattern set on the western part of the continent. Missionary bands, primarily staffed by monks targeted the conversion of rulers and local potentates and then followed up with mass baptisms of their subjects and forced conversions of recalcitrant people. Otto I's victory over Danes provided a very typical pattern, that of missionary activity following victorious armies.

§2-139. Spain—Tradition claims that Spain was first evangelized by Paul and James. Cyprian described church order in a letter dated from 254. Christianity was well established and organized before the period we are now considering. Diocletian's persecution hit the church hard in Spain. There were martyrs and many lapsed in their faith. The Council of Elvira (306) was held to determine what to do with the lapses. The concerns of the Donatists (largely in North Africa) had their parallel in Spain.

Arianism became the accepted form of Christianity when Spain was overrun by the Visigoths in 5th century. The Visigoths had been one of the Germanic tribes evangelized by the Arians beginning in the mid-4th century. At the Council of Toledo (589), the Visigothic authorities formally renounced Arianism. King Racred I (586-601) became disenchanted when his Arian father executed his Catholic brother.

Isidore of Seville (560-636) and Julain of Toledo (644-690) made significant theological contributions to the church in Spain. Spain was overrun by Muslims in 8th century. This reality had a tremendous impact not only on Spain but on all of Western Europe. The Islamic culture on the Iberian Peninsula became the portal of entry into Europe of the Greco-Roman classics during the Scholastic period (which we will consider in later in these Notes). In addition, the reconquest of Spain from the Muslim Moors occupied Spaniards and other Europeans for centuries and left Spain as the preeminent power in Europe at the beginning of the great Age of Discovery in the 16th century.

§2-140. Summary observations—Notable features of Medieval missions include:

- Role of the prince—The faith was adopted as the religion of the community, usually at the command or at least with the energetic assistance of the prince.
- Role of the monks—It was the monasteries that supplied the missionary rank and file and led in the support of the endeavors on the field. The monasteries became instructional centers as well and therefore the primary scene of the follow-up of new believers, as much as that was done.
- Superficiality—Much of this missionary work led to a very superficial faith. Many became nominally Christian via mass baptisms following their ruler or were compelled to become Christians as conquered subjects. Furthermore, Christian education was nonexistent or very spotty at best. Most parish priests (where diocesan organization existed) were illiterate and many of the new converts did not have access to the monks working from monastic centers.
- Paganization of the faith—Forced conversions, mass baptisms, an uneducated priesthood staffing the various dioceses, and an accommodating posture toward pagan customs led to the paganization of the faith. The policy of cultural accommodation initiated by Gregory the Great and followed by his successors meant that, for many, the common practices of this new faith mimicked their pagan past. They tended to understand Jesus only in terms of their cultural expectations—he was seen as a tribal chieftain and great warlord. Saints came to occupy the place of local deities with particular functions – St. Anthony took care of pigs, St. Saul of hens, St. Apollonia cured toothaches, St. Generieve cured fevers, St. Blaise, sore throats.
- Thus, even in the vigorous preaching the gospel to the pagans, the gospel frequently lost its cogency in well-meaning attempts to connect with the native culture. A good example occurs in the mission to the Saxons. In the 9th century, a version of the Gospel of Luke was paraphrased into Old Saxon in a document called *The Heliand*. Below is a comparison between the Revised Standard Version of Luke 22:39-50 and that passage's paraphrase in *the Heliand.*

  RSV: Jesus went, as was his custom, to the Mount of Olives; and the disciples followed him. And when he came to the place he said to them "Pray, that you may not enter into temptation." And he withdrew from them about a stone's throw, and knelt down and prayed … When he arose from prayer, he came to the disciples and found them sleeping for sorrow, and he said to them, "Why do you sleep? Rise and pray that you may not enter into temptation." While he was still speaking, there came a crowd, and the man called Judas, one of the twelve, was leading them. He drew near to Jesus to kiss him, but Jesus said to him, "Judas, would you betray the Son of Man with a kiss?" When those who were about him saw what would follow, they said, "Lord, shall we strike with the sword?" One of them struck the slave of the High Priest and cut off his ear. But Jesus said, "No more of this!" And he touched his ear and healed him.

  Heliand prefaces its paraphrase of this passage with the heading "*Christ the Chieftain is Captured, Peter the Mighty Swordsman Defends Him Boldly*"

  Christ's warrior companions … saw warriors coming up the mountain, making a great din, angry armed men. Judas, the hate-filled man, was showing them the way; the enemy clan, the

Jews, were marching behind … the warriors marched forward, the grim Jewish army, until they had come to Christ. There he stood, the famous chieftain … Christ's followers, wise men deeply distressed by this hostile action, held their position in front. They spoke to their Chieftain. "My lord Chieftain," they said, "if it should now be Your will that we be impaled here on their spear-points, wounded by their weapons, then nothing would be so good to us as to die here, pale from mortal wounds, for our Chieftain." Then Simon Peter, the mighty, the noble swordsman, flew into a rage; his mind in such turmoil that he could not speak a single word. His heart became intensely bitter because they wanted to tie up his lord there. So he strode over angrily, that very daring thane (e.g. nobleman**),** to stand in front of his Commander, right in front of his Lord. No doubting in his mind, no fearful hesitation in his chest, he drew his blade and struck straight ahead at the first man of the enemy with all the strength in his hands. So that Malchus was cut and wounded on the right side by the sword! His ear was chopped off; he was so badly wounded in the head that his cheek and ear burst open with the mortal wound! Blood gushed out, pouring from the wound! The men stood back – they were afraid of this slash of the sword!

It is not difficult to see that the author of *The Heliand* took some liberties with the text recounting Jesus' arrest. Jesus was not a chieftain, at least the way the Saxons understood, nor were the Jews an enemy clan as in Germanic reckoning. The disciples were not warrior companions, and Peter was a fisherman, not a Nordic thane going berserk in battle. The Gospel recounts Jesus healing the wound; the *Heliand* exaggerates the injury inflicted making it one of the most amazing head wounds ever suffered, worthy of a medieval hand combat highlight reel. Someone was missing the point, and missing it badly, while doing his level best to make the arrest account kosher by the standards of a warrior code.

- Automatic Christians—Augustinian theology and medieval missionary practice created tensions that resulted in odd resolutions. In theory at least, one was saved only by God's grace. The recipients of that grace were predestined and their number infallibility fixed. All those chosen by God would be saved (since His grace is irresistible) and never lost (since His grace preserved the saint). Those not chosen would not be saved regardless of what they or their missionary friends did.
  Yet, medieval missionaries came into an area, converted the prince, conducted mass baptisms, and sometimes forced conversions of whole tribes and peoples, initiated into the Church at the point of the sword. The Church sought to relieve this uneasy tension at the Synod of Orange in 529. The Church held that saving grace was transmitted through baptism and that all those who received the rite can, if they labor faithfully with God, do those things "which belong to the salvation of the soul". Thus, the recipients of baptism, whether en masse or coerced, were, by definition, the elect, regenerated, and preserved believers of which Augustine spoke. Since mass conversion baptisms were commonplace for first generation Christians in that day and infant baptism customary for subsequent generations, it followed that all might be saved if they worked together faithfully with God, performing those things commanded by God through His Church. God's sovereignty became synonymous with the reach and authority of the visible Church.
- Papal authority—Gregory's visionary pontificate and missionary zeal translated into growing power for the Roman bishop. There were many other reasons for this, but this reality was an ever-present mark of medieval Christianity.

F.   Rise of Feudalism

§2-141. Carolingian decline—The Carolingians declined during the 9th century. Charlemagne's weak

successors saw the disintegration of the empire, the confusion of civil wars, the endless squabbling of local warlords, and new invasions by foreign peoples. By 843, Charlemagne's grandsons spilt the empire into three sections. Pagan Vikings raided the West incessantly during the 9th and 10th centuries. With the decline in centralized authority, local warlords walled in their stone castles (castellans) began to operate independently of the central authority. These warlords did offer some local protection but were incessantly fighting among themselves. In addition, raids by the Magyars in the East and the Saracens in Spain and the Mediterranean areas made for an insecure time.

§2-142. Feudalism's development; elements—Feudalism developed through this period. It is a type of decentralized governing structure involving an exchange of land for military service in a system of fealty and service between lords and vassals at various levels. Power is exercised locally by private individuals rather than by agents of a centralized state. Feudalism is a fusion of three elements:

- Personal bond between lord and vassal. The vassal is to be the loyal follower (with substantial military obligations) of the lord (suzerain). Military service (the central need in an insecure society) was linked to land (the central driver of economic well-being in an agrarian economy).
- Property—Fiefs of land were granted to vassals to enable them to fulfill their military obligations. Initially, these fiefs were what our modern law would call life estates. But they soon became what we would call fee simples, owned by nobles and their family lines in perpetuity.
- Government—The private exercise of governing function over vassals and fiefs. The central authority quickly became irrelevant. The great nobles (made great by incessant warfare) were the real rulers in this decentralized structure.

§2-143. Church in the feudal world—The Church was fully involved in the feudal system, both in the ownership of land and its related defense requirements and the participation of its bishops and abbots in the feudal arrangements. These arrangements are the backdrop of the investiture controversies that rocked Europe in the High Middle Ages. Church owned vast tracts of land and its bishops, abbots, priests were vassals with conflicting responsibilities in both spiritual and temporal affairs. Involvement of the Church in the feudal hierarchy gave it great influence in shaping feudal society and made it vulnerable to compromising its true identity. Germanic warrior values may have been molded by Christian values and graces, but Christian values were also affected by pagan attitudes. Education, when available, was through the Church. It was the Church, through the monasteries and cathedral schools, which preserved learning. Church developed a cradle to grave sacramental presence as well as developing the Church calendar that regulated the flow of the year.

§2-144. Idea of Christendom—But more fundamental than even these factors was the concept of Christendom that arose. Charlemagne embodied this idea, linking church and state and all society in a seamless whole. This is strange by modern standards, marked by autonomous, sovereign states and church as a voluntary organization apart from the rest of society. Charlemagne engrafted the idea of a universal church with the Roman view of an encompassing empire and produced the concept of Christendom, a unified society mingling religious and eternal concerns with secular and temporal ones. In medieval theory, church and state were but two aspects of Christendom; one represented Christian society organized to secure spiritual blessings, and the other that society united to safeguard justice and human welfare. Theoretically, church and state were a harmonious interplay, each aiming to secure the good of humankind. In reality, the pope and the emperor/kings were contestants. Should the church rule the state? Should the state control the church? In Charlemagne's lifetime, the state controlled. He gave Europe a dominating father figure. But this political structure and the nuances of the idea of Christendom was a primary factor in European politics throughout the Middle Ages.

III. Eastern Church and the Byzantine Empire

A. Emperor Justinian and the Forging of Byzantine Culture

§2-146. Impact of Justinian's reign—Justinian's reign was the turning point when the Eastern Roman Empire became distinctly Byzantine. He was the first genuinely great emperor since Constantine. He sought to regain the Western Empire, formulate an extensive and written code of Roman law, engaged in an ambiguous building program, and dominated the church in the East. His project to recapture the West, though successful to a limited degree and only temporarily, led to a thirty-year war with the Ostrogoths that devastated Italy and exhausted Byzantine resources.

§2-147. Justinian's religious influence; emergence of Caesaropapism—Justinian ostensible held to the decrees of Chalcedon but slanted them in the direction of the views of Cyril of Alexandria. He hoped that by this policy he could unite the adherents of Chalcedon with the more moderate elements of the Monophysites (there were a sizable number of Monophysites in the Empire, including Justinian's wife, Theodora). In 544, Justinian issued an imperial edict against three groups of writings (the so-called Three Chapters, which included those of Theodore of Mopsuestia who had much to do with shaping the views of the two natures of Christ). Controversy ensued. Justinian later called the Fifth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 553, which confirmed the imperial edict of 544, thus making the Cyrillic interpretation of Chalcedon official for a time. The episode of the Three Chapters engendered vehement opposition. Bishops in Italy and Gaul refused to recognize the Fifth Ecumenical Council as authoritative and for more than a century the West was divided from the main body of the church in the East. However, the events of the 7th century, when the Eastern Empire lost vast tracts of its territories, eliminated the political issues behind the attempt to placate the Monophysites in the Empire. Arab expansion led to the loss of many provinces where Monophysites held influence.

By the time the Sixth Ecumenical Council was summoned to Constantinople in 681 to deal with the reemergence of the Monophysite problem in the form of Monotheletism, the Monophysites were no longer a large minority in the Empire. This Council stepped back from the pro-Monophysite stance of the Fifth Ecumenical Council and reaffirmed the two natures view of Christ embodied in the decrees of Chalcedon.

§2-148. Corpus Juris Civilis—Justinian codified Roman law in the Corpus Juris Civilis, which accelerated the domination of the Church by the state. Caesaropapism was embodied in that law code. The material and spiritual welfare of the empire was understood as depending on orthodoxy of emperor and subjects. This law code envisioned the Emperor as responsible for defending the Church. Justinian's defense was vigorously offensive. It persecuted the Montanists and Arians, closed Plato's Academy in Athens, and burdened the Jews legally and financially.

The Corpus Juris Civilis is not a single textbook, but a collection of Roman law, consisting of four parts:
- Institutes—A textbook for law students, introducing a new and now recorded legal system.
- Code—A subject matter compilation of imperial laws and enactments.
- Digest—An encyclopedia of legal writings from classical Roman jurists.
- Novels—A collection of new laws issued by Justinian after the initial compilation.

The Corpus Juris Civilis was compiled between 529 and 534. It was intended to be a complete and systematic codification of Roman law. The work has had a profound and lasting influence on the development of legal systems in Europe and around the world.

§2-149. Justinian the builder—He was a great builder. His most renowned project was the construction of the Hagia Sophia, the greatest Christian church building of the first millennium. It

became the Byzantine Empire's spiritual and architectural centerpiece, symbolizing imperial power with its massive dome. Justinian also rebuilt Constantinople on a grand scale, constructing numerous churches, aqueducts, fortifications, and public buildings, making it a magnificent city. These construction projects reflected his vision of restoring the Roman Empire, blending Roman engineering with Christian aesthetics.

B.   Near Disaster After Justinian

§2-151. Heraclitus saves the empire—In the 560s and 570s, the Lombards captured much of Byzantine Italy. Wars with Persia in the East and with the Avars and Slavs along the Danube taxed the Empire's resources to the extreme. Justinian had overextended Byzantine strength, and the Empire went through a period of contraction. Emperor Heraclitus (610-641) established a new dynasty and saved the empire. He spent a decade training his army and rebuilding his treasury before taking the offensive to defeat the Persians and to set the Slavs at bay. However, he was ineffective in attempting to stem the Islamic advance. After 632, Islam captured Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and North Africa. The Muslims besieged Constantinople in 680-681 and again in 717-718 but to no avail. The end of this period of contraction left Byzantium a modest empire, including the Balkans, Asia Minor, and southern Italy.

§2-152. Leo III and Isaurian emperors (717-867)—The Isaurian dynasty (or Syrian dynasty) ruled from 717 to 802. Leo III and his successors were successful in defending and consolidating the empire against the onslaught of the Muslim armies in 717-718, but were less successful in Europe, where they suffered setbacks against the Bulgars in the Balkans and the Lombards and Franks in Italy. They stabilized a modest empire but also embroiled the empire in the Iconoclastic controversy when the emperors questioned the practice of venerating icons.

§2-153. Macedonian dynasty (867-1057)—Under the Macedonian emperors, the Byzantines destroyed the Bulgars and pushed their borders north in the Balkans. A Byzantine commonwealth was established with satellite-like states on the frontiers of the empire with a very lucrative trading arrangement. The Byzantine state reached its zenith in the reign of Basil II (976-1025). Infighting and waste among Basil's successors left the Empire vulnerable and the Byzantines suffered a catastrophic defeat at Manzikert in 1071 at the hands of the Seljuk Turks.

§2-154. Comnenian emperors (1081-1180)—Byzantium had a significant resurgence under these emperors, stabilizing the empire after severe crises by rebuilding the army, reclaiming territory (especially in the Balkans and Anatolia), and fostering economic recovery through revived commercial ventures, military strength, shrewd diplomacy, and integration with Western powers. However, their appeal to the West for help against the Seljuk Turks launched the Crusades and the ultimate unraveling of the medieval Byzantine state.

C.   Church in the Byzantine World

§2-156. Role of the emperor—The emperor's role was supposed to reflect God's rule over celestial society of heaven. The emperor was God's representative on earth and the guarantor of Byzantium's spiritual welfare and physical security. He oversaw the ecclesiastical bureaucracy and was called *isapostolos* (equal to the apostles). The Church and the state were complementary parts of single whole. This caesaropapism left the emperor as supreme over both Church and state.

§2-157. Patriarchal chairs—In the previous era, five great patriarchs emerged: Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem (set by Chalcedon in 451). At the Council of Constantinople in 381, "honorary precedence" was given to Rome and Constantinople. Patriarch in Constantinople came

to rule the Eastern Church with the assistance of the holy synod (an assembly of bishops whose sees were located close to Constantinople). The rivalry between Constantinople and Rome surfaced repeatedly in this era and poisoned the relationship between eastern and western church.

D.   Medieval Missions in the East

§2-159. Eastern expansion estopped—The expansion of the Eastern church eastward from the Byzantine Empire was long estopped by the chronic warfare between the Roman/Byzantine Empire and the Zoroastrian Sassanian realm which ruled Persia and Mesopotamia.

§2-160. Northern expansion—In the north, there was a greater opening. In the 4th and 5th centuries, Arian missionaries were active among the Germanic peoples. The greatest of these was Ulfilas (311-383), the apostle to the Goths. He evangelized the Goths, reputedly created the Gothic alphabet, and wrote the earliest translation of the Bible into a Germanic language.

Cyril (826-869) and Methodius (815-885) were 9th-century Byzantine missionary brothers from Thessaloniki, revered as the "Apostles to the Slavs" for spreading Christianity and developing the first Slavic alphabet to translate religious texts into Old Church Slavonic, paving the way for Slavic literacy and culture. They became the co-patron saints of eastern Europe. They created an alphabet for Slavic languages, translated Scripture, and established a distinct Slavic liturgy. They faced down opposition from German clergy, who insisted on worship in Latin rather than Slavic, gaining papal approval, and significantly influencing Eastern and Southeastern European nations. Cyrilic alphabet was modified and fitted for use of the Bulgars and Serbs, won to Eastern Orthodoxy in 10th century, and the Russians, won in the 11th century.

IV.   Islamic Challenge

§2-161. Generally—Islam emerged from Arabia, on the frontiers of the Byzantine and Persian Empires, in the early to mid-7th century. Following the death of Muhammad, the Arabs conquered a sizable percentage of the Mediterranean world in approximately a century, including the Persian Empire, large portions of the Byzantine Empire, and parts of continental Europe, most notably the Iberian Peninsula.

A.   Muhammad and Rise of Islam

§2-162. Generally—Prior to Muhammad, Arab tribes worshiped a host of local tribal deities. Mecca was the spiritual center of the peninsula because *Ka'bah* (sacred house) was there. Pre-Islamic Arabia had a Christian presence as well. The desert was attractive to wandering hermits and anchorite monks in the early days of monasticism. By the beginning of the sixth century, southern Arabia was a mix of pagan Bedouins, Jews, and Christians aligned with the Monophysites and the oriental Orthodox (Chalcedonians). Christian and Jewish influence may have caused a movement toward henotheism among native Arabs (the worship of only one god—Allah—even though adherents would acknowledge that other gods exist).

Muhammad (circa 570-632), the founder of Islam, lived in Arabia during the later part of the 6th century and the early portion of the 7th century. During his lifetime, Muhammad brought monotheism to a pagan area, uniting the previously divided Arab tribes into a single community of monotheistic faith.

Muhammad was born His parents died when he was young. He was raised by his grandfather until he

the age of eight and then by his uncle Abu Talib. At twenty-five, he married a wealthy woman twice widowed who was fifteen years his senior. Muhammad worked for her and prospered as a merchant. Supposedly, she was so impressed with him that she proposed to him.

From 610 to 632, Muhammad received alleged revelations from the angel Gabriel. These revelations were in the form of a recitation of the word of Allah revealed through Gabriel. These were gathered and recorded in the Qur'an (Koran) approximately thirty years after Muhammad's death.

Muhammad agonized over these revelations for some time before he concluded that they were from God, a conclusion not shared by his fellow residents of Mecca. In 622, he left Mecca, assumed residence in nearby Medina, and became the town's leader. This is what Islam calls the *hijrah* (migration). This is year one in the Muslim calendar. Mecca subsequently fell to Muhammad's forces in 630. By the time of his death in 632, Muhammad had subdued most of Arabia and had united the various Arab and Bedouin tribes in his newfound religious faith.

§2-163. Teaching—Muhammad taught that Islam (meaning those who submit to Allah) was the ultimate fulfillment of Judaism and Christianity. Christians and Jews were "people of the book" who were to be tolerated (unlike the pagans) but whose religions were corruptions of the true faith. Abraham had been the first Muslim and Jesus himself was a great prophet, albeit not the Son of God. They were part of a line of prophets including the likes of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, John the Baptist, and Jesus. God had revealed Himself to humanity through these prophets, but Muhammad was the last and greatest of God's prophets.

§2-164. Five pillars of Islam—The famous five pillars of Islam include:
- Shahada, a Muslim profession of faith—"There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet" (or the messenger of Allah);
- Salat, ritual prayer five times daily while facing Mecca;
- Zakat, almsgiving;
- Sawn, fasting during month of Ramadan;
- Hajj, a pilgrimage to Mecca sometime during one's life.

§2-165. Development of Qur'an—The Qur'an is divided into 114 chapters called surrahs, with each surah having a title based on its content. It seems that Muhasmmad's revelations and proclamation progressed from a vague henotheism (the worship of only one god—Allah—even though adherents would acknowledge that other gods exist) shared by many of his Arab contemporaries to a strict monotheism that may have been influenced by Judaism and Christianity, to an exclusive monotheism that explicitly rejected Judaism and Christianity while claiming to return to the faith of the common father to the three faiths, Abraham. Muhammad' strict monotheism led him to reject the Christian belief in the deity of the Lord Jesus and ultimately that Jesus died by crucifixion. There are various Muslim interpretations of the passion account, but ultimately it is clear that Muhammad never reverently stood at the foot of the Cross or believed that anyone did.

B.   Growth of Islam

§2-166. Conquests—Islam dominated nearly all of Arabia by 632. During Muhammad's lifetime, the major way of expanding was by raiding other non-Muslim tribes. However, Muhammad forbade raiding against fellow Muslims. The raiding lifestyle required the Muslims to move out of the Arabian Peninsula. Muhammad's successor, Abu Bahr, began that process by sending armies north against the Byzantine and Persian empires. During the following century, Arab forces gained control of significant territories including Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, North Africa, and large portions of

Spain. The speed of the conquest was stunning. By 651, the Arabs had conquered the Persian Empire and, by 690, much of the Byzantine Empire. Damascus fell in 635, Alexandria in 643, and north Africa in 696-698. The invasion of Spain began in 711, and by 716, nearly the entire peninsula had been taken over. Constantinople itself barely withstood long sieges in 670s and 710s. Islam displaced the Byzantine Empire in southern Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia in the 9th century. The highwater mark of the Islamic advance was in 732 when a large Arab raiding party was defeated at Tours by Charles Martel of the Franks.

Arab success was due to several factors—
- Military exhaustion of Byzantium and Persia. They had been fighting each other for several centuries. Their exposure to Arabia was particularly weak given the reality that they had not had to defend themselves on that front in the past.
- The Arabs' military ability to operate efficiently in the desert.
- The tremendous confidence and enthusiasm installed by Muhammad, and to the unity provided by the newfound faith.
- Many Jewish people and even some Christians welcomed the invading Arabs. In the beginning, the Arabs were relatively benign conquerors. The conversion of non-Arabs was not yet a concern. If the local populace refrained from idol worship, that was good enough at first. A monotheistic faith was to be recognized, non-Arabs had to accept second-class status, pay their taxes, and go about their business. Byzantine taxes had been oppressive, their religious policies had engendered bitterness, and the advent of Arab ascendancy offered opportunities for social advancement. At first, the Arabs proved to be great warriors, but were completely unprepared to rule an extensive empire. They had little technical and literary skills and needed clerks, scholars, and people with bureaucratic experience. They initially found it in the local populations.
- The aftermath of the Monothelite controversy also primed the favorable reaction to the new conquerors. The heavy-handed insistence of the Byzantine emperors on the acceptance of the Chalcedonian formula engendered a backlash. Most non-Chalcedonians had no political loyalty to Byzantium and were just as willing to be ruled by Arabs as by Greeks.

§2-167. Domination and division—The Mediterranean world was dominated by Islam from 7th to 11th centuries. But internal divisions stymied the expansion of the empire. Muhammad left no successor or a plan for leadership succession. The majority view in the Muslim tradition, claims that the *umma* (the Muslim community) rallied around Abu Bahr, Muhammad's senior advisor. He only lived until 634 but did appoint a successor who directed the initial Muslim conquests. Thus arose the tradition of non-hereditary succession that led to *Sunni Islam*, which today comprises 80 to 90 percent of the Muslim population. A minority Muslim tradition claims that Muhammad did appoint a successor, Ali, who was his cousin and son-in-law. The belief that the Muslim leader or caliph should be a hereditary descendant of Muhammad became the basis for *Shi'a Islam*, which today comprises 10-20 percent of the Muslim adherents, mostly in Iran.

In 656-661, a civil war raged in the Arabic Empire between Muawuya (uncle of Muhammad) and Ali (son-in-law of Muhammad). Umayyad caliphate at Damascus (661-750) was established by the followers of the victor, Muawuya. The followers of Ali, the Shi'ites, went into opposition. In turn, the Umayyad caliphate was overthrown by Abbas in 751, and the Abbasid caliphate was established in Baghdad (751-1258). The early part of this dynasty represented the heyday of the Arabic Empire. One of the survivors of the Umayyads, Abd al-Rahman I, established Umayyad caliphate in Spain (756-1031), centered in Cordoba. In the 10th century (969), the Fatamids broke from the Abbasids and

established a separate caliphate at Cairo.

§2-168. Priority of education—Muslim rule placed immense value on education and great universities were established in Cairo, Baghdad, and Cordoba. Classical Greek literature and philosophy made its way into medieval Europe through Spain, known as al-Andulus.

§2-169. Upshot of Islamic conquests—This was an incredibly significant revamping of the power structure in the middle East, North Africa, Europe, and central Asia. Gone were the Sassanids of Persia. The Byzantines were reduced to the environs of Constantinople, and T'ang dynasty of China turned defensive and imploded within a century. Christianity was dramatically impacted in its heartland in the Middle East and North Africa. The faith lost many to Islam by conversion, so-called. However, many more Christians were allowed to remain in the faith as second-class citizens under heavy taxation and with a Muslim muzzle. Only on the margins, China, India, Ethiopia, and western Europe, was Christianity unaffected. Only western Europe had a large Christian population.

C.   Concept of Jihad

§2-171. Generally—During the 8th and 9th centuries, Arab scholars developed the concept of jihad to explain and justify Arab conquests. This idea held that it was necessary for the House of Islam to bring Islamic law throughout the entire world, imposing it upon the House of War (dar-al-Harb – non-Islamic lands). Muslims were to strive to bring the entire world into a single Islamic state. Jihad aimed at political unification, but not necessarily religious unification. Other monotheists (Jews and Christians) could practice their faith (with very substantial restrictions) within the House of Islam and, unlike pagans, were not to be forcible converted. This handicapping toleration was not always the case, especially in the first wave of Islamic conquests. Many Christians lost their lives.

§2-172. Idea of holy war—Islam's early acceptance and Christianity's late acceptance of the idea of holy war is best explained in the historical context in which this idea arose. It is not an accident that Charlemagne began to use forcible conversions shortly after the Islamic wave subsided and while the Islamic scholars were developing the idea of jihad. This influenced the much more aggressive notion of war that seized Christianity in this era and in the era of the Crusades.

D.   Impact on the Church

§2-176. In the East—The Byzantine Empire was pressed by the Islamic presence throughout its existence from the mid-7th century until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. It shrank to a regional power in Turkey and Greece largely because of the advance of Islam. Religiously, the Monophysite issue waned, not because of various councils' decrees, but because of the loss of provinces where the Monophysites lived to the Arab onslaught. John of Damascus, perhaps Eastern Orthodoxy's greatest theologian, was a civil servant in the Umayyad caliphate before resigning in 725. In the 11th century, Emperor Alexius I requested Western aid when Jerusalem was cut off from pilgrimages by the Seljuk Turks, a request which resulted in the First Crusade and the entire crusading venture. Constantinople withstood a number of Moslem sieges, indeed was something of a Christian citadel for centuries, before it fell to the Ottoman Turks and became Islamic Istanbul.

§2-177. In the West—This came in two primary ways—through al-Andulus (Islamic Spain) and through the cultural impact of the Crusades in the 12th and 13th centuries. As a result of the Arab conquest of Spain in the early 8th century, al-Andulus became a significant point of contact between Islam and Christianity. It was far more urbanized than any area of Christian Europe (the largest city in Islamic Spain was ten times larger than any Christian European city), with a much more developed

commercial and educational life. The Arabs introduced new technologies and agricultural practices to Spain, where the arid environment was like the environment found in the Arab homeland. Such practices and crops eventually found their way into the southern European practices. Certainly, by the 10th century, the cultural and intellectual life of Islamic Spain began to have a great impact on Christian Europe. Gerbert of Aurillac, the leading mathematician of 10th century Europe, studied in Islamic Spain to gain mastery of his subject.

In the section on the High Middle Ages, we will examine the impact of the Crusades. We will also see how indebted Western intellectual revival (in the form of Scholasticism) was to the Muslim interest in and preservation of the Greek classics, particularly Aristotle.

§2-178. Challenges of Christians in Muslim societies—Initially, Muslim attitudes towards Jews and Christians were favorable, partly because the lines of demarcation between the faiths were not yet clear and because the Arabs were expending so much attention and energy to the rapid expansion of their empire. However, the Islamic restrictive controls and adverse impact grew steadily over time.

Christianity continued to exist in virtually every area dominated by Islam (except eventually, North Africa). Most Christians settled for second-class status, a sizable number converted to Islam, and the number of Christians dropped substantially. The restrictions wore the faith down—Christians could not build buildings, could not evangelize, were ineligible for various opportunities within the culture, and were subject to an increasingly oppressive head tax. In a way, Christianity in these areas had moved from being a faith discriminated against even persecuted in the days of the pagan Roman Empire, to one favored by the state in the days of Constantine and his successors, to one discriminated against and persecuted under Islam. Of the three branches of the Eastern church, the Chalcedonians and the Monophysites adopted a defensive posture under the Arabs and settled into a long period of marginalization. Only the Nestorians, having never enjoyed state favor, maintained an outward focus and missionary zeal.

§2-179. Christians under the Umayyads (661-750)—The Umayyads gained control over the Arab world in 661 and moved the capital to Damascus. Under the Umayyads, non-Muslims had to pay an annual head tax but otherwise were treated better than under the Byzantines. At first all three branches in the east, the Chalcedonians, adherents to the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, the Monophysites (those believing that the Lord Jesus had one divine nature, not two natures, human and divine), and the Nestorians welcomed Muslim rule. The strength of these groups were their monasteries and the monasteries transmitted the classical heritage to the Arabs. Many Christians also prospered as clerks, accountants, and civil officials under the early Umayyads. However, around 700, the official administrative language changed to Arab, the opportunities for office for Christians dropped off, and the rulers gave Islam a higher profile in the religious world than they had previously. Attitudes hardened towards both Jews and Christians.

John of Damascus was the first Christian thinker to address the issue of relations with Islam. He was a government official and left his position in 726, possibly due to the worsening attitudes towards Christians. He spent a quarter of a century at the monastery of Mar Saba outside Jerusalem where he wrote a defense of the use of icons, on using Aristotelian philosophy in Christian theology, on a survey of heresies (where he wrote of Islam), and a treatise on orthodoxy. His critique of Islam was quite harsh for his purpose was not to persuade Muslims of the superiority of Christianity but to shore up the support of lukewarm Christians for their faith.

§2-180. Christians under the Abbasids (750 on)—The Abbasids succeeded the Ummayads and moved their capital to Baghdad in 762. The second Abbasid caliph founded a great library in Baghdad

and began amassing texts, including a huge translation effort of Syrian, Persian, and Greek texts into Arabic. The Persian Empire had been the center of medical knowledge and that reality moved to the Arabs. The wealth of the world flowed into Baghdad via the Arab tax system and the knowledge and expertise of the world followed as Baghdad became an intellectual and technical center as well. In addition, the Abbasids insisted that Islamic practice and not just Muslim race should be the organizing principle for their society. That did not lead to difficulties immediately, but it did eventually. A work called *Apology for the Christian Faith*, was written in the 780s in Arabic and housed at the famous monastery of St. Catherine's. The document attempts to explain the differences between the faiths in a respectful tone, but returns repeatedly to the need for genuine faith in conversion and an emphasis on the voluntary nature of faith. Islam was not then concerned with genuine conversions or with the inner state of the of the religious adherent, but with submission to Muslim practice.

§2-181. Christians on the fringes of Islam—This section considers the situation regarding Georgia and Armenia, Egypt and Nubia, and Spain. Georgia and Armenia were fought over by Byzantium and the Arabs and eventually both concluded that these Caucasus countries were more valuable as a buffer between the two adversaries than as the possession of either. Both countries were stoutly Christian, Moniophysite in the case of Armenia and Chalcedonian orthodoxy in the case of Georgia.

In Egypt, the Coptics initially welcomed the opportunity to be rid of Byzantine rule. By the eighth century, Arabic had replaced all other languages except for Coptic in religious ceremonies. Additionally, a strict yearly head tax was enforced, construction of new church buildings was prohibited, and Muslims were forbidden from engaging in conversion activities. Coptic energy went into building monasteries and Egypt, long an epicenter for monasticism, became even more so under Arab rule. Nubia was left alone by the Arabs until the 14th century on the condition that the area delivered the requisite number of slaves each year.

Spain was conquered by the Arabs in the early eighth century, becoming the province of al-Andalus. Because of its distance from the then Arab capital of Damascus, many Christians in Spain, albeit marginalized, neglected their duties to the state (e.g. payment of annual head tax etc.). The Muslim grip grew tighter as time progressed. Ironically, the Muslims in Spain were more tolerant of Jews than the Christians of western Europe and Spain became a magnet for Jewish migration.

§2-182. Christians beyond the reach of Islam— Some regions on the margins of the Christian world were unconstrained by Islam:
- Aksum/Ethiopia
- India
- China
- Europe, north of the Alps, will be discussed in the next major section of these Notes.

The first three, while unaffected by Islam, remained Christian outposts largely isolated from other Christian communities. There were not many believers among them.

Aksum/Ethiopia—In the early centuries of the Christian era, Aksum was an advanced kingdom that included modern Ethiopia and Eritrea in Africa and Yemen in Arabia. It dominated eastern Africa for most of the first millennium of our era and traded widely with the Mediterranean and Asian worlds. In Constantine's time, Frumentius, a young philosophy student, was captured by a raiding party, entered service at the royal household in Aksum. He became a fixture in the king's household, serving as a royal accountant. He used his position to extend to Roman merchants trading with Aksum the right to sponsor the building of Christian churches. He later became a bishop for the fledgling church in Aksum. Refusing Emperor Constantius' urging to convert to Arianism, the Aksum/Ethiopian Church came under the influence of those at Alexandria emphasizing the Monophysite doctrine.

Arab conquests in the seventh and eighth centuries shrunk and isolated the Aksum/Ethiopian kingdom. It was restricted to a small mountainous region of the Blue Nile, largely cut off from the rest of the world. The kingdom relocated its capital to Habasah, which became the basis for the Latinized form of "Abyssinia" by which the kingdom was known into the 20th century.

India—Islamic raids disrupted the church in the north but the church did root itself in the southwest portion of India. By the late eighth century, there were six episcopal sees in the area which were grouped under a metropolitan catholicos.

China—A group of Persian monks brought the Christian message to China around 635. Described as the "Religion of Light," it was received favorably by the ruling T'ang emperor and prospered for a time. This favor waxed and waned through the years, based on the favor or lack thereof of the imperial court. When the T'ang dynasty fell in the early tenth century, all protection of the church fell aside and Christianity disappeared.

V. Developments in Western Church

A. Growth of Papal Authority

§2-183. Honorary precedence—The title "Pope" comes from "Papa," a title originally accorded every bishop, signifying the fatherly care of the flock. It was reserved for the Roman bishop from the 6th century on. Early Christians accorded honor to the Roman bishopric because it was the imperial capital and Christendom's largest and wealthiest congregation. The Roman congregation continued to grow in number and influence. Christian writers, from Irenaeus in the 2nd century on, referred to Peter and Paul as the founders of the Roman church. Up to the time of Constantine, Rome had honor but not jurisdiction. With Constantine, came three important developments—the authority of the church councils, the authority of certain bishops over others, and the founding of Constantinople and the moving of the capital east. The Patriarch of Constantinople was recognized as having precedence equal to Rome at Council of Constantinople (381).

§2-184. Assertion of papal authority—Papal authority claims turn on three essential ideas—apostolic succession, Petrine primacy, and the association of Peter with the bishopric of Rome. The doctrine of apostolic succession is that the pastoral authority given by Jesus to the apostles has been handed down through an unbroken succession of bishops. This idea gained traction in the third century and was advocated by such luminaries as Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. Cyprian contended that church unity was essentially episcopal, not theological or ontological, and the bishop was the bulwark against doctrinal drift and division. While Cyprian did not assert the supremacy of the Roman see based on the primacy of Peter, he did assert the primacy of Peter in tracing the line of apostolic succession through history.

From the 4th century and following, Roman bishops asserted a primacy of authority in the church based on the Petrine doctrine. They asserted that Jesus named Peter the rock on which he would build His church and gave to him the keys to the kingdom (Mt 16:18-19). Because of the faith he confessed, Peter was to remain the unshakeable rock and strengthen the faith of his brothers (Lk 22:32). In addition, Jesus installed Peter as the shepherd for the entire flock (Jn 21:15-17). By tradition, Peter was Rome's first bishop (traditionally dated from 42 to 67), and therefore his authority descended to the Roman bishops that followed him.

The argument of the primacy of Peter combined with the idea of apostolic succession served to ground extensive jurisdictional claims by Rome. These arose despite (1) preeminence among Christians not to be patterned after worldly princes; (2) the other apostles received a similar charge as Peter (Mt 18); (3) Peter's continued instability even after Matthew 16 is the real context of the texts in John 21 and Luke

22; and (4) it assumed that the authority granted was not given to Peter personally but to his supposed bishopric in perpetuity.

§2-185. Papal authority claims in the secular realm—In the 5th century and following, Popes also made claims of authority in the secular realm. Leo I (440-461) saved Rome by negotiating with Attila the Hun (452) and with Gaiseric the Vandal (455). He intervened in North Africa and prevailed on Valentinian III to issue edict commanding obedience to the bishop of Rome in recognition of the "primacy of Peter." Gelasius I (492-496) went still further. According to Gelasius, there were two forms of power, secular and spiritual, and both derived from Christ, who is king and priest of the universe. Each has its proper sphere, but when those spheres intersect, the priestly role has precedence. The greatest priest was the Pope and therefore the Pope was above all, secular or spiritual rulers.

§2-186. Donation of Constantine—In the Early Middle Ages, the idea of the Pope's authority, both spiritual and secular, was augmented by the *Donation of Constantine*. This was a document supposedly authorized by Constantine purporting to give the Pope secular authority over the western empire as well as authority over the bishops of the Church. It was probably drafted in the 8th century by an overzealous monk and only discovered to be a forgery in 1431 by the Renaissance scholar, Lorenzo Valla.

§2-187. Decretals of Isidore—About the middle of the 9th century, there arose around Rheims in France, the *Decretals of Isidore*. This included the *Donation of Constantine* and more. The *Decretals* depicted the Roman bishops as claiming supreme authority from the beginning, permitting all bishops to appeal directly to the Pope, thus circumventing the authority of archbishops (an ecclesiastical issue at the time), and asserted that bishops and the Pope were to be free from all secular interference and control (also an issue in the 9th and following centuries).

B.   Gregory the Great

§2-188. Founder of the Medieval papacy—In many ways, Gregory's tenure was the first and foundational pontificate of the medieval Papacy. When he ascended to the Papal office in 590, Rome was in ruins. The devastating war between the Byzantines and the Ostrogoths lasted thirty years. Famine, war, and disease laid Italy low. Rome was in steep decline. Its food supply was uncertain; its environs in ruins, and its people's livelihoods cut off. The city's population was on the descent from an estimated 1,000,000 in the heyday of the Empire to 10,000 to 20,000 by the 8th and 9th centuries. The city was a symbol of a continent (Europe) in ruins.

Gregory enlisted Celtic and Benedictine monks to serve as a spiritual militia for winning the barbarians to the faith. The papacy and its hierarchy provided a stable structure for a new way of life and a clear spiritual direction. He took the theology of Augustine and the Fathers and constructed and maintained a framework of spiritual meaning that ministered to medieval people. No one mastered the instruments of the future better than Gregory the Great. His epitaph aptly proclaimed him "God's consul". His name was added to those of Augustine, Ambrose, and Jerome as one of the Latin Fathers.

Born in 540 of an old, wealthy senatorial family, Gregory was appointed Prefect (mayor) of Rome at the age of 33. A few years later, he resigned in favor of a monastic cell. Upon his father's death, he inherited a fortune and used it to found seven monasteries and then distributed the rest to the poor. He went to live in a monk's cell in one of the monasteries he founded. In 579, Pelagius II made him one of the seven deacons of Rome. He then became the papal ambassador to Constantinople. In 585, he became abbot of St. Andrews. The plague broke out in Rome, claiming the life of Pelagius II (579-590), and Gregory was selected as his successor.

Gregory was a whirlwind of energy and resolve. He organized and distributed food among the needy, took measures to guarantee shipments of wheat from Sicily, supervised the rebuilding of aqueducts and the walls of Rome, and drilled the garrison in preparing for the defense of the city. He negotiated directly with the Lombards and secured peace. Gregory was the de facto ruler of Rome and the surrounding territory that became known as "St. Peter's patrimony", and area of some 1,800 square miles. After negotiating peace with the Lombards, he mobilized the Papal properties (the patrimony of Peter to feed the starving populace of Rome, set forth his Pastoral Rule for the clergy, insisted on the clergy's compliance, and launched missionary projects (such as Augustine's mission to England in 596). He saw himself as "the servant of the servants of God". He combined the austere simplicity of a monk, the administrative abilities of the greatest of Roman rulers, and a genuine zeal for Christian missions.

§2-189. Gregory's view of orthodoxy—Gregory was a key person in formulating medieval Christianity. He believed that humanity's freedom was weakened but not destroyed by the fall. Once moved by God's grace, people must cooperate with that grace and win merit by good works. These good works were understood as the joint product of divine grace and human will. He believed in baptismal regeneration, developed the medieval idea of penance to expiate the temporal punishments for sin, and furthered the concept of purgatory as a place for venial sins to be purged before final judgment. He set aside the Augustinian doctrines of predestination and irresistible grace. He was more concerned with the question of how people were to offer satisfaction to God for sins committed. This was to be done through Penance, which he saw consisting of contrition, confession, and actual penitential satisfaction along with priestly absolution. Those who die in communion with the Church but without offering satisfaction for all their sins, must be purified in Purgatory. The living can help the dead out by offering masses in their favor. Gregory had his doctrinal direction affirmed by stories of popular superstition, which he seemed to accept as simple and direct confirmation of Christian faith.

Gregory saw the Eucharist as communion with Christ whose body and blood were present in the bread and wine. He believed that by feeding on the bread and wine of the sacrament Christians nourished, sustained, and strengthened their spiritual lives. He thought that in the liturgical celebration of the Mass, Christ was sacrificed anew. This idea of the Mass as sacrifice eventually became official and unquestioned doctrine of the Church until the time of the Reformation.

He encouraged the veneration of Mary and the saints. His accommodational stance towards the pagan customs of new converts allowed many of the old pagan festivals to redefine themselves as feast days for saints or celebrations of the Virgin Mary. In worship, he preached frequently, helped develop the Latin liturgy, and inspired and influenced the development of Gregorian chant. Gregory took measures to reform the clergy and insisted on clerical celibacy. He was a prolific writer and a very influential one as the Middle Ages unfolded. Gregory saw himself, and was seen by others, as the patriarch of the West.

C.   Sacramental System

§2-191. Generally—Augustine defined a sacrament as an outward and visible sign of an invisible grace. With the Novatian and Donatist challenge to the validity of sacraments administered by unworthy clergy (those caving under the pressure of persecution), the Church began to outline the doctrine of *ex opera operato*. That is, the grace distributed by the sacrament was not dependent on the worthiness of the celebrant. Church gradually identified seven sacraments—baptism, penance, eucharist, confirmation, matrimony, holy orders, and extreme unction. However, these were not formally recognized until the Council of Florence in 1439. It was the cradle to grave provision of grace for the faithful.

§2-192. Eucharist and the idea of transubstantiation—Debate concerning the nature of Eucharist debate began in earnest in 831. Radbertus, abbot of Corbic, claimed that the bread and the wine actually becomes the body and blood of Christ upon consecration by a priest. Others followed Augustine, arguing for Christ's spiritual presence in the Eucharist. Popular piety rallied around Radbertus. Lanfranc of Bec used Aristotelian categories to formulate the doctrine of transubstantiation. The essence of bread and wine became the divine substance (*substans*) of Christ even while their appearance or accidental properties (*accidens*) remained the same. Transubstantiation was adopted as dogma at Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and fully worked out by Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century.

§2-193. Penance—The idea of the sacrament of Penance developed gradually. In the third century, Cyprian and others devised penance as a way of dealing with serious sin after baptism. This involved public confession of sin after an extensive period of satisfactory penance. Some austere souls asserted that this should be limited to one time. There followed the gradual adoption of the Celtic-Irish custom of frequent private confession followed by repeated satisfactory penance. Spiritual manuals called penitentials were developed to provide guidance for the giving and doing of satisfaction for penance.

In the sixth and seventh centuries, Gregory the Great refined the concept of the sacrament and described its essentials—contrition for sin, confession to a priest, and satisfaction for the temporal punishments of sin. The idea was that salvation depended entirely on God's grace but that penance made a place for human effort in atoning for sins after baptism.

D.   Veneration of Mary and the Saints

§2-196. Generally—The cult of the saints and of the Virgin Mary continued the tradition of venerating martyrs. Although the saints had entered heavenly glory, it was believed that they remained in communion with the Church on earth and could be invoked by those seeking intercession. In addition, relics connected with Mary and the saints became popular devotional items as did pilgrimages to particular shrines. Many of the faithful believed that relics had miracle-working properties.

Devotion to Mary was particularly important and grew ever more elaborate. Her role as *theotokos* (God bearer) was defined at the Council of Ephesus in 431. Her alleged perpetual virginity was proclaimed at the Lateran Synod in 649. By the 11th century, the Virgin Mary was elevated above saintly veneration. Her sinless perfection was embraced over the centuries. More modern accretions to Marian devotion include her Immaculate Conception (she was born without sin, asserted as dogma in 1854), her bodily assumption directly into heaven (proclaimed as dogma in 1950). She was also proclaimed mediatrix with her Son in 1854. By the Incarnation she was the mediatrix of all grace that came through Him, and also as mediatrix of grace through prayer because God supposedly has made her something of an intercessary doorkeeper to the heavenly throne. Recently, in our day, there has been a movement within Catholicism to proclaim Mary as co-redemptrix. One Catholic theologian says it this way: "In the power of the grace of redemption merited by Christ, Mary, by her spiritual entering into the sacrifice of her Divine Son for humankind, merited the application of the redemptive grace of Christ. (Ludwig Ott, Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma, p. 213.).

E.   Filioque Clause

§2-197. Generally—This debate between the eastern and western churches concerned the relationships between the Holy Spirit and the other Persons of the Trinity. Does the Spirit proceed from the Father and the Son, or from the Father alone? Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople (858-867, 878-886), and Pope Nicholas II had an ugly disagreement on this issue that contributed to the eventual schism between east and west in 1054.

The controversy began amid a ecclesiastical squabble, the so-called Photian Schism in 867. Photius had become Patriarch of Constantinople after the deposition of Patriarch Ignatius. Both appealed to the current pope (Nicholas) for support and Nicholas took Ignatius' side. Photius went nuclear and declared the West heretical, discovering that someone had tampered with the Nicene Creed by including the word *filioque* ("and the Son") . This alteration first arose in Spain and was taken to France. By Charlemagne's time, the Creed recited at the royal chapel included *filioque*. Some Frankish monks visiting in the East recited the Creed with the phrase in it and it caused a scandal in the East. Photius argued that including the phrase was tampering with the Creed itself and with the underlying understanding that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father, through the Son. Including *filioque* challenged the understanding of the Godhead itself.   A byproduct of this controversy was the revival of the use of the Apostle's Creed. The Pope, not wanting to alienate either the Franks or the Byzantine emperor, began using the Apostle's Creed rather than the Nicene Creed.

F.   Monasticism in the West

§2-201. Generally—Late Antiquity to the High Middle Ages was the heyday of monasticism. In an age of disorder, the Benedictine monasteries which dotted the European countryside were bastions of peaceful, quiet, and orderly living. Prayer, work, and study were the monastic custom and norm in a general society where war was chronic, prayer was ignored or regarded as magic to be practiced for selfish ends, work was despised, and where even the ruling elites were illiterate. The monks staffed the evangelistic campaigns of the church, preserved what remained of literacy and the classical heritage in their studies, manned the bureaucracies (such as they were) of the fledgling states of the new Europe, and took the lead in efforts to revive the state of the church. After the time of Charlemagne, the Church went into a nosedive. Renewal was initated and advanced by emerging monastic movements.

§2-202. Cluniac revival—The outstanding example of this in the latter part of this era (10th century) was the Cluniac revival. The monastery at Cluny in France was founded in 910 on land given by William the Pious, duke of Aquitaine. To prevent his successors from corrupting the monastery and diverting it from its founding purpose, as so many others had experienced, Duke William placed Cluny directly under the rule of the Pope. This became a precedent many followed. It significantly expanded the Pope's control over the Western church. Cluny's first abbot and spiritual founder was Berno, who strictly adhered to the Benedictine rule. Cluny had the good fortune of having a notable line of devoted and capable abbots and the monastery grew in enrollment, attracted additional gifts, and planted daughter monasteries. By 1100, the number of associated monasteries had risen to more than three hundred. Thus, Cluny became a center of a congregation of monasteries, the precursor to such reforming orders as the Cistercians, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Jesuits.

§2-203. Slow Cluniac decline; rise of the Cistercians—While Cluny, in theory, held strictly to the Benedictine rule, it came to modify that over time. It stressed its worship times and made them much more elaborate. It so de-emphasized manual labor that the monks ceased to do field work at all, leaving it to the monastery's serfs while the monks devoted themselves to prayer and worship. The abbey churches in Cluniac monasteries grew in size and ornamentation. The monastery church at the mother house at Cluny was the largest church in Western Europe at the time of its completion in the early 12th century. Cluniac monasteries did not encourage scholarship. The study of the classics were either de-emphasized or forbidden altogether.

Discontent with the wealth and ease of the Cluniacs gave rise to a new movement of monastic reform. In the 11th century, Robert of Molesme founded a new monastery at Citeaux, and an order known as the Cistercians. The leading figure of the Cistercians was Bernard of Clairvaux, abbot of the Cistercian

monastery at Clairvaux. Bernard was an earnest monk and a great preacher. However, he was much more than that. He was the dominant personality of his time. He was at one and the same time, a contemplative mystic, the power behind the papacy, especially after one of his monks became pope, the champion of ecclesiastical reform, preacher of the Second Crusade, hymn writer, and enemy of all theological innovation.

§2-204. Benedictine rule—Benedictine monk's life and work included various elements:
- Worship was central to a monk's life. In the West, this was standardized in what is now called the liturgy of hours—the reading of Psalms, singing of hymns, chanting of prayers, and the reading of Scripture which occurred at definite times approximately every three hours during the day. These times went by the names of nocturns, matins, lauds, prime, sext, none, vespers, and compline and were usually short periods of worship (fifteen minutes or so).
- Meals were usually once a day in winter and twice a day in summer. Staples included eggs, fish, cheese, beans, milk, and honey. Meat was initially forbidden but later allowed. Meals were taken in silence. The monks usually listened to an "improving book"—e.g. the Bible, one of the works of the Church fathers, Josephus, Eusebius, Venerable Bede etc.
- Work was a calling, sacred ministry, regardless of what it was (kitchen duties, field work; choir monk). Brother Lawrence, a noted author and highly sought spiritual mentor, was a kitchen hand in his actual monastic work. Indeed, idleness was the soul's enemy, and sloth was one of the first signs of the cooling of monastic fervor.
- Buildings common to monasteries included the cloister where the monks lived, chapter house where they met for business and other reasons, the refectory where they ate/washed up, storehouses, bakeries/kitchen, stables, outbuildings etc.
- Monastic officers included the abbot, a provost, deans, doorkeepers, presenters (the library (scriptorium) guys), masters, chamberlains, etc.

§2-205. Monasticism's legacy—Monasticism's enduring legacy was many-sided:
- Preservation/copying of documents in the scriptorium.
- Pursuit/spread of learning in the monastery schools.
- The early evangelists of Germanic tribes.
- Staffed early medieval kingdom posts—e.g. Otto I of the Holy Roman Empire. The investiture controversy which convulsed the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire was essentially about the implications of this de facto reality.
- Refuge for those seeking a higher standard of discipline.
- When properly functioning, they gave evidence that the Christian ideal was indeed a real aspiration, not just some pious yak on Sunday.

§2-206. Medieval concept of spirituality—The monks had an enormous impact on medieval perceptions of spirituality. The key points for us are:
- Centrality of the Bible in the rhythm of life;
- Guidance of the Holy Spirit;
- Importance and transforming power of true prayer;
- Balance of head/heart/hands.

§2-207. Background to the Medieval approach to the Bible and biblical interpretation—A little background is necessary to flesh this out. For early Christians, one of the primary issues was how Christians were to interpret the Old Testament. Is it a Christian book or collection of books? Two major schools emerged in the first three centuries:
- Alexandrian school emphasized an allegorical interpretation. The Jewish philosopher Philo (20

BC-50 AD) was extremely influential for this school of thought. He originally developed an allegorical method to show the compatibility of Hebrew Old Testament with Hellenistic Platonism. Philo's work forms the basis for the Alexandrian allegorical approach. Clement of Alexandria (150-215) adapted Philo for Christian use. Origen (185-254) built on this and developed the theory of biblical interpretation which dominated the Church through the Middle Ages. Interpretation was to move through—
  - o Literal historical (basic sense);
  - o Typological (moral sense); and
  - o Spiritual (allegorical sense where one looks for the foreshadowing of the New Testament in the Old Testament).
- Antioch school emphasized the literal sense in reaction to Alexandrian excesses. Lucian of Antioch was founder (circa 312) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428) and John Chrysostom (347-407) were its most famous advocates. This school tracked what has become an evangelical Protestant characteristic, an emphasis on the grammatical, geographical, and historical sense of the text. The school attempted to understand the Old Testament as a Christian document through a technique called *theoria*—the precursor of modern typology.

Many early believers, notably Jerome and Augustine, blended the two schools. Augustine always started with literal, grammatical, historical sense and then moved to what he called the spiritual sense—the New Testament hidden in Old Testament; the Old Testament enlightened in the New.

§2-208. Bible study in monastic communities—By the time of the early Middle Ages (500-1000), Bible study had a particular cadence to it in the monastic communities. The monks engaged in the regular Bible reading (the *lectio divina*) during their set worship times. Additional study was governed by John Cassian's fourfold sense of Scripture:
- Literal sense—the text's grammatical, historical meaning;
- Allegorical sense—the text's "deeper" or theological meaning;
- Moral sense—the application of the text to Christian practice;
- Analogical sense—the eschatological fulfillment to which the text points.

This method placed an emphasis on the centrality of "spiritual exegesis", meaning that the allegorical, moral, and analogical sense predominated over the literal sense. For example, a Scriptural reference to the city of Jerusalem could mean:
- the city where the action described is taking place (literal);
- the church (allegorical);
- the soul of an individual (moral);
- the heavenly city or kingdom where God's rule was direct (analogical).

§2-209. Medieval spirituality—prayer—Medieval spirituality centered on prayer as it connected to times of worship (the liturgy of hours above), contemplation, spiritual guidance, and life's sustaining activity. As to prayer, three themes predominated—
- Prayer was to stand before God (often in silence). Prayer was less about what was said and more about being in the presence of God.
- Prayer was to stand with the heart and the intellect (with one's whole being).
- Prayer was to stand before God continually (not something one does so much as it is something we are).

These "standing" stages often used to elaborate spiritual concerns—
- Active life—beginning with repentance and recentering our lives on God.
- Contemplation of nature—Seeing nature as God's book.

- Contemplation of God—direct encounter was goal of prayer.

Monastic goal was unceasing prayer (*oratio*). Such prayer was to be—
- Pure, brief, frequent;
- Connected with reading (*lectio*);
- Associated with meditation;
- Supported by fasting;
- Becoming a unity that defines one's "rhythm of living."

§2-210. Medieval spirituality—spiritual guidance—Medievals stressed the need for a spiritual guide or director. The Holy Spirit was understood as the true guide of all Christians and a good director did not usurp the Spirit's role. He or she was a facilitator of what was fundamentally God's work. A spiritual guide was usually one's confessor in the sacrament of Penance.

§2-211. Monasticism's trajectory throughout the Middle Ages—Monastic trajectory in the Middle Ages runs from its ascendancy in the Early Middle Ages to its nadir in the Late Middle Ages. In the Early Middle Ages, it was central to spiritual vitality. The Benedictine rule was universal standard for monastic practice in the West. By 1200, monasticism was in clear decline. There were fewer postulants, the adherence to the Benedictine standard was declining, and criticism of monastic wealth and hypocrisy was rising throughout the West. As Medieval monasticism evolved, there was the emergence of new patterns. These included warrior orders (Knights Templar; Teutonic Knights out of the Crusades), teaching orders (e.g. Dominicans), and orders concerned with spiritual formation (Franciscans).

Regardless of its shortcomings, monasticism had a continuing appeal. People came to the monastery fleeing from the world to encounter God in silence. They tuned out the noise, complexity, and turmoil of life and devoted themselves to learning to pray with fervency, to pursuing integrity with an established discipline, and to seeking spiritual renewal. The monastic dangers were real and commonly involved spiritual pride (a kind of athletes/commandos for God mentality), a disengagement from responsibility and from making a wholesome contribution to community at large, and sloth under the guise of meditative discipline.

VI.   Developments in Eastern Church

A.   Historical Shaping of Eastern Orthodoxy

§2-212. Generally—Today what is commonly described as Eastern Orthodoxy is really an ecclesiastical family of fifteen self-governing (autocephalous) churches. There are still the four patriarchs from the distant past, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and eleven other self-governing bodies, including Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Czech, Greek, Cypriot, Romanian, Georgian, and Albanian. This branch of Christendom had two major splits, both of which occurred in the Medieval timeframe. The first division occurred when the Christian mainstream separated from the Nestorian and Monophysite churches. The ecumenical councils at Chalcedon (451), and two at Constantinople (553, 681) dealt with the issues involved in this split. The Nestorian or Monophysite churches today are located in Armenia, Syria (the Jacobites), Egypt (the Coptics), Ethiopia, and India. The second major division affecting this branch of the church was the Great Schism of 1054 when the Pope at Rome and the Patriarch at Constantinople excommunicated each other.

§2-213. Constantine and imperial Church—The Notes on the **Early Church** spoke of the growth and ascendancy of the Church in the days of Constantine and primarily dealt with the church in the east. Most of the controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries waged hottest in the east. Many of the

dynamic early leaders of Christianity ministered in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, including Athanasius (296-373), the Cappadocians, Basil of Caesarea (329-379), Gregory of Nazianzus (330-389), and Gregory of Nyssa (330-395), and the great preacher, John Chrysostom (344-407). In addition, the ascendancy of the state authority over the ecclesiastical workings of the church was most pronounced in the east.

Western Christians tend to view Constantine as, at best, problematically meddlesome in the life of the Church and, at worst, the great Caesaropapist enslaver of genuine Christian vibrance. Orthodoxy views Constantine as the holy initiator of the Christian world. He founded Constantinople, the home of Orthodoxy and the hub of the Christian empire. By the late fourth century, Constantinople rivaled Rome in its respective influence and prestige. Constantine's era is what Christendom should strive for. Eastern Orthodoxy is usually dated from the time of Justinian (527-565). Its distinctives were generally set in place by the time of that great emperor.

§2-214. Seven Ecumenical Councils—Orthodoxy sees the first seven Ecumenical Councils (from Nicea (325) to Nicea (787)) as foundational to the faith. Through these church councils, the work of defining the faith was completed.

- Nicea (325)—condemned Arianism and recognized precedence of certain ecclesiastical sees.
- Constantinople (381)—revised Nicene Creed to affirm equality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son and assigned special honor to the ecclesiastical sees of Rome and Constantinople.
- Ephesus (431)—condemned Nestorianism.
- Chalcedon (451)—repudiated Monophysitism and Nestorianism.
- 2nd Constantinople (553)—Appealed to the Monophysites (a large minority in the Byzantine Empire at this time) by condemning sixty propositions of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the primary architect of two-natures Christianity.
- 3rd Constantinople (680-681)—again rejected Monophysitism in the form of Monothelitism, which held that Christ had two natures but only one will (*thelma*). The will was understood as divine. Opponents saw this as Apollinarianism revisited and it was condemned.
- 2nd Nicea (787)—resolved the iconoclastic controversy.

§2-215. Shaped by the Byzantine Empire—These influences included the outworkings of caesaropapism, the presence and place of Eastern monasticism, and the role of the emperor.

Caesaropapism involved the subordination of the Church to the state. This reality persisted throughout the long duration of the Byzantine Empire and can be seen clearly in the entire family of Orthodox churches today. The emperors from Justinian and following called church councils, presided at them, issued ecclesiastical decrees, and controlled the appointments to high ecclesiastical office. No Patriarch of Constantinople could hold office without the emperor's consent. Until the late 8th century, the same approval was exercised by the emperor over papal appointments and would have continued except that Byzantine power on the Italian peninsula waned. Unique role of the emperor was a shaping influence. He was seen as God's representative on earth and sometimes even preached sermons. No rigid lines existed between church/state, religious/secular; clergy/laity. Society was a single organism. This order, as we know it now, came into its distinct contours in time of Justinian.

Ne of the best ways to penetrate Eastern Orthodox thought is to enter it through monasticism. Its leading center was Mt. Athos, once inhabited by forty thousand monks. One hundred and twenty Patriarchs came from this network of monasteries.

§2-216. Impact of Islam—The Byzantine Empire was pressed by the Islamic presence throughout its

existence from the mid-7th century until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Constantinople withstood several Muslim sieges, indeed was something of a Christian citadel for centuries. Byzantium shrank from a Mediterranean-wide power to a regional power in Turkey and Greece largely because of the advance of Islam.

Religiously, the Monophysite issue waned, not because of various councils' decrees, but because of the loss of provinces to the Arab onslaught where the Monophysites lived. John of Damascus, perhaps Eastern Orthodoxy's greatest theologian, was a civil servant in the Umayyad caliphate before resigning in 725. In the 11th century, Emperor Alexius I requested Western aid when Jerusalem was cut off from pilgrimages by the Seljuk Turks, a request which resulted in the First Crusade and the entire crusading venture. Given the close connection between church and state in Byzantium, this Islamic pressure affected the development of Christianity in the east. Constantinople became a Christian citadel and Eastern Christianity grew increasingly inward, lacking the outward vitality that characterized the west.

B.   Iconoclastic Controversy

§2-217. Generally—The broader concern in this controversy is the role of art in the worship of God. What role does aesthetics play in worship? The immediate issue was the use of icons (plat pictures painted in oil, usually on wood, and typically of Christ, Mary, or one of the saints) in worship. Icons played an important part in Eastern tradition. The Isaurian emperors felt that they were used in an idolatrous fashion and wanted to get rid of them. Others felt that icons were helpful in worship, even "windows of heaven," enhancing the awe and reverence of the Almighty.

§2-218. Rise of images (icons) and visual representations—In the early church, there was a steady progression from sign to symbol to full visual representation. The early images arose from the Scripture taken in a typological or allegorical sense. If Christ was depicted, it was solely through symbolic means. The cross was a common Christian symbol from the beginning. Gradually it developed several different forms, with the *chi rho* monogram the most common in the time of Constantine. This cross provides a good example of the increasing sophistication of symbolism through the centuries. In the 2nd century, it's the cross alone; in the 3rd century, the cross and the lamb; in the 4th century, Christ holding the cross; and by the 6th century, Christ nailed to the cross. Thus, the cross evolved into the crucifix.

Other early signs and symbols included the dove (Mt 3:16), a palm branch (Rev 7:9), the anchor (Heb 6:19), the vine (Jn 15:1-6), the shepherd (Lk 15:3-7), and the fish. The fish is another example of evolving sophistication. The simple representation evolved into the *ichthus* acrostic. *Ichthus* is the English transliteration of the Greek word for fish (ιχθυς) and came to symbolize the heart of the Christian message:

ι ήσους–Jesus
χ ριστος–Christ
θ εος–God
υ ιος–Son
σ ὠτηρ–Savior

These early signs and symbols began to move to visual representations. First these were only functional representations of Christ—a shepherd or a fisherman. Later they depicted Christ as a physical man. The same progression occurred with Mary and then with the saints. From 6th century on, the Imperial Government encouraged icon-making and the honoring of saints.

§2-219. Origins of the iconoclastic controversy—For those opposing icons, much weight was given to Old Testament prohibition against idols, contained in the 2nd commandment (Deut. 5:8-10)—"You shall not make for yourself an idol in the form of anything in heaven above or on earth beneath or in the waters below. You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I, the Lord your God, am a jealous God …". The concern with any image of God was for a lapse into idolatry.

Furthermore, there was a desire to avoid show and vanity. This simplicity tended to put art on the back burner. This was essentially a non-issue in the early years since Christian buildings were either nonexistent or were very simple. Most Christian congregations lacked the means to support the arts in any substantial way. However, with posterity and even governmental favor, the visual arts abounded. Increasingly, ordinary Christians failed to distinguish between holy objects and the person or spiritual reality for which those objects stood. There was much abuse of icons in Late Antiquity. Icons were chosen as godparents, icon paint was mixed in Eucharistic wine, and there were many claims of miracles relating to icons. Many thought that the hysteria relating to icons marked a not-so-subtle shift from honor to overt, pagan-like idolatry.

On the other hand, another less restrictive opinion concerning the importance of the arts began to come to the fore in Christian thinking. Later Christians pointed out the informational value of artistic representation. Pictorial stories were extremely helpful when many people could not read (as was increasingly the case in this era). Others who pressed this point described the early basilicas and cathedrals as giant flannelgraphs. In addition, art itself has intrinsic religious value. It conveys faith's concepts poignantly often where words fail. Christians recognize this with music. Why the blindness for the representational arts? Art has missionary value in that good art communicates across culture and language. One does not need to get to a designated mental state or exist in a subcultural clique to appreciate the point of the artist or feel his or her pathos.

Above all, advocates of icons asserted that art holds intrinsic value before God. God is the God of beauty and the original artist. The canvass of His creation speaks to this point in a spectacular fashion. He created human beings in His image which includes this capacity to produce and appreciate art. Artistic skill is divine gift and an enabling as Exodus 31 clearly indicates. Christians began to ask— How is it that God would gift and enable and yet prohibit at the same time. Are we applying the second commandment in an overly restrictive fashion?

§2-220. Why an Eastern issue and not a Western one?—Why such a fuss in the East but not so much in the West? To begin with icons serve as a key to understanding Eastern Orthodoxy. Eastern thinkers understood image as key to understanding the ways of God with humanity. Humans are created in the image of God. They carry the icon of God within themselves. Western Christianity understands God's relationship with humanity in essentially legal terms and focuses on Christ's atonement. But the great theme of Orthodoxy is the incarnation of God and the recreation of man. Sin is not fundamentally a legal problem but an ontological one, It wounds the image of God in people.

Iconoclasm is literally the smashing of images, but the term broadened to mean opposition to them. The practice of Byzantine faith was extensively interwoven with images or icons, which the Greeks viewed as a type of window into heaven. Islam strongly rejected any visual depiction of God. In the seventh and eighth centuries, Arab conquered most of what was previously the Eastern Roman Empire. They laid siege and nearly captured Constantinople itself in 681 and 717-718. After the second siege, Emperor Leo III, founder of the Isaurian dynasty, issued a decree forbidding the use of icons within the Byzantine realm. That put the emperor in direct conflict with the church's major leaders and particularly the monastics.

§2-221. Timeline of the controversy—

- In 8th century, Leo III (717-741) launched an attack on the use of icons after repulsing the Muslims from the gates of Constantinople. He adopted a policy of removing icons in 726. Indeed, in Constantinople itself, the destruction of a prized icon led to a riot in the city. Leo's son, Constantine V (741-755), took an even tougher stance against icons.
- The so-called Mock Synod (753-754) was convened and issued a series of iconoclastic anathemas, nineteen prohibitions condemning all creators, users, and distributors of artful depictions of Christ, Mary, and the saints.
- Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicea (787) – The iconodules (icon venerators) rallied and succeeded in convening an ecumenical council on the issue. The Empress Irene (797-802), then regent for her son Constantine VI, convened 2nd Nicaea Council. That council upheld icons as legitimate vehicles for worship, adopting the logic of John of Damascus (see §2-221 below).
- The conflict had one last go-around under Leo V (813-820) before the Empress Theodora made a final restoration of icons in 843.

§2-222. Logic of the controversy—The iconoclastic (icon smashers) argument was that the practice of icon veneration in their day was idolatrous. They invoked such texts as Deuteronomy 4:16. The intellectuals might produce fine distinctions, but the actual practice was idolatrous and not the least bit subtle at that. The iconoclasts wanted to replace icons with traditional Christian symbols—the cross, the book (Bible), and the elements of the Lord's table (cup and bread). In other words, they wanted to reverse the progression noted above.

Their opponents were the monks, the ascetics, and the general populace (i.e. a union between Byzantium's version of Holy Joe and Joe Sixpack). Theodore of Studius, an abbot of a large monastery in Constantinople in the 8th century, was a leader of the opposition to the iconoclastic emperors. John of Damascus was the primary literary defender of the use of icons in worship. He made three arguments:

- "Image" is a central motif in the Scripture. Jesus himself is the image of the invisible God (Col. 1:15). In the Byzantine mind, there was an essential link between icons and the Incarnation. Humanity is created in the image of God (Gen. 1:26-27). Radical iconoclasm would negate the Incarnation itself and the central reality of our humanity.
- He also distinguished between worship (*latreia*) and veneration (*proskynesis*). He argued that worship was due to God alone, but veneration could be given to others—saints and their icons—as a way of honoring them. Veneration does not constitute idolatry.
- While it is impossible to represent God as He is in himself, it is possible, even necessary to depict in visible form the incarnate Son.

John argued that texts like Deuteronomy 4:16 (forbidding the making of images of God) lost its bite when Jesus took on human form. The argument was that Christian visual art derived its validity from, and in turn upheld, the reality of the Incarnation. If visual representation is itself idolatry, then the God-man is a walking anathema. To deny that an icon could depict Christ was to deny the possibility of the Incarnation. The iconoclasts seemed to be denying the essential humanity of Christ (or so the Greeks saw it) in an overreaction to icons.

Furthermore, while it was wrong to worship an icon, the presence of the icon could instruct and assist believers in worshipping the reality behind the icon. That is, art heightens the reality of Christ's Incarnation for His worshippers. Supporters of icons argued that the image was never of the same substance as the original object or person, just an imitation which facilitated worship.

§2-223. Ongoing debate—Today this essential debate continues, albeit on different terrain. Critics

argue for the elimination of all visual images on basis of 2nd commandment and would give the definition of ``idol'' a wide swath, essentially any visual representation. Others appreciate art for its role in worship, education, and as a source of inspiration. What role for visual art in matters of faith? How can the church avoid idolatry and yet promote aesthetics and the creative expression in the life of the Christian community?

C.   Schism of 1054

§2-226. Generally—The mutual excommunication of Patriarch Michael Cerularius by Leo IX and Leo by Cerularius culminated the long and slow drift apart between East and West. Dating the schism to 1054 is something of a historical serendipity. The events that followed that date really cemented the finality of what happened in 1054. By the 14th and 15th centuries, when the Byzantine emperors basically conceded all of Latin Christendom's demands, the Greeks in the East were so fed up with Latin authority demands and territorial incursions that they refused to follow the emperors in their reconciling (surrendering) posture. The attitudes of those future days can be summarized by a saying contemporary to them: "Better the crescent (of Islam) than a Latin cross". This was not a happy episode in Church history.

§2-227. Issues that caused the schism—
- The biggest issue was the authority demands of the Pope in Rome. The East offered honor; West demanded sole preeminence and submission. The East, at its best, sought the collegiality of equals; the West, even at its best, sought the authority (albeit sometimes benign) of a feudal monarch. This really began with the third (Constantinople in 381) and fourth (Chalcedon in 451) ecumenical councils when Constantinople was recognized as equal in preeminence with Rome. Pope Leo I immediately objected but the West was in such a low state in the 5th to 7th centuries that it was unable to press its demands. But the little squabbles lack sense without realizing that this issue looms in the background.
- Drift apart in customs—The East allowed clergy to marry; the West demanded that they stay single. The Eastern clergy wore beards; their Western counterparts were clean shaven. The fasting patterns during Lent differed. They disagreed over the required use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist and other nuances of ritual in the Eucharistic rite. The East required rebaptisms of Western communicants. They disagreed over the proper day to celebrate Easter. When you go back to the perspective of the Gospels and the epistles, these controversies are clearly much to do about little.
- The Filioque clause refers to the phrase "and from the Son," which was inserted into the Nicene Creed in Western Christianity during the period under discussion. From the time of Augustine, the West increasingly thought of the Spirit as embodying the divine love that unifies Father and Son and, because it is mutual, necessarily proceeds from both Father and Son. The East vigorously disagreed. They believed that a "double procession" threatened the unity of God by making it dependent on two bases. Furthermore, they considered the addition of *filioque* to the Creed as a unilateral and unjustifiable innovation of the West.
- Photian schism—This was a prelude to 1054. By the 9th century, the Roman bishop was clearly out of the web of control of the Byzantine emperor due to the waning of Byzantine power in Italy. Pope Nicholas I (858-867) began reasserting the prerogatives of Rome. Patriarch Photius of Constantinople (858-867, 878-886) opposed these and combined that opposition with a vigorous denunciation of *filioque* usage in the West. This period saw mutual hostility but was later resolved by succeeding leaders in Rome and Constantinople.

§2-228. Immediate presenting issue—The immediate presenting issue was once again power. The Normans had conquered southern Italy, formerly controlled by the Byzantines, and required the use of Latin rites by its subjects. The East responded by excluding Latin rites from Bulgaria. The authority game escalated until the pope's legate to Constantinople, Cardinal Humbert, dramatically laid a formal edict of excommunication of Patriarch Michael Cerularius on the high altar of Hagia Sophia. Cerularius, in return, excommunicated Pope Leo.

D.   John of Damascus

§2-229. Generally—John is the last great Orthodox father. He served as an adviser in the court of the Ummayyad caliph before he resigned in 725 and retreated to a monastery near Jerusalem. He was not an original thinker, but an eloquent and crystal clear synthesizer of the thinking that went before him. His magnum opus is *Fountain of Knowledge,* a work in three parts. The first part is an introduction to philosophy. Here, he clearly continues the Eastern interest in philosophy and its association with theology, dating from the time of Clement of Alexandria and Origen. The second part is a history of heresies. The third part is a one hundred chapter presentation of orthodox faith. This last part has been considered a classic statement of Orthodox faith ever since its composition. He also wrote *Sacred Parallels*, a collection on Christian morality in which virtues and vices are treated in pairs, and *On Divine Images*, which supplied the arguments in favor of the use of icons which carried the day at the Council of Nicea in 787.

E.   Monasticism and Mysticism

§2-231. Generally—Eastern monasticism flourished in this era guided by the practices of desert fathers and the advice of Basil of Caesarea. However, monasticism in the East never developed a uniform rule that gained universal sway such as the Benedictine rule in the West. The prominent feature of Eastern monasticism was its mystical tradition that emphasized themes of (1) deification through the action of divine grace and (2) the unknowability of God.

§2-232. Pseudo-Dionysius—The monks commonly referred to this very influential author (possibly a Syrian monk who lived around 500) of four treatises. Two were of particular importance. *On Divine Names* was a study of the essence and attributes of God and *Mystical Theology* was a description of the ascent of the soul and the experience of union with God. This latter emphasis drove mystical monasticism in the East.

§2-233. Theosis—Eastern mysticism emphasized a three-fold process of purification, illumination, and perfection as a path of union with God. This union of deification with God was described as *theosis*. A common feature of Eastern mysticism was that the individual had something to contribute to this process of "deification." The process was one of divine grace with which an individual needed to cooperate.

§2-234. Hesychasm built on early Eastern mysticism—Hesychasm was a form of mystical prayer and contemplation associated with the monks at the famous monastery of Mt. Athos in northern Greece. The practice was developed by Simeon (949-1022) and took its name from the Greek word for quietude (*hesychia*). Hesychasm developed several contemplative techniques involving breathing and posture and the repetition of the Lord's Prayer to bring focus to contemplation.

VII.   Summary and Closing Observations

§2-236. Summary—By the 10th century, Christianity was firmly established and a central feature in the civilization in both the eastern and western Europe. The Church was central in the public and well

as the religious life in both areas. In the East, the church and state were wedded in the caesaropapist system of the Byzantine Empire. In West, local bishops and abbots participated in the creation of a new feudal society. In both east and west, the monastic movement sponsored missions, promoted literacy and learning, and encouraged theological growth.

In the centuries leading up to the close of this era, disruptive forces had threatened both East and West. Byzantium had barely survived the Islamic onslaught and had nearly devoured itself in the iconoclastic controversies. The West was destabilized by the disintegration of the Carolingian realm and the ruinous invasions and raids of the Vikings, Magyars, and Muslim Moors or Saracens. However, by the late 10th century, there were reasons for optimism. In the East, the seven ecumenical councils had defined essential doctrine, the controversy over icons had finally burned itself out, and a distinctive mystical theology was flourishing in the monasteries and renewing them in devotion. In the West, patterns of worship, belief, and organization had become widely accepted. In addition, the monastic reform movement was launched and would have enormous consequences for the Church in the coming centuries.

§2-237. Closing observations—Key trends we have seen emerging in this era:
- Christian vigor shifted from east to west. In Late Antiquity, most of the originality and vitality of the faith arose in the east. In this era, that changed. The collapse of the Empire in the West and the assimilation of the pagan barbarians into the faith, however imperfectly, fueled this rigor. The caesaropapist structure of the Byzantine arrangement seemed to squelch the creativity that had formerly characterized the Eastern Church.
- The victory of Catholicism over Arianism among the barbarian Germans was to have enormous consequences in the subsequent development of the faith in the West.
- The emergence and importance of monasticism in both East and West cannot be overemphasized. It was of immense importance in the spiritual direction of both areas.
- In the West, the Church emerged as a power in an age of disorder. In addition, the Roman papacy emerged as the clear leader of Christianity in the West.

High Middle Ages (1000-1300)

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High Middle Ages Notes

I.   Overview; Historical Background

§2-301. Generally; idea of Christendom—The High Middle Ages aspired to create Christendom, a perfect Christian society as people then conceived of it. During the 12th and 13th centuries, the Papacy led an attempt to create this society on earth. The Papacy lifted, reached, and aspired to de facto continent-wide spiritual and temporal rule. It did not succeed.

After the Gregorian reform, the papal government was the most powerful office in Europe, a continent-wide monarchy of sorts. Bishops and abbots swore fealty to the Pope, Papal courts heard appeals from all parts of Christendom, legates monitored and executed papal orders, and the Papacy taxed and was exempt from tax. Papal enforcement weapons were excommunication of individuals and interdicts against countries or regions (an ecclesiastical lockout of sorts). The High Middle Ages

was the age of monastic revival, the papacy at its height, the construction of towering cathedrals, the founding of great universities, and the rise of scholasticism. Christian ideals inspired art, literature, and intellectual activity.

§2-302. Western Europe's growth—In Western Europe, it was a time of economic, social, and political consolidation and growth. The population doubled between 900 and 1350 and agricultural advances brought food surpluses. The population growth encouraged urbanization which fueled trade and manufacturing. At first, trade was between manors of various feudal nobles and the growing towns, but soon western merchants were trading with Byzantium and the Islamic East. There was a growth in both labor and material resources and a steady increase in the demand for what moderns would call consumer goods. The growth of Western power corresponded to the decline of the Byzantine Empire and a waning of the relative influence of Christianity in the East. The center of Christianity shifted west. It proved to be potent in shaping European civilization and, largely through Europe, it influenced the entire world in subsequent centuries.

§2-303. Western Europe's relative place in the world—With the advent of the First Crusade in 1096, Europe moved from a continent besieged in the Early Middle Ages to one expanding in the High Middle Ages. True, compared to the Islamic caliphates of the 10th century, the Mongol Empire of the 13th , and the Sung dynasty in China (960-1279), the emerging Christian kingdoms of the West and the declining remnant of the Byzantine Empire seemed like petty principalities. But the West was now emerging, growing, expanding, and not contracting and withering anymore.

Islam had once dominated the area from Spain through North Africa, the Middle East into Central Asia and India. The Arab realms fragmented, dissipating their power. While Muslim civilization reached its apex during the early part of this era, its fragmented state prevented it from extending its political power. Christians began the reconquest of Spain in this era and recovered southern Italy from Muslim sovereignty.

Most people in northwestern and central Europe formally adopted Christianity. It expanded into what is now Russia. While minorities in central, eastern, and southern Asia practiced it, its main influence was found in Western Europe.

§2-304. Nation-state development—Western Europe—Nation-states began to emerge from feudal confusion. In 987, Hugh Capet established the Capetian dynasty in France that endured until 1328. Otto

I established the so-called Holy Roman Empire (basically Germany and northern Italy) in 962. This domain was of vital importance in what played out in this era. William of Normandy conquered England and forged one of the strongest central governments in Europe. The Plantagenet family came to power and produced several notable, influential monarchs during the Middle Ages.

The emergence of centralized states was a slow process with many reversals. When the Capetians came to power in France, the king of France was not even the equal of the great nobles in France, the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse, and the dukes of Normandy, Aquitaine, Burgundy, and Brittany. However, through the course of this era, France became the most powerful kingdom in Europe.

§2-305. Nation-state development—Central Europe moved in the opposite direction. At the beginning of the High Middle Ages, it looked as if the Holy Roman Empire was emerging as the dominant state in central, and indeed, all of Europe. The Carolingians (the successors of Charlemagne) were supplanted by the great dukes (Saxony, Lorraine, Swabia, Franconia, and Bavaria) by 911. Emperors were elected and often rotated between great nobles. Otto I (936-973) laid the groundwork for Holy Roman Empire by gaining control of Germany and Italy and by defeating the Magyars at the battle of Lech in 955.

Critical to Otto's success was his bureaucracy made up of bishops and abbots and other clergy. They were literate, educated, and childless (allowing the emperor to control property after their deaths rather than struggling with the nobles' heirs). Process of lay investiture developed where the emperor selected and invested church officials with symbols of their authority and retained tight control over their functions within the feudal hierarchy. This led to a titanic struggle between emperor and pope and took a terrible toll on the emerging power of the Empire. The great nobles took advantage of the rivalry between Pope and Emperor and the Holy Roman Empire devolved into a loose confederation where the great feudal lords exercised de facto control.

§2-306. Nation-state development—Iberian Peninsula—The High Middle Ages began with the Moors in Spain at the apex of their power and influence and ended with the Christian reconquest of the Peninsula in full momentum, led by the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. These two would be united in the next age by Ferdinand and Isabella into the powerful kingdom of Spain in the age of the Hapsburgs.

§2-307. Byzantium—In the East, after reaching its apogee in the early 11th century, Byzantium began a decline that would last until its fall in 1453. The Empire would summon aid against their Islamic opponents from their fellow Christians in the West and would bitterly regret that choice. The Italian city-states and the papacy would benefit tremendously and grew rich and powerful in calling and facilitating crusades against the infidel.

§2-308. Asia—In the later part of the 12th and throughout the 13th century, the Mongols ruled over a larger area and over more people than any previous empire. By the close of the 13th century, the Mongols were masters of China, Korea, most of central Asia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Georgia, and southern Russia. Compared to this kingdom, the emerging Christian kingdoms and the Byzantine Empire were petty principalities who only escaped the Mongol terror because they were so much on the periphery.

The Mongols were tolerant religiously and when they stormed across Eurasia, the mendicant orders of the Franciscan and Dominican friars were in the first flush of their enthusiastic youth. They took advantage of this opening to plant missions scattered from Russia to the China Sea.

§2-309. Century by century—

11th —Monastic reformers capture the Papacy (1049)
> Great Schism (1054)
> Papal election decree (1059)
> Conquest of England by William of Normandy (1066)
> Lay Investiture Controversy (1075-1122)
> First Crusade & conquest of the Outremer (1095-1099)

12th – Bernard of Clairvaux and growth of Cistercians (1112 on)
> Pope vs Empire – Concordat of Worms (1122)
> Abelard (1120s-1142)
> Fall of Edessa and Second Crusade (1144, 1147-1149)
> Angevin Empire (1154 on)
> Hattin and Third Crusade (1187, 1189-1192)
> Growth of the Papal Monarchy

13th – Innocent III and height of Papal Monarchy
> Pope vs nation-states (1198-1216)
> > -- Frederick II of Holy Roman Empire
> > -- John of England
> > -- Philip Augustus
> First universities established (circa 1200)
> Fourth Crusade and sack of Constantinople (1204)
> Latin Kingdom at Constantinople and in Greece (1204-1261)
> Albigensian Crusade (1209-1228)
> Franciscans and Dominicans founded (1210, 1216)
> Frederick II—Pope vs Empire (1212-1250)
> 5th to 8th Crusades (1220-1270)
> Aquinas and heyday of Scholasticism (1225-1274)

§2-310. Chronological chart—

Chronology: Only the names and dates of the most important rulers, popes, and events are listed.

Henry IV (1056-1106) Conrad III (1138-1152) Frederick Barbarossa I (1154-1189)	Alexius I (1081-1118)	Stephen IX (1057-1058) Nicholas II (1058-1061) Alexander II (1061-1073) Gregory VII (1073-1085) Urban VI (1088-1099) Paschal II (1099-1118)	Hugh, abbot of Cluny (1049-1109) Hastings (1066) Manzikert (1071) Canossa (1077) Anselm of Canterbury (1093) Council of Claremont (1095) First Crusade— Jerusalem falls (1099)
Henry V (1106-1125) Conrad III (1138-1152) Frederick Barbarossa I (1154-1189)	Fall of Constantinople to Crusaders (1204) Latin Empire (1204-1261)	Calixtus II (1119-1124) Alexander III (1159-1181) Innocent III	Edessa falls (1144) Second Crusade (1146-1148) Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153)

Otto IV (1208-1215)		(1198-1216)	Hattin & fall of Jerusalem (1187) Third Crusade (1189-1192) Fourth Crusade (1198-1204) Fourth Lateran Council (1215)
Frederick II (1215-1250)	Michael VIII (1258-1282)	Gregory IX (1227-1241)	Dominic (d. 1221) Francis (d. 1226) Bonaventure (d. 1274) Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274)
Philip IV (1285-1314)	Edward I (1272-1307)	Celestine V (1294) Boniface VIII (1294-1303) Benedict XI (1303-1304) Clement V (1305-1314)	Bull Unum Sanctum (1302) Anagni (1303) & papal humiliation

II. Key Developments

A. Monastic Reform and Revival

§2-311. Generally; Cluny—There was tremendous growth of monasteries in the 10th and 11th centuries. Monastic reform began at Cluny, established in 911 by Duke William of Aquitaine. Cluny strictly adhered to the Benedictine rule and was independent of lay interference. By 1100, Cluny had more than three hundred daughter monasteries in France, England, Germany, Poland, Italy, and Hungary.

§2-312. Cistercians and Carthusians—Soon charges circulated that Cluny itself needed reform. Robert of Molesmes established Citeaux monastery in Burgundy and founded the Cistercians or White Monks who adhered to a more ascetic form of the Benedictine rule. Cistercians emphasized prayer, manual labor (like farming), silence, and poverty. They organized an extensive system of oversight for their monasteries. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) was the most famous Cistercian. He was a theologian, mystic, promoter of Second Crusade, critic of Cluny and scholasticism, and wielder of political and ecclesiastical power.

The Carthusians began in 1084 with their distinctive commitment to silence and prayer in hermetic cells, poverty, and chastity. They sought to balance solitary life with community prayer, living simply dedicated to practicing God's presence. All three of these religious orders had three critical elements— independence from secular control, adherence to the Benedictine rule, and a high view of the monastic ideal.

B. Gregorian (Papal) Reform

§2-316. Generally; significance of reform—To understand how significant this reform of the Papacy was, one needs to understand to what depths the Papacy had sunk by the end of the 10th century. The

Papacy had hitched its fortunes, politically speaking, to the Carolingian dynasty in the time of Charlemagne and of his immediate predecessor, Pepin I. Later in the 9th and throughout the 10th centuries, the Carolingians declined precipitously. Attacks from without by the Vikings, Muslims, and Magyars, combined with endless civil wars and dynastic squabbling from within left the Carolingians unable to attend to the situation in Italy that so affected the Popes. The aristocratic factions in Rome and Italy made the situation increasingly chaotic and brutal.

§2-316. Age of iron; popnography—Catholic writers describe the 10th century Papal scene as the "Age of Iron". Protestant scholars do them one better, coining a vivid phrase—the popnography. A couple of examples suffice to set the scene:

- The Cadaver Synod – Pope Formosus (891-896) was elected with the support of the Carolingian faction in Rome. His vehement opponents were located in Spoleto and in northern Italy. When Formosus died, his opponents secured the election of Stephen VI (896-897) who hated his predecessor. He exhumed Formosus' corpse, dressed it in papal robes, seated it on the papal throne, called a synod, and tried him for treason and other crimes. After conviction, the corpse was burned.

- Domination of the Theophylact family in the early to middle 10th century. Theophylact was a local duke and Master of Soldiers for the Pope as well as a financial officer of the Church. His daughter, Marozia, was the lover of Pope Sergius III, with whom she had a son who was later elected Pope John XI as a teenager. Marozia's career was seedy and despicable one. She married in succession three powerful local nobles who, in concert with her, named and removed popes at will.

§2-317. Influence of the Holy Roman emperor; Papal election procedure—Eventually, one worthy pope sought the protection of Otto I (936-962) and the influence of the Holy Roman emperor counterbalanced the corrupting force of the petty Roman/Italian nobles who were using the Papacy to feather their own nests.

Emperor Henry III (1039-1056) was a very pious emperor and dismissed three unworthies to the papacy and appointed the reforming Pope Leo IX (1049-1054). Leo brought with him Hildebrand (1015-1085) and Humbert (d. 1061). A third figure, Peter Damian (1007-1072), also was in the reforming circle. Reformers sought to root out simony, clerical concubinage, lay investiture, absenteeism, and various other abuses. They also sought to increase the power of the Papacy. Henry III's death with a minor heir gave the reformers their chance. They established papal election procedure free of the emperor's control that is still in place today. It was a declaration of papal independence. The College of Cardinals was established to serve as Pope's primary assistants.

§2-318. Gregory VII (Hildebrand); reforms—This reform got its name from its most fiery exponent, Hildebrand who became Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085). One of Gregory's contemporaries described him because of the intensity of his convictions and devotion. One of the great reforming popes, he had three objectives: reform of the clergy, elimination of lay investiture, and to unify the West under the authority of the Pope. The writings of Cardinal Humbert and the so-called *Donation of Constantine* were his lodestars. The reformers also went after simony, the practice of buying/selling church offices, the practice of clerical marriage or concubinage, and the lay investiture of Church officials. Gregory was hailed as one of the greatest of the Roman pontiffs after his reforms proved successful, but during his own reign, he was denounced for his autocratic use of papal powers.

§2-319. Clerical marriage—Ever since the Council of Elvira (306), the Church had opposed clerical marriage based on the idea that loyalty to wife and children would compromise a priest's commitment to Christ and His Church. In 1074, Gregory reiterated the ban Nicholas II placed on concubinage in

1059. Following considerable opposition, the Second Lateran Council of 1139 officially prohibited clerical marriage and declared such unions invalid.

§2-320. Lay investiture controversy—Bishops played a significant role in feudal society because the Church controlled large areas of land, which functioned as the primary form of wealth in the Middle Ages. This struggle was part of a bigger control game. Who ruled emperor or pope? Gregory followed the ideas of Pope Gelasius I (492-496), who taught that the emperor was responsible for doing God's will in secular world and pope in the spiritual domain. Where those overlapped, the pope was supreme. When asked to summarize his thoughts on papal-imperial power, Gregory recited Mt 16:18-19: "And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not overcome it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven." He thought the "keys to the kingdom" meant both spiritual and temporal preeminence.

The Investiture Controversy is the traditional name for the struggle between popes and emperors that lasted almost seventy-five years. Who ceremonially invested bishops and other senior Church officials with their temporal and spiritual authority came to epitomize this political struggle.

Henry IV of the Holy Roman Empire had come into his own and appointed an archbishop of Milan. Gregory rebuked Henry and issued his *Dictatus Papae*. Henry wrote back and denounced Gregory for overstepping and claiming secular as well as religious authority. Gregory excommunicated Henry and Henry, faced with a sudden uprising of the great German nobles who saw an opportunity to diminish the power of the emperor, repented in a famous scene at Canoosa in 1177. He then put down the revolt of his nobles.

Over the following fifty years, the dispute surged and subsided repeatedly, leading to considerable conflict and violence. It finally came to an uneasy truce in the Concordat of Worms (1122) where a distinction was made between royal and ecclesiastical rights of investiture, originally proposed by Anselm, was adopted. The emperor renounced the practice of investing bishops, and the pope recognized the emperor's right to be at the election of clerics without controlling the proceedings. The emperor was also acknowledged as having the authority to grant secular fiefs and enforce feudal responsibilities.

C.   Papal Monarchy

§2-321. Generally—Papal monarchy refers to the medieval system where the Pope asserted supreme spiritual and temporal power over Western Christendom, acting as a sovereign ruler over the Church and even secular realms. The Papal office evolved into a powerful institution with its own system of canon law, an extensive bureaucracy, including the curia and the camera, and directly governing an extensive track of land in Italy, the Papal States. This rise from Bishop of Rome to a near-universal authority occurred over centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire and through conflicts like the Investiture controversy, making the Pope the ultimate judge and leader of the Church. The Popes in the era of the High Middle Ages shared a vision of Europe united under the spiritual and temporal rule of Rome. From the accession of Gregory VII (1073-1085) until the death of Boniface VIII (1294-1303), the Papacy attained the height of its power, prestige, and influence in Europe.

§2-322. Curia—The central government of the Church grew enormously. Under Urban II in the late 11th century, the curia or papal court began to appear. These were cardinals who assisted the popes with church governance. It was a Papal Senate/cabinet if you will, having both legislative and executive functions.

§2-323. Camera—The financial machinery came into being in an office called the camera. The Papal income in this period exceeded that of nation-states. The camera administered the Papal States, the funds coming from Peter's pence (essentially a layman's tax paid by English and Polish people primarily), feudal dues from various lords and princes, and annual fees from hundreds of monasteries and canonical houses. When bishops first acceded to their bishoprics, it was customary to pay the Pope one year's diocesan income. By 1200, the Papal revenues were enormous and well accounted for. The papal bureaucracy made those of the nation-states look pitiful.

§2-324. Prestige expanded in the era of the Crusades—In addition, the papal prestige expanded with the Crusades. In addition, popes took over the canonization of saints, enforced liturgical uniformity, expanded the number of Papal legates circulating around Europe as well as the scope of their responsibilities. The Popes filled the offices of the church, not the various kings. They called and presided at councils and synods.

§2-325. Examples of papal power—The following are noteworthy examples of papal power exercised in the era:

- **Alexander III (1159-1181)**—Alexander opposed Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190) in his campaign against the free cities in northern Italy. Frederick forced Alexander out of Rome, but the conflict ended with Frederick's defeat at Legnano in 1176 by a league of Italian city-states. Frederick was required to kiss the Pope's feet in a dramatic scene in Venice. Another conflict was between Henry II of England (1154-1189) and Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury resulting in Becket's murder in 1170. Alexander III skillfully managed the public outcry and forced Henry to abrogate his judicial Constitutions of Clarendon which infringed on prerogatives the pope claimed in having church officials only tried in church courts throughout Europe.
- **Innocent III (1190-1216)** – This pontificate is recognized as the apex of papal power. Frederick II of the Holy Roman Empire recognized Innocent III as feudal overlord in exchange for recognition as emperor. John I of England refused a papal nominee to the archbishopic of Canterbury but had to bow to Innocent III's interdict and a threatened invasion of England by Philip Augustus engineered by Innocent. Philip Augustus was forced to honor a marriage to a Danish princess bowing to Innocent III's interdict. Innocent also forbade states to tax clergy and then imposed his own set of taxes. Laity also paid the tithe. He authorized new religious orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, which revitalized Church piety. The first crusade against internal infidels (heretics) was launched against the Albigensians (the Cathari) in the early 13th century. Fourth Lateran Council convened in 1215, affirming Transubstantiation, requiring penance and Eucharist once a year, called for monastic reforms, and started the Inquisition (led by bishops at first).
- **Under Gregory IX (1227-1241)**, the papal inquisition became established and systematically pursued heretics. Prior to this, the local bishops handled this function. The episcopal inquisitions were far less effective and far less draconian than the papal inquisitions.

§2-326. Compromising elements—There were also vestiges of what was to come. In 1130 and again in 1159-1180 there was conflict over Papal succession. Rival Italian families with political power contested for influence, inserting relatives and supporters onto the college of cardinals, and backing favorites for papal succession. The great powers of the day, the Norman rulers in southern Italy and the German emperors, often took sides and provided military muscle to enforce their will. For example, Alexander III, mentioned above, had to contest with Victor IV and three other antipopes supported by Frederick Barbarosa, the German emperor, to succor the papal throne.

The relations between Frederick II of Holy Roman Empire and the popes was a study in dysfunctionality. Frederick II was the ward of Innocent III before being elevated by that pope to his throne in 1212. Throughout his reign until his death in 1250, Frederick II had bad relations with the popes basically stemming from his failure to go on crusade as promised, his unlikely negotiating success on the 6th Crusade, and his morally dubious behavior that he did nothing to hide.

Papal power gradually declined during the 13th century. Boniface VIII (1294-1303) marked the high-water of papal claims and the beginning of the decline of papal monarchy. He issued *Bull Unum Sanctum* in 1302 stating that it was "absolutely necessary for salvation that all men should be subject to the Roman pontiff". Philip IV of France had Boniface kidnapped and while the kidnapping was eventually foiled, Boniface died shortly thereafter. Reasons for decline included:
- rise of nation-states and of nationalism;
- resentment of ecclesiastical taxes;
- disproportionate influence of Italian clergy;
- clerical and ecclesiastical abuses; and
- Papal political high-handedness.

D. Crusades

§2-331. Generally—The Crusades were a series of military campaigns launched by the papacy between 1095 and 1291 against Muslim rulers for the recovery and defense of the Holy Land (Palestine). The back story was the rise of the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor who won a crushing victory over the Byzantines at Manzikert in 1071. The defeat led to the loss of Anatolia (Asia Minor), the empire's heartland for troops, food, and trade, triggering internal civil wars, serious economic problems, and weakened Byzantine defenses. Reports ensued of persecutions of Christians and the closing of pilgrimage routes. A new emperor, Alexius I, appealed to West for military assistance. Urban II called for a crusade at Claremont in 1095. The Byzantine emperor wanted a couple thousand mercenaries to shore up his depleted military. What he got were approximately 100,000 Western Europeans who "took up the cross".

There were many reasons for the tremendous response:
- the Papacy wanted to heal the schism (1054) with the East and was eager to be supportive;
- the Italian cities saw immense commercial opportunities;
- the Western knights saw fortune beckoning or piety calling;
- the Pope's offer of a full indulgence appealed to the guilty or sensitive consciences; and
- the restoration of the popular pilgrimage route to the Holy Land.

§2-332. First Crusade (1096-1099)—Two major efforts responding to the Pope's call at Clarmont resulted. The People's Crusade was a poorly organized crusade led by Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless. It left a sorry record of pogroms against Jews in the Rhineland, looted settlements all the along the way, and was annihilated by the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor. The Baron's Crusade followed and more successful. Indeed, it was the most successful crusade of them all. In 1099, Jerusalem fell to the Crusaders, leading to the establishment of Crusader states. These included the kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Antioch, and the counties of Tripoli and Edessa. In the West, these Crusader states were known as the Outremer. The Crusaders maintained an increasingly diminished presence in the Holy Land until the fall of Acre in 1291.

§2-333. Second Crusade (1147-1149)—The Second Crusade was launched in response to the fall of the County of Edessa to the Seljuk Turks in 1144. It was the first Crusader state founded (1098) and the first to fall. The persuasive sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux inspired the launch of this Crusade, which

was led by Conrad III of the Holy Roman Empire alongside Louis VII of France. Poorly funded and led, it was a complete and embarrassing failure.

§2-334. Third Crusade (1189-1192)—Saladin united Muslim groups and decisively defeated King Guy of Jerusalem at the battle of Hattin in 1187. Jerusalem, along with the majority of the Outremer territories, was captured by Saladin. Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Richard I of England, and Philip Augustus of France led this crusade. Frederick drowned, Philip quarreled with Richard and abandoned crusade, and Richard secured the Mediterranean coast but failed to retake Jerusalem.

§2-335. Fourth Crusade (1202-1204)—This crusade was woefully underfinanced. While attempting to settle its debts, it became distracted and eventually captured Constantinople in 1204. A Latin Kingdom that lasted until 1261 was established over much that was formerly the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine Empire was fatally weakened and the Italian city-states (Genoa and Venice) muscled in on Byzantine trade.

§2-336. Children's Crusade (1212)—Undoubtedly the saddest of many sad episodes that marked these military ventures. Led by Stephen of Cloyes and Nicholas of Cologne, many children in Europe "took up the cross" (traditional accounts place the number as high as 30,000) only to be sold into slavery by those who promised them passage to the Holy Land. Later accounts vary in detail, but not about the naivete of the children and the scandalous behavior of the people transporting them.

§2-337. Fifth (1217-1221) and Sixth (1128-1229) Crusades—These crusades rotated around Frederick II of Holy Roman Empire and his conflict with the Papacy. Frederick promised and failed to go on Crusade leading to a disaster that was the Fifth Crusade in Egypt. The crusade intended to reconquer the Holly Land via the "back door," that is by first conquering Egypt ruled at the time by a brother of Saladin. Frederick did accompany the Sixth Crusade to the Holy Land but did not fight. To the Papacy's dismay, he negotiated the return of Jerusalem in 1229. So, the Sixth Crusade was a grand success without any military action required to the utter consternation of the Papacy. However, the Muslims retook Jerusalem in 1244.

§2-338. Seventh (1248-1250) and Eighth (1270) Crusades—Both crusades were led by Louis IX of France and both failed miserably. By 1291, Acre, the last Crusader holding, fell and the Crusades were over.

§2-339. Assessing the Crusades—
- The Outremer was established and lasted almost two hundred years, but in the last analysis, all but the First and the Sixth Crusades were military failures. They failed to overthrow Islam and retake Holy Land.
- The Christian witness greatly damaged by the Crusades. For example, Francis of Assisi's mission to the Holy Land during the Fifth Crusade was inspired by crusading activity but was a total failure. The Muslims were not impressed with Christian "evangelism." In addition, there emerged a new consciousness of the East and of other non-Christian religions.
- For Muslims, it confirmed the supremacy of Turkish military elites, hardened attitudes among Muslims against Christians, and brought a measure of unity to the Muslim world in opposing the invader. The Muslims, who were taught that Christians are people of the book, came to regard them as crude, land-hungry yahoos.
- For Byzantium, the Crusades resulted in the destruction of imperial power after the sack of Constantinople in1204. However, the Crusades did open Europe to the transmission of the Hellenistic classical tradition to Italy and eventually to Western Europe. In addition, the Crusades deeply embittered East-West church relations. This bitterness is summed up in Greek slogan of the Late Middle Ages: "Better the [Muslim] crescent, than the Latin cross."

- For Western Europe, the Crusades opened the continent to trade and to the existence really of an outside world. Furthermore, it strengthened the administrative and financial mechanisms in the West. By the time of the Seventh Crusade, Louis could mount a significant expedition to Egypt, pay for his ransom, spend five years running the Outremer, while his institutions back in France continued to function and support his endeavor. The Crusades also revolutionized the position of the Italian city-states, especially Venice and Genoa. They became maritime empires shifting the financial and cultural axis of Christianity from Constantinople to Italy and eventually to the Western kingdoms. One major reason for the burn-out of the Crusades by 1300, was that the Italian city-states preferred commerce to crusading.
- The Crusades caused Christians to reflect upon their ideas of war. Those ideas fall into one of three approaches:
  - Pacifism, which characterized the early church prior to Constantine.
  - Just war theory, formulated by Augustine that characterized (at least formally) the dominant notion from the 5th century on. This concept required a war to be conducted by the state, to vindicate justice or be in defense of life and property, and be respectful of noncombatants, prisoners, hostages etc. The Crusades moved to a more aggressive concept.
  - Crusader ideal—Righteousness as conceived by the combatant was imposed by force. Actually, medieval missions embodied this concept of war. The Crusades demonstrated the shortcomings of this idea on a grand scale.
- Many authors argue that the Crusades led to a new type of persecuting society. The assault on the infidel without led to similar action upon the infidel within, pogroms against the Jews by the people's crusade in 1096 or, more officially, the crusade against internal heretics, specifically the Albigensian Crusade of 1209-1228. The spirit that led to the wars of religion that characterized Europe from 15th to the 17th century was clearly operative in this age.
- The loss of Jerusalem was a plus for Christianity. Western Europeans moved away from a faith defined by place and ritual to one framed in terms of belief and life practice resulting from such belief.

E.   Scholasticism

§2-341. Generally—Scholasticism was an intellectual method that scholars began to use around 1100. Unlike monastic studies, which were contemplative and literary in orientation, scholastic studies were argumentative and logical. Scholastics identified questions on which the established religious and intellectual authorities differed. They juxtaposed seemingly contradictory opinions and through a dialectical process, they analyzed language and used the rules of formal logic to show how the contradictions were apparent rather than real.

§2-342. Scholastic and monastic scholarship—Though scholastic techniques differed from monastic ones, there were great similarities between the two. Scholastic and monastic scholars agreed that learning began with the study of the ancient texts and accepted the superiority of ancient intellectual authority (this is decidedly different than moderns). They also saw faith as a necessary precondition to understanding. Anselm was a monastic scholar that pointed the way to the development of the scholastic methodology. The watchword of his intellectual mission was "faith seeking understanding." For both scholastics and monastics, understanding could only supplement faith, never supplant it. The medieval scholar aimed to live religiously in a studious manner.

§2-343. Faith and reason in Scholastic study—For medieval scholars, the supreme task of the studious life was to understand and explain God's revealed truth. Scholasticism's task was simple to

state: How was reason to be made the servant of faith? Scholasticism was the distinctive mode of scholarship with a twofold agenda—to reconcile Christian doctrine and faith with reason and to arrange the teaching of the church into an orderly system.

Medieval scholastic theology wedded Christian faith and critical reasoning. Aristotle was the unlikely mentor of this process. The goal of Aristotelian logic was to produce a science set out in deductive proofs. The favored manner of teaching and writing for Scholasticism was by way of logical disputation. The medieval dialectic was to posit a thesis, raise objections to that, and answer those objections by a method of reconciliation.

§2-344. Scholastic authorities—The authorities the medieval theologians used were the Bible, the Church Fathers, and Aristotle. There was a heavy reliance on Aristotle and Aristotelian logic. Aristotle was known to the scholastics as "the Philosopher." The Muslim author Averroes (1126-1198) was known as "the Commentator", due to his extensive commentaries on Aristotle's works that the scholastics relied on. Averroes was a philosopher, physician, and lawyer living in Cardoba in al-Andulus (Muslim Spain). He attempted to reconcile Aristotle with the Qur'an by using allegorical interpretations and claimed that all religion is really an allegorical way of saying what the philosophers were trying to say.

There were very real tensions between the worldview of the Bible and the Church fathers and Aristotle. Aristotle believed in the eternality of the material world, contrary to Biblical concepts of creation. He did not clearly distinguish between body and soul and did not teach the immortality of the soul. In addition, Aristotle's empiricism seems at odds with the medieval Christian thought as well. Monastics thought that faith guided reason and made concrete knowledge possible. Truth was considered part of the spiritual domain and could only be discovered through spiritual methods. A theology in the Platonic tradition would start with the Bible or some worthy Church father and apply truth to the material order to understand that realm better. To rely on observation and our senses would be regarded as foolish, for they are fallible and tell us little of the enduring spiritual realm. For Aristotle, we start with observation; he is empirical, whereas Plato is idealistic. To discover universal truths, we start with careful observation and reason inductively to general truths.

§2-345. Realism and nominalism—In Middle Ages, realism came to be associated with Plato's view of things—there are spiritual essences (universals) behind all we perceive in the material realm. Aristotle's view came to be known as nominalism. That view held that universals are only names (*nomena*) human beings use to conveniently identify certain groups of things. For realists, there was an external and spiritually ordered reality and those were God-ordained. Nominalists countered that there was no such order and there was no "right way" to categorize things in the world.

§2-346. Rise of universities—The rise of Scholasticism closely related to the founding of the great European universities. During the High Middle Ages, the Scholastics—sometimes referred to as the Schoolmen—were strongly linked to university studies. Prior to this, theology was often the preserve of the monastery. The Pope supported Scholasticism and the universities because they were useful in formulating canon law and in developing a systematic statement of the theology of the Church.

The early universities were of two types: those run by the faculty (e.g. Paris) and others run by students (e.g. Bologna). All of them focused on the trivium and the quadrivium as well as further disciplines (theology, law, and medicine). Monastic educational focus was on listening and meditating. *Lectio* were silently heard, wandering reflections loosely based on reading. These supposed to lead to contemplation of higher truths and values. The Scholastics embraced a dialectic—asking question(s), evaluating arguments proc and con, and developing a conclusion that synthesized both sides.

F.   Rise of Religious Orders

§2-351. Generally—There will be a proliferation of religious orders in the High and Late Middle Ages. These orders can be categorized as follows:
- Military orders
- Benedictine orders
- Augustinian orders
- Mendicant orders

§2-352. Military orders—These included:
- Knights of St. John's (Hospitallers)—Founded by Raymond Dupuis in Jerusalem in 1113 to provide medical and military service to states of the Outremer.
- Knights Templar—Founded by Hugo des Payens and Godfrey St. Omer in 1119 in Jerusalem. This order was a military order committed to the defense of the Holy Land. Later on, it amassed tremendous wealth and became known as Europe's banker, but in the early 14th century, Philip IV of France—motivated by a desire for their riches—falsely accused them of terrible crimes and ultimately disbanded the group.
- Teutonic Knights – Founded by German pilgrims to Acre in 1190. Fought in the wars for the Holy Land and later was instrumental in the extension of Christianity by conquest in central and northeastern Europe.

§2-353. Benedictine orders—The two most prominent of these orders were:
- Cluniacs—The founding by William of Aquitaine of the monastery at Cluny was covered in the Notes on the Early Middle Ages. Its importance in the reform efforts in the Benedictine order is hard to overstate.
- Cistercians (White Monks)—This order founded by Robert Molesme at Citeaux in 1098. Its most famous and effective leader was Bernard of Clairvaux, perhaps the most influential man in Europe in the first half of the 12th century. The monks of this order are called Trappists in America.

§2-354. Augustinian orders—These orders were based on rule of St. Augustine. A famous offshoot in the Late Middle Ages was the Brethren of Common Life. Thomas a Kempis, author of the imitation of Christ, was a member of the Brethren. In addition, Martin Luther was an Augustinian monk as was his mentor and spiritual director, Staupitz.

§2-355. Mendicant orders—The Mendicants were a 13th century phenomenon. The Mendicants looked at the wealth, worldliness, and corruption of the church and the Papal monarchy of the 13th century and challenged the church to a purer Christian walk. What shall it profit a church, as well as an individual, to gain the entire world and lose one's soul? What advantages can canon laws, holy crusades, episcopal supremacy, scholastic dispositions add, if it results in a church that delivers people a stone instead of the bread of life?

Groups touting Francis' Lady Poverty gained strength from a deep and widespread resentment of a corrupt and neglectful priesthood. People recognized authenticity in the mendicant monks and the comparison with the princely bishops, lordly abbots, and wealthy cloisters was not favorable to the established ecclesiastical structures. Representative Mendicant orders included:
- Dominicans—Founded by Dominic Guzman in Spain in 1216. The Dominicans followed a modified version of the Rule of St. Augustine. They were scholarly types and came to be the guardians of Catholic doctrine. As such, they helped conduct the Inquisition in several places,

most famously during the Albigensian Crusade in southern France in the 13th century and in Spain after the consolidation of the nation by Ferdinand and Isabella in the 15th century. They staffed the Papal Inquisitional office. Notable members of this order include Thomas Aquinas and Savonarola.

- Franciscans—Founded by Francis of Assisi. The Franciscans followed a Rule derived by Francis directly from Scripture. They stressed the vow of absolute poverty and simplicity of life. Some famous members of the order include Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, Roger Bacon.

    Francis was born in the town of Assisi in Italy in 1181 or 1882 to a merchant family. Francis chose not to follow his father's path as a merchant. After a brief stint as a soldier of fortune, he found himself penniless. A chance encounter with a leper in Church of San Damiano led directly to his conversion. He renounced his possessions and committed himself to building churches. Shortly thereafter he felt called to embark on a life of a poor itinerant preacher. Others followed him and a brotherhood was formed. They sought and received approval for their new order by Innocent III in 1210.

    Francis' heart was with mission work. Several times in 1210s he tried to go overseas, to Morocco and later to Syria, but poor health prevented him from doing so. In 1219, he finally did get overseas, travelling to Egypt where he tried and failed to convert the sultan of Egypt. During his final years, he was blind and seriously ill but continued to preach. He died in his early forties in 1226. He came to be revered, even while alive, as a walking symbol of renewal in the Church.

- Poor Clares—Clare of Assisi as born to a well-to-do family and early in life dedicated herself to daily prayer and generosity to the needy. She first heard Francis preach in 1210. She dedicated herself to gospel work in 1212, founding a community of women, very much like Francis' community, dedicated to a radical obedience to the gospel. She lived with great simplicity and had a powerful impact on those around her. Following an extended period of ill health, she passed away in 1253.

G. Dissenters, Heretics, and Inquisitors

§2-361. Generally; characteristics of dissent—In the High Middle Ages, the Church's dissenting tradition came again to prominence. The common elements of many dissenting groups include:
- Voluntary church membership. Membership in a Christian congregation requires conversion through a profession of faith, rather than simply belonging to an all-inclusive parish.
- Adult baptism upon profession of faith. Infant baptism is rejected by most of these groups.
- Separation from the world. Dissenting groups often see themselves as authentic Christians and other Christian groups as quasi-Christian or not Christian at all. There is an emphasis on radical obedience and holy lifestyle.
- Separation of church and state. Dissenting groups emphasized this concept both to minimize state control over the church and church involvement in the political struggles and quarrels.
- Simplicity in church organization and worship. Dissenting groups are usually wary of ecclesiastical hierarchy and the elaborate ritual trappings.

§2-362. Examples of dissenters and heretics—During the High Middle Ages, dissenters and heretics tended to be grouped in the same category. Medieval people did not consider faith a strictly private matter. Christian faith was the cement of society and their denial of any part of that was treated as tantamount to treason. To shift Christendom to an image, a socio-political body, Christian faith was

society's life-giving soul. Heresy (and often what we would call dissent) in medieval Christendom was no more acceptable than cancer in living flesh.

What follows are the major dissenting movements in the Church from the Apostles to the High Middle Ages. The earlier groups are included for purposes of review.

§2-363. Montanists (2d century)—This group derived its name from Montanus, a controversial teacher in the second century. What follows is a brief review of teaching, reaction, and results:

- Teaching—
    - Attempted to restore the primitive Church and emphasized holy living.
    - Focus on prophetic (preaching) office.
    - Challenged the church hierarchy.
    - Charismatic in orientation.
    - They held and emphasized novel eschatological views.
- Reaction—Clashed with local congregations who were suspicious of lay people in ministry, prophetic ecstasy, tongues, and attacks on the laxer lifestyles of mainstream Christians. Montanists were excommunicated at Synod of Iconium (230).
- Conclusion of the story—They established a network of independent Montanist congregations, had a number of converts (Tertullian being the most prominent). They were subverted in a persecution ordered by Emperor Honorius (407).

§2-364. Novatians (3d century)—This group derived its name from their leader, a third century presbyter of the church at Rome. They contended for moral rigor in churches which they viewed to be lax in discipline.

- Teaching—Insistence on rigid discipline in the face of growing moral laxity. What really set them off were proposals for readmission to the Church of those who had apostasized in the persecution under the Emperor Decius (249-251).
- Reaction—After Novatian was elected bishop of Rome (251), the synod at Rome spilt and Novatian excommunicated by the party claiming Orthodoxy. Novatian developed a counter-church movement made up of *catharoi* (pure ones).

§2-365. Donatists (4th century in North Africa)—This group derived its name from their leader, a fourth century church leader in North Africa. Like the Novatians of the previous century, they contended for moral rigor in churches which they viewed to be lax in discipline.

- Teaching—They had the same issues as the Novatians, only the persecution was the one under Diocletian and Galerius (303-311), rather than Decius (249-251). Again, the trigger was an election of a new bishop (this time at Carthage). Hard-liners chose Donatus and a counter-church movement swept North Africa.
- Reaction—The Donatists were censured by synods at Rome (313) and Arles in southern Gaul (314), which gave the emperor sanction to act against them. Constantine seized their property and created various legal barriers for their operation. Augustine headed the opposition to the Donatists and eventually supported the use of force to eliminate the counter-church. This movement flourished for centuries. They had their own preachers, buildings, and refused all state control or support.

§2-366. Paulicans (8th century in Asia Minor)—This group stressed holy living and simplicity. They separated from general Christian congregations. Among other things, they were dissatisfied with the church hierarchy, opposed to ceremonies and symbols—Mass, cross, vestments, buildings etc., and wanted the church to return to primitive Christianity.

§2-367. Albigensians (Cathars) (11th and `12th centuries in southern France)—Cathars in southern France were heretical dualists, akin to the early Gnostics, probably stemming from the Bogomils in the Balkans and brought west by the returning crusaders. The Orthodox reaction was to preach against the sect (led by the Dominicans), unleash the Inquisition against them, and for Innocent III to launch a crusade against them (the Albigensian Crusade 1208-1229). This was the first time a crusade was called against Christian heretics rather than Muslim infidels. The idea of crusade broadened to root out the infidel within as well as he infidel without.

Politically, this was an open invitation to the northern French to come south to plunder, pillage, murder, and steal. At the time, southern France was a prosperous and cultured area, the envy of the north. It is not often that good Christian people can save their souls (the indulgences were liberally provided) and enlarge their kingdoms with booty and land (the booty from the Provence was substantial, it was the wealthiest part of France), by butchering the rivals they so piously envied.

§2-368. Inquisitional patterns—The Dominicans staffed the Inquisition set up to root out the Cathars. The bishops' inquisition was set up in 1184. However, it was not effective; the bishops lacked the expertise and resources to run these efficiently. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) provided for state punishment of heretics, the confiscation of their property, and execution for those unwilling to cooperate. In 1220, the Popes turned the Inquisition over to the Dominicans and the Council of Toulouse systematized the policies in 1229.

The modus operandi of the Inquisitors was as follows:
- Town or village was visited by inquisitors.
- Heretics were first given chance to confess voluntarily with light penalties imposed on those who did.
- Then a systematic search was made for suspects.
- Charges were brought on testimony of two witnesses, who were not identified. Subjects were not granted independent counsel.
- The inquisitors served as defense counsel, judge, and jury. The accused was not allowed any time to prepare a defense or to cross-examine or even know the identity of the witnesses.
- Later, torture was allowed to elicit confessions.
- Penalties ranged from acts of penance, property forfeiture, imprisonment, and death at the stake.

The accused had no rights and the inquisitors were not subject to any legal restraint except as declared by the pope. They were both prosecutors and judges. They operated under the veil of secret trials where the accused had no independent counsel or even knowledge of the charges against them or the people accusing them. In 1252, this system was capped off with permission to use torture to get information and confessions. It was an ugly business, but medieval people deemed it necessary. They saw it as akin to amputating an arm or a leg to save the body.

§2-369. Arnold of Brescia insisted that clerical vice was due to the church's attempt to control the world. He urged the church to surrender its property and secular domains to the state and return to the poverty and simplicity of the early church. Banished from Italy in 1139, he returned to Rome in 1144 and joined a movement to overthrow papal dominion. The group seized control in Rome during the Pope's preaching tour in support of the 2nd Crusade and set up a secular government. Hadrian IV placed Rome under the interdict and got Frederick Barbarossa to lead a campaign to defeat and capture Arnold. Arnold was burned at the stake in 1155.

§2-370. Waldenses (12th and 13th centuries in France)—Peter Waldo, a businessman from Lyons, took a vow of poverty, began to preach, and gathered around him a group he called the Poor Men of

Lyons. His requests for freedom to preach was refused. After 1170, the situation became increasingly adversarial. Waldo condemned church custom, corruption, and hierarchy. He doubted the validity of sacraments, especially those administered by unworthy priests.

The Waldenses foreshadowed the Reformation. They believed that the Bible was the only conclusive authority on matters of faith and practice and placed great emphasis on preaching and translating the Bible into the vernacular. They were a back-to-the-Bible group that insisted on simplicity and the authority of the Word but did not yet embrace justification by faith. They would embrace that doctrine later and then merged with Protestant Reformation in 1655.

§2-371. Summary—There was a healthy element to some or even much of this dissent. The dissenters raised issues concerning the church's abuse of power, there was a back to the Bible aspect to these movements, and many members of these groups lived with great integrity. However, heretical elements were clearly present in groups like the Cathars. The monolithic concept of Christendom insulated the Church and medieval society from the helpful self-critique that interaction with dissent often fosters.

H. Medieval Missions

§2-376. Generally; notable features—This picks up from our discussion in the Early Middles Ages. Notable features of Medieval missions include:

- Role of the prince—The faith was adopted as the religion of the community, usually at the command or at least with the energetic assistance of the prince.
- Role of the monks—It was the monasteries that supplied the missionary rank and file and led in the support of the endeavors on the field. The monasteries became instructional centers as well and therefore the primary scene of the follow-up of new believers, when that was done.
- Superficiality—Much of this missionary work led to a very superficial faith. Many became nominally Christian via mass baptisms following their ruler or were compelled to become Christians as conquered subjects. Furthermore, Christian education was nonexistent or very spotty at best. Most of the parish priests (where diocesan organization existed) were illiterate and many of the new converts did not have access to the monks working from monastic centers.
- Paganization of the faith—Forced conversions, mass baptisms, an uneducated priesthood staffing the various dioceses, and an accommodating posture toward pagan customs led to the paganization of the faith. The policy of cultural accommodation initiated by Gregory the Great and followed by his successors meant that, for many, the common practices of this new faith mimicked their pagan past. They tended to understand Jesus only in terms of their cultural expectations. He was seen as a tribal chieftain and great warlord. Saints came to occupy the place of local deities with practical functions. St. Anthony took care of pigs, St. Saul of hens, St. Apollonia cured toothaches, St. Genevieve cured fevers, St. Blaise, sore throats.
- Automatic Christians—Augustinian theology and medieval missionary practice created tensions that resulted in odd resolutions. In theory at least, one was saved only by God's grace. The recipients of that grace were predestined and their number infallibility fixed. All those chosen by God would be saved (since His grace is irresistible) and never lost (since His grace preserved the saint). Those not chosen would not be saved regardless of what they or their missionary friends did.

  Yet, medieval missionaries came into an area, converted the prince, conducted mass baptisms, and sometimes forced conversions of whole tribes and peoples, initiated into the Church at the point of the sword. The Church resolved this by teaching that saving grace was transmitted through baptism and that all those who received the rite can, if they labor faithfully with God, do those things "which belong to the salvation of the soul." hus, the recipients of baptism,

whether en masse or coerced, were, by definition, the elect, regenerated, and preserved believers of which Augustine spoke.

Since mass conversion baptisms were commonplace for first generation Christians in that day and infant baptism customary for subsequent generations, it followed that all might be saved if they worked together faithfully with God, performing those things commanded by God through His Church. God's sovereignty became synonymous with that of the visible Church.

- Papal authority—Gregory the Great's visionary pontificate and missionary zeal translated into growing power for the Roman bishop. There were other reasons for this, but this reality was an ever-present mark of medieval Christianity.

§2-377. Areas "evangelized"—In the early part of the High Middle Ages especially, this missionary process continued. Russia, central Europe, Scandinavia, and in borderlands of Christianity in process of reconquest, namely Spain and Sicily, were the areas evangelized.

§2-378. Scandinavia—Medieval missionaries reached various areas in this region in the Early and High Middle Ages:

• Denmark—Harold Bluetooth began this conversion process by being baptized circa 950. His son, Svend I and his grandson, Canute, brought Denmark into the circle of professed Christian nations.

• Norway—Harold Bluetooth made himself lord over Norway and sought to spread Christianity there. His great grandson, Olaf Tryggvason, became king in 995 and by persuasion and force Christianized the land. The conversion of Norway was completed by Olaf Haraldsson who sought to make his realm Christian in fact as well as in name.

• Sweden—Many Swedes (Vikings) had been in England as merchants/soldiers/raiders. In the 11th century, King Olof Skotkonung was baptized and inaugurated a bishopric under the see of Hamburg-Bremen in Germany. The Cistercians became active here in the 12th century and established the first truly native bishopric in Uppsala.

• Iceland and Greenland—The Scandinavians brought the gospel here in the 10th and 11th centuries.

§2-379. Central Europe—There was also significant missionary activity in central Europe:

• Bohemia—Bohemians were incorporated into the Church in the 10th century. Wenceslas (Vaclav I, 923-929) was instrumental. He was murdered and succeeded by Boleslav I who led an anti-German (Germans were the missionaries) and anti-Christian reaction. Boleslav II, son of Wenceslas' murderer, actively encouraged the spread of the faith his father attempted to eliminate.

• Poland—The sister of Boleslav II of Bohemia influenced her husband, a Polish prince, to come to the faith. A son of this union, Boleslav Chrobry (992-1025) brought together one of the largest states of his day, encouraged missions and invited German missionaries into the land. A reaction set in after his death, leaving the faith at an extremely low level for generations, but this initial work was never undone and took root as the High Middle Ages progressed.

• Magyars—After their defeat at the hands of Otto I at Lech (955), the Magyars stopped being the terror of central Europe, were mass converted in the late10th and early 11th centuries. A Magyar prince, Geisa, made himself master of the country circa 1000 and compelled his subjects to accept baptism. Under his son, Stephen (Vajk), Hungary emerged as a Christian monarchy. He received a royal title from the Pope, with an archbishopric and subordinate bishops.

- Russia—Christianity entered Kiev around 1000 after missions established by Greek Orthodox, notably the patriarch Photius. The Russians accepted the Orthodox faith but fiercely resisted the ecclesiastical control of Constantinople. When Russia was later invaded and dominated by the Mongols, the Russian Church was key to the preservation of Russian identity and came to be linked with Russian nationalism.
- Minorities in Asia—The Mongols were tolerant religiously and when they stormed across Eurasia, the mendicant orders of the Franciscan and Dominican friars were in the first flush of their enthusiastic youth. They took advantage of this opening to plant missions scattered from Russia to the China Sea. The largest gains were made in China. In addition, Nestorian groups made fresh gains among Asians in the 11th century on. However, congregations previously planted in north Africa, western Asia, and southern Asia Minor slowly dwindled under the handicapping regulations of the various Islamic states.

§2-380. European "borderlands" of the day—In Spain and Sicily, Christian numbers grew as Christian armies won back territory.

§2-381. Queries about medieval missionary patterns—To what extent did these converts understand the Gospel and really commit themselves to it? What do we make of all these mass conversions, sometimes at the point of the sword? Was it true that Europe was innoculated with a nominal form of Christianity that made it immune to the real thing?

Converts were baptized at the command of some ruler or foreign conqueror or because those around them were receiving the rite. Religion had traditionally been a community affair and the peoples professed to exchange their former faiths for Christianity. However, as time passed, ethical standards believed to be Christian were accepted by almost all as the proper ideal to strive for. Christian instruction began to infiltrate the structures of society. Efforts to fully embrace the message of the Gospel were often strongest in regions where Christians formed either the majority or a significant minority. The High Middle Ages produced some of the sincerest and engaging Christian personalities of all time. Theology reigned as queen of the sciences and Christians agonized on how to make a society that truly reflected the ideals of Jesus of Nazareth.

III.   Key Figures

A.   Key Popes

§2-386. Leo IX (1049-1054)—Leo followed the nadir of the papacy of the tenth century. A zealous reformer, he traveled all over Europe, emphasized papal authority, and drew fellow reformers to Rome. He brought Hildebrand (1015-1085) and Humbert (died 1061) into the papal circle, each of whom proved to be extremely influential. A third figure, Peter Damian (1007-1072), was also in the reforming circle. The reformers sought to root out simony, clerical concubinage, lay investiture, absenteeism, and various other abuses (and, as always) to increase the power of the Papacy.

§2-387. Gregory VII (1073-1085)—Gregory was a fiery personality, described by his contemporary, Peter Damian, as a "holy Satan". He had three objectives: reform of the clergy, elimination of lay investiture, and to unify the West under the authority of the Pope. The writings of Humbert and the Donation of Constantine were his lodestars, according to which all Christendom was subject to the pope.

Clerical marriage—Ever since the Council of Elvira (306), the Church had opposed clerical marriage –

loyalty to wife and children would compromise a priest's commitment to Christ and His Church. In 1074, Gregory reiterated Nicholas II's ban on concubinage issued in 1059. Following considerable opposition, clerical marriage was formally prohibited and declared invalid by the Second Lateran Council in 1139.

Lay investiture—Bishops were very intertwined in feudal society. The Church held vast tracts of land which was the de facto coin of the realm in medieval times. This conflict was part of a larger power struggle: who held authority, the emperor or the pope? Gregory followed Gelasius I, The emperor was responsible for doing God's will in secular world and pope in the spiritual domain. Where those overlapped, the pope was supreme. When asked to summarize his thoughts on papal-imperial power, Gregory recited Matthew 16:18-19.

The struggle for dominance unfolded within the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire. Emperor Henry IV had come to power as a minor during the pontificate of Leo IX. He came into his majority about the time that Gregory became pope. One of his first acts was to appoint one of his own people as the archbishop of Milan. Gregory rebuked Henry and issued his *Dictatus Papae*. Henry wrote back and denounced Gregory for claiming secular and religious authority. Gregory excommunicated Henry and Henry, faced with a revolt among his nobles who were using this conflict with the pope for their own power play, repented in a famous scene at Canoosa in 1177.

Henry then put down the revolt of his nobles and denounced Gregory again. The conflict continued throughout Gregory's pontificate. Successors to both emperor and pope concluded an uneasy truce in the Concordat of Worms (1122) where a distinction was made between royal and ecclesiastical rights of investiture first suggested by Anselm. Emperor renounced practice of investing bishops and pope recognized emperor's right to be at the election of clerics without control of proceedings. Emperor's right to secular investment of fiefs and feudal obligations was also recognized.

§2-388. Innocent III (1198-1216)—His pontificate marked the apex of papal power. Frederick II of Holy Roman Empire recognized Innocent III as his feudal overlord in exchange for recognition as emperor. John I of England refused papal nominee to Canterbury but had to bow to the pope's interdict and the threatened invasion of England by Philip Augustus instigated by Innocent. Philip Augustus was forced to honor a marriage to a Danish princess bowing to Innocent's interdict. Innocent also forbade states to tax clergy and then imposed his own set of taxes. The laity of several European states paid a tithe directly to the Pope. The combined income of the popes at this time was much more than the income of any kingdom of Europe.

Innocent called the Fourth Lateran Council which convened in 1215. It affirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation, required people to confess their sins to a priest and receive the Eucharist at least once a year, called for monastic reforms, and took steps towards establishing the Inquisition.

§2-389. Boniface VIII (1294-1303)—The concluding years of the 13th century and the opening years of the 14th century witnessed a titanic power struggle between Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) and King Philip IV of France (1285-1314). Philip meant to pay for his war with England by taxing the French clergy in violation of the Pope's declaration of immunity from taxation for the clergy. Boniface threatened to excommunicate anyone who demanded or paid such taxes. Philip burned Boniface's appeal for obedience and Boniface then issued his famous *Bull Unum Sanctum*, the most potent statement of papal authority ever issued. The bull asserted that the Pope, who rules the Church in Christ's stead, entrusts kings with temporal power but reserves the right to instruct them on how to use it. The *Bull* announced: "It is absolutely necessary for salvation that all men should be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

Boniface was accused by two French assemblies of a range of fabricated crimes, and Philip's agents shocked the world by abducting the Pope. The Pope was rescued by local Italian nobles but died just days after his rescue. Boniface represented the height of Papal authority claims and the end of the Papal monarchy as the High Middle Ages had known it. In just a few years, the Papacy relocated to Avignon, where it fell under the control of the French monarchy, a time referred to as the Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy.

B.   Significant Monastics and Scholastics

§2-391. Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109)—Anselm entered a monastery at Bec in Normandy in 1059 and quietly served until becoming abbot in 1078. He wrote *Monologion* and *Proslogion* during this time. His most famous work is *Cur Deus Homo* (Why God Became Man), where he moved away from the ransom theory of the atonement (common since Augustine) to a satisfaction or penal substitution theory more familiar to moderns.

The doctrine of the atonement arose out of the discussions among Christians of how Christ's death on the cross brings about forgiveness for sin. Various ideas surfaced—that Jesus' death ransomed souls over whom Satan had power or that it was a payment to redeem captives. From Anselm's time the dominant concept was that of Christ's death being an atoning sacrifice for sin. Anselm focused on the demands of justice that go along with mercy and forgiveness. He assumed a classical conception of justice as rendering to each his or her due (paying what one owes). The key innovation that Anselm introduces is the idea of "satisfaction," which refers to paying what is owed to someone who has been harmed, offended, or dishonored. God can be dishonored by His creatures and indeed is dishonored. The debt incurred by such offense to ultimate majesty is infinite. To leave such a debt unpaid would not be mercy, according to Anselm, but injustice. If someone cannot make satisfaction for his or her offense, the only just alternative is punishment. Anselm argued that God became human because this was the only way to make satisfaction for sin. As a human being, Christ owes the debt (not personally but as a representative of the race); as God, He pays the debt. Instead of seeing Christ's death as the unfair punishment of an innocent person, Anselm views Christ as merciful because he pays the debt of our sin for us.

§2-392. Peter Abelard (1079-1142)—He may have been the most influential and controversial of the early scholastics and easily the most entertaining and tragic figure of his day. He was renowned for his skill at disputation which he used to humiliate his contemporaries. His arrogance earned him many enemies.

In 1122, he opened his own school and wrote *Sic et Non*, a pioneering scholastic handbook. In that work, Abelard juxtaposed seemingly contradictory biblical and patristic passages on one hundred and sixty-eight different questions and provided guidelines to his students about how they might reconcile these seeming contradictions. The work illustrated his conviction that "by doubting we come to inquiry, and by inquiry we recognize truth." The work got him in hot water because it seemed to doubt some significant truths as taught by the church. It displayed Scholasticism's distinctive method of disputation. First a question was posed, then the pros/cons on both sides of the issue were explored, before these were reconciled in conclusion of the process. This methodology was akin to Hegel's approach of thesis-antithesis-synthesis.

Abelard's career went badly awry for both personal and intellectual reasons. Personally, his affair with Heloise, whom he was tutoring in her family home, scandalized the 12th century world and resulted in his subsequent castration by her family members. Both Abelard and Heloise retired to cloisters. His subsequent letters to Heloise are reputed to be some of the most tender in all literature.

In addition, his incessant questioning of religious dogma got him into trouble. He proposed a moral influence theory of the atonement. That theory asserted that it really was not necessary that Christ die to make satisfaction for sin, God could have forgiven on another ground, but God did this to persuasively demonstrate His love. Also, where Augustine and Anselm set faith before reason (faith seeking understanding), Abelard placed them on equal footing. He was a moderate realist (his so-called system known as conceptualism), thinking that universals are real but are expressed in particulars in our world.

The ire of the churchmen finally caught up with Abelard. Bernard of Clairvaux led the charge. Twice, in 1121 and finally in 1140, church councils condemned him for heresy. The second time led to his banishment to the monastery at Cluny where he died in 1141.

§2-393. Peter Lombard (1100-1160)—A medieval theologian who taught at the Cathedral school in Paris and later became bishop of Paris. He was a student of both Peter Abelard and Bernard of Clairvaux and combined dialectical skill with a firm commitment to Christian faith. His *Four Books of Sentences* was perhaps the most widely used Scholastic text. It was four books of dialectic treating God, the creation, the Trinity, and the sacraments.

From the 13th until the 16th century, no work of Christian literature, except for the Bible itself, was commented upon more frequently. It influenced all the major medieval thinkers in western Europe. The young Martin Luther reflected on the *Sentences*, and John Calvin quoted from it over one hundred times in the Institutes. The *Four Books of Sentences* is a compilation of biblical texts, together with pertinent passages from the Church Fathers and various medieval thinkers. It stands out as the first major effort to bring together commentaries on the full range of theological issues, arrange the material in a systematic order, and attempt to reconcile differences.

§2-394. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)—His work is regarded as the height of the Scholastic endeavor. He was educated at Naples and Paris and mentored by the famous Albert Magnus. His two great works, *Summa Contra Gentiles and Summa Theologiae,* are regarded as Scholastic classics. He is famous for his five proofs for the existence of God. He became official theologian and philosopher of the Roman Catholic Church. That system is worked out in the *Summa Theologiae.*

A major achievement of medieval scholasticism was Aquinas' account of how we can say things about an incomprehensible God based on the concept of analogy. The key notion behind analogical speech about God is that the creation is like God and humans are created in the image of God (*imago dei*). For Aquinas, all things are like God because God always creates things like Himself, having goodness, truth, and being.

Aquinas' idea of supernatural grace is one of the lasting legacies of Scholasticism that is embedded in Catholic theology. Peter Lombard, drawing on Augustine, thought that the love of God in our souls (Rom 5:5) is the Holy Spirit. Aquinas taught that the supernatural love of God in our hearts is a created form that gives shape to the activities of the soul. Form, in Aristotelian philosophy, is what gives being and definition to a thing. Skills are forms in the soul that give shape and definition to bodily movements that accompany developed talents. Likewise, moral virtues are skills at living a good human life. Created grace, according to Aquinas, is a form in the soul that is the basis for supernatural virtues, faith, hope, and love. Whereas moral virtues are based on reason in the soul, supernatural virtues are based on sanctifying grace, a created supernatural form in the soul. Sanctifying grace makes supernatural virtues possible and strengthens moral virtues.

Created supernatural grace is important in all three stages of human existence: (1) in the beginning, as "original righteousness", it was the supernatural gift of righteousness that maintained the souls of Adam and Eve in sinless innocence; (2) in the course of the Christian life, this sanctifying grace is the

basis for supernatural virtues; and (3) ultimately, as the "light of glory", it is the supernatural elevation of human nature by grace that makes the beatific vision possible.

§2-395. Bonaventure (1217-1274)—He was a Franciscan professor at Paris, the most prestigious theological school at the time, the Minister General of the Franciscan order, and later a cardinal. Trained as a scholastic, he could not square Aristotle's empiricism with his Augustinian conviction that higher truths are grasped only by God's illumination. This idea of illumination is foundational to his *Journey of the Mind to God*. According to Bonaventure, the mind is drawn by divine love aided by prayer and meditation.

Bonaventure was a prolific author, a meditative thinker, whose works form helpful manuals of devotion. He was also a scholastic theologian of high rank whose intellect touched nearly all the disputed questions of scholastic thought. Commonly referred to as the "Seraphic Doctor", he exhibits a combination of subtlety and moderation.

§2-396. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153)—Bernard was the best known and most widely acclaimed man of his age. He founded a Cistercian monastery at Clairvaux and served as abbot until his death. He was a tireless promoter, builder, and administrator of the Cistercian order (known as the "White Monks" due to their garb) and their system of monasteries, as well as being active on a broad spectrum of other activities.

He was a critic of Cluny and Scholasticism, railing for both monastic reform and Catholic orthodoxy. He helped to heal the papal schism of 1130 and became known as the "hammer of heretics" in his tireless opposition to people like Henry of Lausanne, Arnold of Brescia, and Peter Abelard. He wrote voluminously, theological, mystical, and devotional works. These works were marked by ardent piety and the synthesis of the best of current establishment thought, rather than by originality or brilliant insight. He carried on extensive correspondence with emperors, popes, theologians, and others. He was the official preacher and promoter of the Second Crusade, and its utter failure was bitterly disappointing to him.

Bernard was a man more admired than liked. He could be impetuous, obstinate, and uncompromisingly sure of himself. His selfless and passionate commitment to Christian faith and to his monastic work gave his life and message a ring of uncommon authority.

C.   Mendicants

§2-397. Francis of Assisi (1181-1226)—Born Francesco Bernardone to a wealthy cloth merchant in Assisi in 1181 or 1882, he was a popular, high-spirited youth inspired by idealism and chivalry. Through a series of dramatic experiences, he decided against a career as a merchant or one in the military. Chance encounters with a leper in the Church of San Damiano lead to his conversion where he renounced his possessions and committed himself to building churches. After a sermon on early in 1208, he felt called to embark on a life of a poor itinerant preacher. Others followed and a brotherhood developed. They sought and received approval for their new order by Innocent III in 1210. After this, the "Little Brothers" were embraced as a powerful reform movement within the established church.

Francis' heart was with mission work. Several times in 1210s he tried to go overseas, first to Morocco and then to Syria, both failures due to health reasons. In 1219, he went to Egypt in conjunction with the Fifth Crusade, where he tried and failed to convert the sultan of Egypt. His final years, blind and seriously ill, he continued to preach before dying in 1226.

The corpus of his written works is meager. His updated *Rule of the Order* appeared in 1223 and his most famous work, *Canticle of the Sun*, was published in 1224. The key to Francis' life was his

uncompromising attempt to imitate Christ of the Gospels through absolute poverty, humility, and simplicity. An administrator he was not, and at his death the Franciscan order had serious problems. But as a visionary and as an example, he was an inspiration to his and subsequent generations.

§2-398. Dominic de Guzman (1170-1221)—Founder of the Dominicans, officially known as the Order of Frairs and popularly known as the Black Frairs. Born and educated in Castile (northern Spain), his intellectual and oratorical ability caused him to be assigned to southern France to help convert the Albigensian heretics. He believed that the only way to reach them was with lively evangelical preaching and a lifestyle of apostolic poverty. He was largely unsuccessful, and his efforts came to an end when Pope Innocent III launched a crusade against the Albigensians in 1208.

Dominic continued to attract a group of followers who shared his dream of a learned preaching order of mendicant friars. Recognized by the Pope in 1216, the order adopted a rule based on one from the Augustinians in 1220 which combined the emphasis on learned preaching and apostolic living. The members lived in community, observed strict diet and fasting rules, conducted liturgical rites, and allocated significant time for study and preaching (they insisted on a minimum of three years of theological training before one could preach). Unlike Francis, Dominic was an able administrator and spent his last years traveling in Italy, France, and Spain, organizing his order.

The Dominicans took leading roles in the intellectual and theological movements of the High Middle Ages. They were active in the Scholastic movement; Thomas Aquinas and his mentor, Albertus Magnus, were Dominicans. They also staffed the papal inquisitional offices and were zealous (many times, overly zealous) in stamping out heresy and converting (or burning) heretics and heathen.

IV. Piety's Practice

§2-401. Diocesan and parish life—The Church's organizational structure was territorial and its main administrative units were rooted in the administrative units of the old Roman Empire and updated in Charlemagne's time. The basic unit was a diocese governed by a bishop. The bishops in the larger cities were called archbishops or metropolitans and exercised authority over a number of dioceses providing a level of immediate supervision. Each diocese was divided into parishes, and it was at the parish level where pastoral care occurred.

In the early days of the church, vacancies in the bishoprics were filled by candidates nominated by neighboring bishops and approved by the clergy and the laity of the diocese. By the time of the High Middle Ages, a major struggle occurs between the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy over lay investiture. In addition, the canons (clergy attached to the bishop's cathedral church) approved bishops instead of the clergy of the diocese. The faithful lay people lacked meaningful input. Many medieval bishops were absentees, controlling many bishoprics through stand-ins. In addition, they were often too caught up in politics (bishoprics were wrapped up in the feudal power structure) to give much pastoral care to their dioceses.

The quality of the parish (Christian communal) life depended primarily on the parish priest or his substitute. In theory, the priest was celibate, trained for his calling in the cathedral school of his diocese, and then went for additional training at the cathedral school of the metropolitan. In practice, the ideal was rarely attained. Clerical concubinage was a pervasive problem, as was absenteeism. Many priests held posts in multiple parishes, receiving the income but hiring a stand-in at a fraction of that income. These substitutes, and indeed many of the priests themselves, were illiterate. Many or most did not understand the Latin of the services they were supposed to perform, and very few were familiar with the Bible.

§2-402. Sacraments—Sacred rites through which God confers grace upon believers. They were understood as outward signs that confer the inner grace they signify. By the end of the Middles Ages, there were seven sacraments which constituted a cradle to grave sacramental system and the essential trek for the faithful to gain salvation.

- Baptism is the sacrament of regeneration or rebirth. For the medieval, it meant the same thing as being saved. Faith is necessary (albeit whose faith is necessary and what constituted faith was less than clear), but baptism is what turns the key (doctrine of baptismal regeneration). Theologies of baptismal regeneration typically lead to doctrines of deadly or mortal sin. The rebirth is no guarantee of ultimate salvation. Mortal sin can take away the life gained in baptism. Mortal sin is fundamentally to sin against charity, a turning of the will against love for God and neighbor.

- Penance is the sacrament through which sins are forgiven. It consists of four parts: confession, contrition, absolution, and satisfaction. The idea of a spiritual guide or director came to be linked with this sacrament after confession became a private rather than public acknowledgement of offense. One's spiritual director was usually one's confessing priest.

  In connection with penance developed the theory and practice of indulgences and of the treasury of the Church. While the eternal consequences of sin were handled by penitential absolution, the temporal punishments had to be satisfied in this life or they would be required after death in purgatory before the soul was purified and capable of the beatific vision of God. The practice of indulgences, the full or partial remissions of temporal punishments for sin, arose in the 11th century. The Crusades were motivated by wholesale grants of plenary indulgences by the Popes. The Scholastics provided the theory as to how this system worked. It was thought that the apostles and the saints had done far more than was necessary to assure themselves of heaven and their surplus merit accumulated in the Treasury of Merit. The Church had the authority to transfer this merit to penitential sinners in satisfaction of the temporal punishments for their sins.

- Eucharist is the sacrament of union with Christ. It is the sacred meal modeled on the Last Supper. By this time, Transubstantiation was the official doctrine (recognized by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215). That doctrine held that the bread and wine of the sacrament changed into the body and blood of Christ at the consecration of a priest.

- Confirmation is the laying on of hands to confirm the baptized in the faith. Confirmation is a rite of initiation that completes baptism by sealing the recipient with the Holy Spirit through the laying on of hands and anointing with chrism. It is the sacrament of Christian maturity. In the West, this was postponed for a time after baptism and became a rite of passage into adulthood. It strengthens the individual in their faith, deepens their bond with the Church, and gives them the graces needed to defend and witness to their faith.

- Holy Orders conferred special power and character in those who received it. it left an indelible mark on the soul (as with Baptism and Confirmation) and only those ordained can consecrate the Eucharist or give absolution in Penance.

- Marriage was instituted by God both in human nature and as a sacrament among the baptized. The medieval mind saw three good purposes: *Procreative good* in begetting and raising children; *unitive good* in marital faithfulness and mutual service and community of husband and wife; *sacramental good* in its imaging the union of Christ and the Church.

- Extreme Unction (now, Anointing for the Sick) was the final anointing in High Middle Ages performed only for those who were dying. It combined Penance and the Eucharist wherever possible.

§2-403. Women and the Virgin Mary—It was common in the Middle Ages for women to be viewed as morally, intellectually, and physically inferior to men. While women worked alongside men in shops and fields, there were few genuine opportunities open to them. Church excluded women from any official position, often overemphasizing headship and simply refusing to admit or investigate abuse. Yet, marriage was recognized as a sacrament, nuns were protected, and, at least formally, women were acknowledged to have dignity before God and humanity. Mary became the person venerated throughout the Middle Ages. She was seen as benevolent, kind, and approachable whereas her Son was stern and judging.

Prayers to the Virgin Mary (Hail Marys) became common practice from the 11th century on and seems to have originated in the monasteries. The practice of the Angelicus, a daily summoning of the faithful (usually by the ringing of a bell) and the triple repetition of the Ave Maria became common.

§2-404. Veneration of the saints was popular. The Church calendar was filled with celebration of saints' days as well as those commemorating the main events of the life of Christ and the Church – Sunday, Lent, Easter, Christmas, Pentecost etc.

§2-405. The breviary was developed in this period. It put in convenient form what the monks and the clergy needed in their collective services and private devotions. Thus, the canonical hours (the Divine Office, short services at seven or eight times a day) and other devotional exercises were summarized. By the time of Innocent III (1198-1216), the breviary began to spread beyond Benedictine circles. The Franciscans developed the breviary and were instrumental in bringing it into general circulation in the Western Church.

§2-406. Pilgrimages were popular. Palestine, Rome, tombs of saints (like Thomas Becket at Canterbury) were common destinations. Christians in Medieval Europe were zealous to visit sites deemed sacred to their faith. The closing of Jerusalem to pilgrimage was a major motivation for the Crusades.

§2-407. Purgatory and related practices—The concept of Purgatory arose from the practice of prayers for the dead. A passage by Augustine, where he invites his readers to pray for his deceased mother and suggests that her soul was not in heaven or hell but in a state that could still benefit from prayers, played a significant role in making this doctrine widely accepted. Purgatory came to be understood as a place of temporary punishment, in contrast to the eternal punishment of hell. It had the character of purgation or purification, cleansing the soul from sinful habits and desires to make it worthy of God. In early interpretations of Purgatory, it was a good place, where souls embraced their painful purification to be readied for the joys of heaven. In the late Middle Ages, the doctrine's practice invited abuses. It was painted as hellish, inhabited by demons and torturers, and a terrible place. This image was used to pry money for indulgences from relatives and friends of departed loved ones to gain time off from purgatorial punishment. This was the match that ignited the Reformation.

§2-408. Cathedrals—Praise in stone and glass—Nothing showcases Medieval piety quite like the magnificent cathedrals and dot the European continent. Several different styles highlight these traits.

Romanesque developed gradually and dominated architecture until the mid-12th century. Gothic sprung up overnight, so to speak. It was the creation of Abbey of St. Denis' abbot Suger. This famous church was designed and renovated from 1133 to 1144. Abbot Suger's reaction to his own creation was shared by many of his contemporaries:

> I seem to find myself, as it were, in some strange part of the universe which was neither wholly of the baseness of the earth nor wholly of the serenity of heaven, but by the grace of God I seemed lifted in a mystic manner from this lower towards the upper scheme.

Soon Gothic cathedrals were built all over Europe. Between 1170 and 1270, more than five hundred great Gothic churches were built in France alone. Notre Dame, Chartres, Reims, and the list goes on and on. Building a cathedral became a community-wide devotional project, harnessing the energy, vision, talents, and resources of the faithful and frequently continuing for a century or more before being finally completed. Each new cathedral soared higher, refined the Gothic art still further, and proudly displayed the skill of the community's finest artisans and craftsmen. They displayed medieval piety.

§2-409. Piety in contrast: Mystics and the way of the heart—Mysticism entails the belief that a person achieves knowledge of God primarily through direct awareness or intuition as the soul comes into direct contact with the divine. The mind is not excluded, but the primary focus is on personal encounter. The mystical path is that of encounter with the divine. This involves:
- Self-knowledge—a confession of sin and a purgation of sinful thoughts, habits, and behaviors.
- Illumination—surrender to God and a renewal of obedience to His known will.
- Union—achieved in what the mystics mysteriously call "contemplation."

This encounter with God was followed by a return to the world in service to others and then followed by a further quest for intimacy with God. The cycle was repeated and deepened. The mystical tradition grew tremendously as the Middle Ages progressed. The desire for a direct, personal encounter with God began to undermine the ritualistic sacramentalism of the Church with its formalism and its insistence on the necessity of the priestly intermediary to realize the gracious purpose of God.

§2-410. Different mystical emphases—Three different mystical experiences are illustrated by three great saints of Late Antiquity/Middle Ages:
- Augustine placed great stress on the mind. He listed seven "steps" to encounter with God:
  - Poverty of soul that involved a "confessional" spirit. This kind of person is not one impressed with himself or herself.
  - Reverence and receptiveness to Scripture.
  - Awareness of failings in particular. Generalities do not cut it. He meant it! Read his *Confessions.*
  - Cultivation of personal righteousness, what Jesus called hungering and thirsting for righteousness.
  - Helping others in need.
  - Preparation for what the mystics call "contemplation," which involved union with God.
  - Wisdom or contemplation. For Augustine, this was the mind contemplating the divine mind.
- Gregory the Great emphasized balancing the head and the heart and monastic discipline as preparation for experiencing encounter with God.
- Bernard of Clairvaux focused on the heart. Bernard differentiated scientia (study and mental engagement) from sapientia (which comes through a charity of soul and is relationally engaged).

§2-411. Piety in contrast: Scholastics and the way of the mind—The Scholastics believed that a person primarily achieved knowledge of God through reason and theological discourse and speculation. Their method was much like Hegel's thesis-antithesis-synthesis paradigm:
- They started with a disputed question, fairly framed;
- They posed and evaluated alternatives, listing pros and cons for various views;
- They then proposed a solution.

§2-411. Piety in contrast: Way of the heart vs way of the mind—The way of the mind versus the way of the heart was rooted in the orthodox Christian theological tradition resulting from the doctrine of the Trinity. The tradition became committed to the incomprehensibility of God. For the Nicene theologians, the eternal begetting of the Son by the Father was incomprehensible, not to be understood in terms of anything in creation.

The great theologian of divine incomprehensibility was the 5th -6th century Eastern Orthodox thinker named Dionysius, known today as Pseudo-Dionysius to distinguish him from Dionysius the Areopagite mentioned in Acts 17:34. He thought that the Trinity was incomprehensible, not because it was obscure in itself but because, like the dazzling sun, it was too much for humans to look at and comprehend. Dionysius contributed to the Orthodox tradition of apophatic theology, which concerns how God cannot be spoken of. In Western tradition, this approach was called the via negativa, which describes God's transcendence by explaining what God is not. Thus, to say God is incomprehensible is to say that He is not intelligible to human beings. To say that He is eternal, is to say that He is not subject to time or in time. To say that He is omnipotent is to say that His power is not limited. Dionysius also spoke of God affirmatively, particularly in *unpacking* the names for God in the Scripture (*On Divine Names*). But whether speaking affirmatively or apophatically, no language is adequate to describe God.

In contrast to Dionysius, Augustine conceived of God as intelligible. For Augustine, the human mind is like an eye made to see the light of divine truth. God is the truth that encompasses all truth and every time human intellect sees truth, it catches a partial and transitory glimpse of God. God is to be understood by human intellect, it is natural for the enlightened mind to see God. When Augustine says that God is incomprehensible, he means something far less than Dionysius. Like Dionysius, Augustine will use the metaphor of the dazzling sun to describe how God surpasses our understanding. But for Augustine, this dazzlement is not due to the incapacity of our nature to understand the incomprehensible God, but due to the sinfulness of our hearts that corrupts our minds. Grace, for Augustine, heals, purifies, and strengthens the mind so that we may see God.

The concept of supernatural grace developed by Aquinas was born of the attempt by Western thinkers to reconcile Augustine and Dionysius. To frame the issue in their terms, how can human beings have a beatific vision of the incomprehensible God? For Augustine, the ultimate goal of life is the fulfillment of the mind's desire to see God, find one's rest in God, and in the joy of the truth. Dionysius' emphasis on God's incomprehensibility meant that the essence of God is beyond the capacity of any created being to understand. Aquinas agreed with Dionysius in the sense that understanding God was beyond the natural capacity of human intellect. Yet it was not beyond the capacity of the human mind elevated by supernatural grace. This supernatural grace was an uncreated grace, a capacity in the human soul itself that is given by God's grace.

§2-413. Summary of Medieval piety—Piety and religious awakenings did express themselves in new monastic and mendicant orders. However, pious practice began to be rooted in many activities common to local churches across Europe. The age saw the depths of depravity and the heights of sanctity. Dark as some of this was, there is also a sense of a growing and more intelligent commitment to the Christian faith by an enlarging number of people in Western Europe.

V.   Attitudes Towards War—Through the centuries, there have been several competing

perspectives and a shifting consensus in the Christian community about the propriety of Christians engaging in military conflicts.

§2-416. Pacifism—Nonresistance was prevailing attitude of the early Church (1st to 3rd centuries). Writers before Constantine were uniformly opposed to all Christian involvement in war. Cyprian's retort was typical: "Iron is for tilling, not killing."

§2-417. Just war theory—With the ascension of Constantine and the arrival of Christians in positions of power (4th to 10th centuries), there was a revisiting of attitudes towards war. Augustine developed a "Just war theory." The key criteria for when a war was "just" include:

- Just in overall intent—to restore the peace.
- Just in its object—to vindicate justice.
- Just in inner disposition—waged "in love," not with joy and thanksgiving, but with a spirit of mournful necessity.
- Just in auspices—waged under proper authority authorizing it.
- Just in conduct—waged according to accepted rules of war. Clergy were not to fight at all.

§2-418. Holy war—Crusader spirit (11th to 13th)—The High Middle Ages developed the concept of "holy war", the desire to "promote righteousness" with the sword. This attitude is evident, though imperfectly practiced, during the Crusades from 1095 to 1270.

§2-419. Justifying rationales—The various views utilized Scripture to justify their position. Texts used by the various views include:

- Pacifism – (Mt 5:38-42; Lk 6);
- Just war (Mk 12:17; Rom 13:1-6);
- Holy war (Mt 10:34; Lk 22:35-38; Jn 2:15).

The various views have quite different views of the Christian's duty towards the state as outlined in Romans 13:

- Pacifism—Coercive power of the state ordained by God because of sin. Christians should not participate in government or war. Sinners constrain sinners.
- Just war—There is a necessity of restraining evil because of the fallen nature of humanity. The Lordship of Christ covers all reality and thus, opting out of military responsibility is a copout.
- Holy war—Force should be used not only to restrain sin but to promote/enforce righteousness.

VI. Summary

§2-421. Generally—Let us review our key points:

- Reforms evident in the papacy and in monasticism;
- Tthe Church's great influence during this time—witness the power of the Papal Monarchy;
- The intellectual vibrancy of Scholasticism and the great age of the founding of universities;
- The decline of the Papacy, politically and spiritually, and the failure of the Crusades; and

- The rise of nation-states.

In the High Middle Ages, Christianity won the formal allegiance of the peoples of northwestern and central Europe that had not previously accepted the faith. It expanded into Russia, won back significant parts of the Iberian Peninsula, was planted in Iceland and in Greenland. It was professed by small minorities in Central, East, and south Asia. Christianity only won a small portion of the territory which it had been forced to yield to Islam in the Early Middle Ages, but, except in Asia Minor, it had suffered no fresh losses.

Relations between East and West wings of the faith were irreparably broken. The Schism of 1054 was made permanent by the incredible brutality and greed of the Fourth Crusade. In the early part of this era, Byzantium reached its apex and then declined. As the era progressed, Western Europe grew increasingly powerful and influential. Christianity was particularly potent in shaping the civilization of

the West. The Church had engaged the culture in every major phase and Christianity was the guiding light for the emerging Western culture in every facet.

Yet, as best illustrated by the so-called Papal monarchy, the efforts of the reformers to make God's will (or what they deemed to be God's will dominant) on earth had succumbed to the imposition of that will by the kind of power that was very unlike that exhibited by Jesus Christ. Indeed, Christ's supposed will was imposed by the type of power that crucified Him so many centuries earlier.

The Gospel inspired new religious orders and attracted people to those who strived to live by Christ's ideals. Although most people were not strongly influenced by those ideals, their respect for those who embodied them showed Christianity's impact on the culture. However much the Church displayed that it was indeed crude earthen vessels, there was power that touched that culture and moved it to respond to Christian ideals such as they understood them.

Late Middle Ages (1300-1500)

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Late Middle Ages Notes

I.   Overview; Historical Background

§2-501. Generally—The Late Middle Ages witnessed the unraveling of the medieval synthesis and of the grand vision of Christendom that drove the High Middle Ages. This was highlighted by the sorry situation of papal politics of the era. Between 1300 and 1500, Europe experienced widespread conflict, devastating plagues, and significant political turmoil. What people needed was a renewed and real relationship with God. What the church offered was an increasing focus on structure, power, and money. The result was corruption, inquisitions, indulgences, absentee and power-hungry shepherds, and division.

§2-502. Revealing vignette—A vignette of papal politics serves as a precursor to the age. In 1294, the College of Cardinals chose a humble Franciscan monk to become Pope. Celestine V was an old monk who loved people. He came to Rome dressed humbly and on his old donkey. However, the papal duties were not pastoral anymore. A vast bureaucracy needed direction and able administration far beyond the abilities or interests of Celestine. Five months into his pontificate, Celestine shed his royal robes, assumed his simple tunic, and resigned his office.

A ruthless politician Boniface VIII (1294-1303) succeeded him. He imprisoned the old pope and kept him there until he died. Boniface was so enamored with papal power that he feared one who wanted nothing to do with such power, believing that stance to be a ruse, a ploy to get something more. In 1302, Boniface issued *Bull Unum Sanctum* ("One Holy Church"), in which he declared that the true faith compelled the faithful to believe that there is one, holy, universal, apostolic church outside of which there was no salvation and that both the ecclesiastical and political swords (both spiritual and temporal power) resided in that church in the person of the Roman Pontiff. It was the culmination of a prolonged process of power claims by the Roman popes. The culminating declaration ironically triggered the unraveling of papal power that the Late Middle Ages witnessed.

§2-503. Milieu of the 14ᵗʰ and 15ᵗʰ centuries—The 14ᵗʰ and 15ᵗʰ centuries were a time of growing dissatisfaction with much more than the political intrigues and rank materialism of the Church. It was a time of dissent and division as medieval society slowly turned modern. Centralized national governments rose to challenge the leadership of the Church. The emerging money-based economy provided the resources for building modern states. The growing economic power of the middle class threatened the old privileges and position of the feudal nobility. Those privileges that were further undermined by the demographic consequences of the Black Death. The decline of the landed gentry induced European kings to actively cultivate the emerging burgher class in its power struggle with the nobility. While religion was still the dominant factor in Western Europe, it faced growing secularism.

§2-504. Decline and collapse of the Byzantine Empire—In the East, Orthodoxy was challenged by the decline and collapse of the Byzantine Empire. Constantinople fell to the onslaught of the Ottoman Turks. Asia Minor and the Balkans fell out under the sway of the crescent. Orthodox believers fell under severe restraints in their religious practice and general treatment. Throughout the East, except in Russia, the Late Middle Ages was marked by losses in numbers, influence, and territory for Christian movements.

Russia succeeded Constantinople as Orthodoxy's center. In the 14ᵗʰ century, the Mongol Empire disintegrated. The Mongol occupation had deepened the attachment of the Russian people to the Orthodox faith. The Church was the glue that held Russians together and provided continuity with a

distinctive Russian identity during the occupation. After the Mongol recession, Orthodoxy grew strong in Mother Russia.

Christian communities in Asia withered during these centuries. Christianity at the close of this era was an essentially European phenomenon. There were faithful Christian communities in Africa and Asia, but they were on the defensive and isolated.

§2-505. Chronological chart—

Chronology: Only the names and dates of the most important rulers, popes, and events are listed.

French kings	*English kings*	*Popes*	*Events*
Philip IV (1285-1314)	Edward I (1272-1307)	Celestine V (1294) Boniface VIII (1294-1303) Benedict XI (1303-1304) Clement V (1305-1314)	Bull Unum Sanctum (1302) Anagni (1303) & papal humiliation
Philip V (1316-1322) Charles IV (1322-1328 Philip VI (1328-1350) John II (1350-1364) Charles V (1364-1380)	Edward II (1307-1327) Edward III (1327-1377)	John XXII (1316-1334) Benedict XII (1334-1342) Clement VI (1342-1352) Innocent VI (1352-1362) Urban V (1362-1370)	Babylonian Captivity of the Church (1309-1377) Templars suppressed (1312) Meister Eckhart (d. 1327) Hundred Years War (1337-1453) Crecy (1346) Occam (d. 1349)
Charles VI (1380-1422)	Richard II (1377-1399) Henry IV (1399-1413) Henry V (1413-1422)	Gregory XI (1370-1378) Urban VI (1378-1389) *Clement VII (1378-1394)* Boniface IX (1389-1404) *Benedict XIII (1394-1423)* Innocent VII (1404-1406) Gregory XII (1406-1415) *Alexander V (1409-1410)* *John XXIII (1410-1415)*	Poitiers (1356) End of Babylonian Captivity (1377) Papal schism (1378-1415) Wycliffe condemned (1380, d. 1384)) Huss at Prague (1402) Agincourt (1415) Council of Pisa (1409) Lollard revolt (1413-1414) Council of Constance (1414-1418) Huss (d. 1415)
Charles VII (1422-1461)		Martin V (1417-1431) Eugene IV	Hussite crusade (1420)

		(1431-1447) Nicholas V (1447-1455)	End of papal schism (1423) Joan of Arc (d. 1431) Council of Basel (1431-1449) Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1445) Fall of Constantinople (1453)
Louis XI (1461-1483)	Edward IV (1461-1483) Richard III (1483-1485)	Sixtus IV (1471-1484)	Bosworth Field (1485)
Charles VIII (1483-1498)	Henry VII (1485-1509) Henry V (1509-1547)	Alexander VI (1492-1503) Julius II (1503-1513) Leo X (1513-1521)	Columbus (1492) Savonarola (d. 1498)

II. Nation–State Summaries

A. Europe

§2-506. Decline of the Holy Roman Empire—Frederick II, who died in 1250, was the last of the influential Holy Roman emperors. Following his reign, the great noble families of Germany fought over control of the imperial office. In 1356, Charles IV (1347-1358) issued a decree that the emperor would be elected by seven electors—the archbishops of Cologne, Trier, and Mainz, the secular princes of Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate, and the king of Bohemia. There were two consequences of significance:

- by the 16th century, the political disunity of Germany created an ideal environment for religious dissent; and
- in northern Italy, the great cities flourished free of the Empire's taxes and control.

§2-507. Italy—This era marked a dramatic rise of the Italian city-states, whose growth and prominence was driven by commerce free of the Holy Roman Empire's taxes and control. From the 13th to the 15th centuries, Italy became Europe's banker. The great merchants in the primary city-states controlled industry. Representative governments failed and were replaced by despots, giving rise to the idea of the state as a law unto itself. By the end of the 15th century, Italy was dominated by five states—Venice, Milan, Florence, Naples, and the Papal States, which were engaged in unceasing conflict.

§2-508. England and France—Serious economic and military demands were imposed on both countries by the Hundred Years War (1337-1453) over disputed territories in France. The sustained crisis transformed the two monarchies into more centralized governments with kings who were much less dependent on feudal nobility. Following the Hundred Years War, England plunged into a civil war (the Wars of the Roses) and the French kings continued consolidating royal power by reducing the sway of the dukes of Burgundy and other powerful nobles.

In England, John Wycliffe, the Morningstar of the Reformation, challenged orthodox Catholic beliefs and drew a sizeable group of committed followers, nicknamed the Lollards. An ill-advised uprising in the 15th century, brought persecution to the Lollards. John Wycliffe was posthumously declared a

heretic after his disciple, John Hus, was executed at the Council of Constance.

§2-509. Spain—Ferdinand of Aragon married Isabella of Castile in 1469. They reconquered Spain by 1492 and expelled the Jews and Moors who refused to convert. They initiated the Spanish Inquisition in 1479. The cruel and ruthless suppression of groups other than Catholic orthodox came to define posterity's negative view of the Inquisition. Ferdinand and Isabella left a large and powerful kingdom to their grandson Charles V (1517-1556) but one which had lost its cultural vibrancy.

§2-510. Eastern Europe—The Balkan Peninsula was conquered by the Ottoman Turks during the Late Middle Ages. The heavy hand of Islam, in terms of restricted religious practice and special taxes and disabilities laid on Christians, worked to make Orthodoxy the symbol and binding agent of Serb nationalism and that of other ethnic groups. Christianity certainly did not flourish under Islamic hegemony but, except for what is present-day Albania, there was no extensive conversion of the Christian population to Islam.

Further north, the Poles and Slavs continued to be pressed by the Germans to the west and the Russians to the east. The Poles remained solidly in the orbit of Catholic orthodoxy during this time. The Slavs proved a ready audience for John Wycliffe's ideas through the preaching of John Hus. Hus became a national hero after his execution at the Council of Constance in 1415. The Hussites successfully opposed Catholic repression by the military force of the Holy Roman Empire and by 1439 were tolerated simply because Catholic authorities lacked the military muscle to bring them in line. This area, Bohemia, became fertile ground for Reformation preaching in the 16th century and beyond.

§2-511. Byzantine Empire—The Fourth Crusade sacked Constantinople in 1204. They set up a Latin Empire that lasted until 1261, electing Baldwin IX of Flanders as the first Latin emperor. However, the Crusaders failed to conquer the empire. Crusader nobles carved out duchies in Greece; Byzantine generals established independent splinter kingdoms. One general, Michael Palaeologus, in control of Anatolia with his capital at Nicaea, managed to reconquer Constantinople but lost his power base in Anatolia as a result.

In the 14th century, the Byzantine Empire sunk into obscurity. The Serbs in Europe and the Ottoman Turks in Asia conquered the hinterlands of Constantinople while petty Crusader overlords ruled in Greece. The Italian city-states, Venice and Genoa, replaced Constantinople as the primary Western commercial center. Constantinople survived until 1453, due to its magnificent defensive fortifications, divisions among its foes, and the clever statecraft of its failing line of rulers. The last emperor, who died heroically defending Constantinople from the Ottoman Turks in 1453, aptly described the situation when he said that what Constantinople needed was not an emperor but a good mayor.

§2-512. Russia—Christianity of the Eastern Orthodox variety took root in Russia in the 10th century. Initially, official patronage in Kiev encouraged mass conversions, especially among the nobility and in the cities. In the 13th century, Russia was overrun by the Mongols. However, this seeming catastrophe strengthened Orthodoxy in Russia. The Mongols exempted the Church from their heavy taxes and ruled through local princes who were sympathetic to faith. The result was the identity of Orthodoxy with Russia itself, allowing the Church to rise to a position of national and cultural leadership that it retained when the Mongol realm receded in the 14th and 15th centuries.

The Orthodox monasteries, which spread throughout Russia during these centuries, advanced Russian unity by encouraging a common faith, a common language, and allegiance to Russian rulers. Monasteries often served as the impetus to the growth of Russian towns and cities. They were intellectual and cultural centers, promoting the advancement of the arts, foremost of which was that of icon-painting. So strong did Orthodoxy grow in Russia, that Ivan III, whose reign began just after the

fall of Constantinople in 1453, argued that it was God's will that Orthodoxy now be ruled from Moscow (the third Rome), as it once was ruled from Constantinople (the second Rome).

B.   Christian Groups Beyond Europe

§2-513. Egyptian Coptic and Ethiopian churches—Coptics (mostly in Egypt) were moderate Monophysites who developed their own translations of sacred documents and liturgy and were in conflict with the Melchites (Greeks holding to the dictates of the Council of Chaledon) in Alexandria. They underwent persecution under the caliphs, especially Caliph al-Hakim (996-1021). The spread of Islam isolated the Coptic and Ethiopian churches.

§2-514. Monophysites in Syria and Armenia—Known as the Jacobites (named after Jacob Baradaeus, a 6th century bishop), the Syrian Monophysites resisted Constantinople's attempt to enforce the judgments of the Council of Chalcedon (451). They survived due to the persistent leadership of the bishops in Antioch, a strong monastic tradition, and an identity that grew up around Syrian translations of the Bible and sacred liturgy (the Syrian Peshitta). The Armenians followed a similar path, resisting conformity to Byzantine Orthodoxy and to Greek overlordship.

§2-515. Nestorians to the East—The Nestorians were close to the belief structure of someone like Theodore of Mopsuestia. They trod a tough road under Muslim domination. They were intermittently under persecution or severe social restrictions. Today, only a couple hundred thousand Nestorians survive, mostly in Syria, Iraq, and Iran.

III.   Key Trends and Developments

A.   Decline of Papal Authority

§2-516. Generally—The concept of Christendom harmonized two ideas—universal church and Christian empire. In the 14th and 15th centuries, the idea of empire faded (the Byzantine Empire fell in 1453 and the Holy Roman Empire was a facade) and papal prestige plummeted. People began to think in terms of a sphere for the state and one for the church.

The Papal monarchy peaked under Innocent III (1198-1216) and decline is evident by the time of Boniface VIII (1294-1303), when the pope was so blatantly bullied by Philip IV (1285-1314). Boniface VIII went to bat with Edward I of England and Philip IV of France over the issue of clergy taxation and lost. Then, in 1301, Philip imprisoned a French bishop on charges of treason. Boniface ordered him released and rescinded consent to a clergy tax, issuing *Bull Unum Sanctum* in 1302. "It is altogether necessary for every human being to be subject to the Roman pontiff" for salvation, he announced. That was the most extreme assertion of Papal power in history. Philip IV set his rogues, Nogaret, the maestro of the trumped up charge, and thugs, to imprison and rough up Boniface at his summer retreat palace in Anangi, Italy. The pope was rescued by the citizens of the town but died within a month, a badly shaken and broken man.

This drew scattered protests from Europe but not outrage. Boniface himself was personally unpopular. He had treated his predecessor abominably. His personal demeanor was arrogant. On one occasion, he appeared before pilgrims to the papal court in imperial robes and announced "I am Caesar. I am emperor." His papal crown contained 48 rubies, 72 sapphires, 45 emeralds, and 66 large pearls. In addition to the personal turn-off, Europeans were no longer willing to accept papal interference in what they saw as purely internal political affairs.

§2-517. Babylonian captivity of the papacy—Clement V (1305-1314) moved the papacy to Avignon in 1309 and it stayed there until 1377. Petrarch (1304-1374) dubbed this the Babylonian Captivity, recalling the captivity of the Jewish nation in the bowels of a secular empire. All the popes and the

majority of the cardinals were French. The rest of Europe saw the papacy as dominated by the French kings. One of the clearest examples of this domination, was Clement V's summoning of the *Council of Vienne* in 1311-1312. The Council failed to defend the Knights Templar from the slander of Philip IV's henchmen and directed that the order be disbanded, and its substantial holdings given to (``administered by'') the king of France.

Financial concerns dominated the Avignon popes. They no longer controlled the revenues of the Papal States in Italy and they did not rein in the growing luxury and expense of the papal court at Avignon. Bishops openly sold positions of leadership in the churches, friars hawked indulgences, celibate priests became something of a pious memory. Fund-raising efficiency brought both wealth and acidic criticism. Edward III of England exclaimed: "The pope is supposed to lead the sheep to pasture, not to fleece them."

§2-518. Papal schism—Gregory XI (1370-1378) returned the papacy to Rome. In the election following his pontificate, Urban VI (1378-1389), an Italian, was elected. The College of Cardinals, mostly French at the time, yielded to the clamor of a howling mob outside the site of the election, demanding that an Italian be elected. Urban VI was very autocratic and his dictatorial ways quickly alienated the French cardinals. These cardinals returned to France, disavowed the election of Urban, and elected one of their own colleagues as Clement VII (1378-1394). Urban stayed in Rome and Clement went to Avignon.

The schism lasted forty years. With two papal courts to support, two sets of hierarchies, bishops, dioceses, and parish priests, fund-raising grew more incessant and harsher and political infighting grew more complex and unseeming.

§2-519. Conciliar movement—During this time, the conciliar movement arose. Marsilius of Padua (1275-1342) was a seminal thinker in this movement. In his most famous work, *Defender of Peace*, he wrote that the church derives its power from the state (the reverse interpretation of the idea of Christendom that the popes had championed for centuries) and that church councils were superior to the Pope. He questioned the whole idea of papal authority and the ecclesiastical structure which was based on it and called for a democratic governance of the church. Predictably, he was declared a heretic.

The conciliarists who followed Marsilius attempted to reduce the papacy to something like a limited monarchy. Several church councils were called to attempt to heal this schism. In 1409, the *Council of Pisa* rejected both the French and Italian popes and selected a third one. However, the other two refused to resign. The result was that now there were three popes and three papal courts. Finally, at the *Council of Constance (1414-1417)*, Martin V (1417-1431) was elected and emerged as the sole pope. That council declared the central belief of conciliarism, that a church council held its power directly from Christ and that everyone, including the pope, was bound to obey it.

However, the conciliar movement took no effective action to remedy extortions by papal tax collectors or to stem the bribery and nepotism so characteristic of the papal court. Simony, absenteeism, the lack of clergy education and discipline, curia corruption, and priestly immorality proceeded unabetted. The Conciliar movement was full of people who benefited from the system as it was, and these people were not inclined to press for changes.

Not surprisingly, such a movement was outmaneuvered by the popes and eventually failed. *Council of Basel (1431-1449)* marked the effective end of the Conciliar movement when Eugenius IV usurped the agenda of the council. At the *Council of Florence in 1438-1445*, the council claimed, in direct contradiction to the dictates of the *Council of Constance*, that the pope was superior to church councils. This council also formally recognized the cradle to grave sacramental system of the Catholic Church

and technically reunited the Catholic and Orthodox churches. This reunion never actually occurred because Orthodox lay people everywhere in the East absolutely rejected it. The Popes declared the conciliar idea was heretical and, by 1450, the movement was largely defunct. Pius II (1458-1464) struck the final blow when he forbade appeals to councils to overrule the pope.

§2-520. Renaissance popes—The Renaissance popes went on their merry way caring nothing about reform and little more about church business. They busied themselves with the collection of revenue, with Italian politics, and with the patronage of the arts. Julian II (1502-1513) was aptly described as more soldier than priest. He spent his days in patronage of the arts (Michelangelo and Raphael were the two most famous artists supported) and with waging numerous wars in Italy. Europe wondered whether the pope the successor of Peter or of Caesar?

Financial and political corruption, gross immorality, and nepotism reached its highest level under Alexander VI (1492-1503), the infamous Rodrigo Borgia. He was grossly immoral, fathering many bastards, as well as a relentless nepotist. He was obsessed with the desire to provide wealth and power to his own family. His bastard son, Cesare Borgia, was reputedly the prime subject of Machiavelli's *The Prince*.

Historians have noted that human systems rise, thrive, and then fall because time has its own built-in judgment. Institutions that start quite worthy, eventually crumble because time brings out their flaws. In the end, the inadequacy of human nature comes under judgment. It is human nature that turns many good things into abuses.

The idea of the papal office as a channel of God's will to humanity receded slowly with the idea Christendom as a whole. But by the end of the 15th century, Europe had had enough. Wycliffe and Hus dared to suggest that the church was something other than a visible organization on earth, with its overreaching authority claims, its monopoly of the channels of grace, its stratified bureaucracy, and its extensive property holdings headed by an ecclesiastical monarch that little resembled the poverty and humility of the Christ for whom he represented as vicar on earth.

B.   Monastic Developments

§2-521. Decline in the monastics and among secular clergy—Monasticism became lukewarm and piously mediocre. Most complaints were not about spectacular vice but about a slide—laxness, laziness, and mismanagement of the vast properties controlled by monasteries. Worldly influence grew with numerous retirements to monasteries and growing number of oblates (children that the monasteries were responsible for and who usually became monks in their later years). Plague had a disproportionate effect on monasteries, and monastics grew discouraged. Indeed, monasteries were targeted in the plague years and plundered by thugs.

The secular clergy followed their bishops in the preoccupation with the money trail. Absenteeism and pluralism (one person holding multiple sees) of bishops left the clergy unsupervised. Priestly faults, including lack of education, exploitation of office for personal gain or family benefit, and personal immorality, became increasingly common and flaunted.

§2-522. Monastic reform—Nevertheless, reform efforts continued. Beyond Western Europe, especially in Russia, monasticism played a vital role in the preservation and expansion of the faith. There were several leaders of significant influence:
- Walter Hilton was the most pastoral of the monastics/mystics. He was known for his work, *Ladder of Perfection*, a widely read devotional book. There he suggested twelve rungs of maturation. The soul moved from a genuine fear and awe of God, through obedience and

perseverance, to a genuine charity of soul, what the medieval monastics called caritas.

- Alain of Lille was an influential writer and monastic who drew on Pope Gregory the Great's pastoral Rule (written in the 6th century) in his 12th century preaching manual, *Art of Preaching*. He suggested a 7-rung preparation ladder:
    - Confession;
    - Prayer;
    - Thanksgiving;
    - Study of Scripture;
    - Mature counsel;
    - Exposition of Scripture;
    - Preaching.

§2-523. Devotio moderna was a 14th century spiritual revival that began among lay people in northern Europe, some of whom lived communally. They were kin to the monastics in some ways, but more like the mystics in others. The movement emphasized prayer and good deeds. Thomas a Kempis (1380-1471), the author of the *Imitation of Christ*, was representative of these people. His devotional is the most widely read devotional in the history of Christianity.

C.   Calls for Reform; Heretics, Dissenters, and Inquisitors

§2-526. Generally—Many people wanted more than just remedies for corruption and political influence-peddling. There were calls for the Church to return to the simplicity of the early faith, to producing devoted and well-educated preachers, to a deeper spirituality among both laity and clergy, and to the study and use of the Scripture in the vernacular. A few of these movements were clearly misguided, as will be discussed. But many of them were populated by people motivated by a sincere, orthodox faith and who meant to return a Church they saw as wayward to a more consistent, less worldly, and more committed proclamation of the truth of the gospel.

§2-527. Cathari—These people were the targets of the Albigensian Crusade (1208-1229). A few did survive. The Cathari (pure ones in Greek) were dualists, regarding the human body and material reality as evil and opposed to the spirit. A good God created the world of spirit and a lesser deity, the god of the Old Testament, made the material world. The lesser god imprisoned human souls in bodies. Death just meant that a soul wandered until entrapped in another body. Christ's salvation broke this cycle. Escape from the material world was possible through the consolamentum, a spiritual baptism.

Cathars had two classes—the perfect who had undergone the consolamentum and the regular members. The perfect were sure of salvation as long as they remained celibate, avoided contact with anything resulting from sexual activity (meat, eggs, and a host of other things), avoided oaths, remained pacifists, and did not own property. Others waited until death to receive consolamentum. Cathars claimed access to secret teachings of Christ.

The Cathari were clearly beyond the bounds of orthodoxy. They were ancient Gnostics in medieval garb. The Church met with this threat with preaching and persecution (the Albigensian Crusade). The Dominicans were prominent in preaching to the Cathars and in persecuting them (i.e. they staffed the Inquisition).

§2-528. Waldenses—The Waldenses were followers of Peter Waldo. Waldo was a wealthy merchant moved by reading the gospel in 1170 that he gave his property away after making provision for his family and devoted himself to poverty and to preaching the gospel. The group that gathered around him, the Poor Men of Lyons, were allowed to preach and worship as they chose for a while. When the Archbishop of Lyons refused to allow Waldo and his followers to continue to preach, Waldo refused to

heed the archbishop and was excommunicated. The group, which was what we would now consider evangelical, was declared heretical at the Council of Verona in 1184.

The Waldenses' basic belief was the ultimate authority of the Scripture to the life and practice of the Church. They rejected the Church's claim that only ordained folks could preach and rejected Roman Catholic understanding that the sacraments were necessary for salvation. They denied purgatory, the efficacy of prayers for the dead through Church auspices, most holy days and other such "sacred externals". Repressed, they survived in hiding in a variety of mountainous areas and joined the

Protestant Reformation in the 16th century.

§2-529. Dominicans and the Inquisition—In the midst of this struggle against heretics, Roman Catholic Church established two great orders of mendicant friars, Dominicans and the Franciscans. Dominic Guzman (1172-1221) founded the Dominicans. They emphasized higher education and produced the likes of Albert Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. They became the Pope's "theology guys." They initially preached against the Cathars and the Waldenses and then later staffed the Pope's Inquisition against these and other questionable groups.

The cruelest and most ruthless expression of this persecutorial spirit was the Spanish Inquisition. This tribunal, formed in 1479 by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain (then Aragon and Castile), tortured, burned, and exiled thousands of Muslims, Jews, and Christians they deemed heretics. The result was a religiously monolithic culture that lost the dynamism of late medieval Spain.

§2-530. Franciscans—The Franciscans valued service over education and aimed at ministering to the needy rather than winning theological debates or staffing organized persecutions. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) was their charismatic founder. He dedicated himself to preaching, poverty, the imitation of Christ's love, and to complete obedience to the Church. Innocent III recognized the order in 1210.

Franciscans ministered effectively in towns and exploded in numbers in the 13th century. The Poor Clares, a sister order, was founded by Clare of Assisi (1194-1253). After Francis' death, there was much conflict between those who wanted strict adherence to Francis' rule and vows of poverty (the Spirituals) and those that wanted to recognize realities and modify things a bit (Conventuals).

The Franciscans popularized the Stations of the Cross (focusing on fourteen events along the Via Dolorosa). Their greatest service may have been that they offered good reasons to believe the Christian ideal was alive and was not forgotten in an age where Church practice was slovenly, corrupt, and was widely ridiculed.

§2-531. Wycliffe and Hus—These men were forerunners of the Reformation. John Hus was a disciple of John Wycliffe and popularized his ideas in Bohemia, what is now the Czech Republic and Hungary. These men emphasized the priesthood of all believers and were critical of the elaborate ritual of the Church of their day. They challenged a range of medieval beliefs including indulgences, papal pardons, pilgrimages to shrines, the worship of images, the veneration of the saints and Mary, the treasury of merit, the distinction between mortal and venial sins, and the doctrine of transubstantiation. Above all, they argued for the authority of Scripture and for a return of Church practice to those standards rather than the rituals dictated by tradition. They had a different understanding of the Church itself. The Church was not an elaborate organization whose pinnacle was the papacy but consisted of every person called by God to faith in Christ.

D.   Mystics and Mysticism

§2-536. Generally—Not only had the Church leaders lost touch with the people's needs, so had the Scholastic theologians. The later Scholastics increasingly argued about abstract, even hypothetical,

questions which seemed utterly irrelevant. The people were ready to look past the pinheads as well as the power pundits.

Mysticism was one of the remarkable expressions of Christian vitality in the late Middle Ages. This was something of a medieval turn to a faith rooted in personal experience rather than formal ritual or scholastic dogma. The mystics claimed that God can be known at levels of experience far above those to which the intellect can rise. They sought God's face and wrote frankly of their experiences.

Several individual mystics had great personal influence. Catherine of Siena and others carried on extensive correspondence with popes and bishops and other influential people of the day. See Key Figures for brief descriptions of the careers of these people.

§2-537. Dutch mystical tradition; Devotio moderna—A movement of special note was the Dutch mystical tradition. This began with Jan van Ruysbroeck (1293-1381), a Flemish priest who founded a religious community of contemplatives. He emphasized the transformation of the soul by divine love and was criticized for pantheism due to his description of the soul's union with God. This drew theological censureship, as did Meister Eckhart, a contemporary of van Ruysbroeck.

Ruysbroeck influenced Gerard Goote (1340-1384) and Florentius Radewijns (1350-1400) who longed for a simple Christianity uncomplicated by elaborate dogma and ritual. They thought that the best life was one that combined mystic contemplation with service to others. They denounced clerical corruption and sought to combine serious study with mystical devotion to Christ. They founded three communities—Lay Sisters and the Brothers of the Common Life at Deventer and the monastic community at Wildesheim based on Augustine's rule. The life practice at these three communities became known as the *devotio moderna*. Thomas a Kempis (1380-1471), the author of the *Imitation of Christ*, was representative of these people. His devotional is the most widely read devotional in the history of Christianity.

§2-538. Observations about the late medieval mystics—Three observations in particular stand out:
- They represented an emphasis on an experiential faith. The mystic phenomena was a reaction against the highly institutional Church of the day and represented the deep and widely shared desire for a more personal experience of God than what formal worship allowed.
- They took spiritual paths outside of those sanctioned by the Church. This represented significant risk to them. Eckhart was reprimanded after his death, but others paid with their lives. However, this spiritual free-lancing (as the institutional Church looked at it) served as a precedent for later developments when internal reforms in the Church stalled.
- They were writers. The publication of mystical works and devotionals created a trend that was going to continue, making religious literature available in the vernacular to ordinary people as well as to clerics and scholars.

§2-539. Influence of the mystics; Joan of Arc—Mysticism had a remarkable influence on common people. Joan of Arc, the great heroine of France, was one young mystic who placed her mystical experiences in a highly politicized context. She started hearing voices around 1425 that she believed were Michael the Archangel and two of the saints who were commanding her to throw the English out of France. She managed to convince a French prince to allow her, a young peasant woman of nineteen years, to lead an attack on the besieged town of Orleans. She led the French forces to a resounding victory that marked the final turning of the tide in the Hundred Years War.

Her end was also characteristic of this age. She was wounded and captured by the English in 1430. The fickle prince she had led to the French crown did not want to acknowledge that he owed his throne to a peasant girl, so he refused to ransom her. The English subjected her to an ecclesiastical trial, the

Inquisition condemned her as a heretic, had her savagely tortured, and burned at the stake. Twenty-five years later, a corrupt Renaissance pope admitted that the Inquisition had unjustly condemned Joan to death.

E.   Social Unrest

§2-541. Generally—Plague, famine, climate change, incessant war, and labor scarcity led to civil unrest across Western Europe. Economic depression affected all levels of society. Nobles struggled to maintain their estates and their social status, peasants struggled to survive amid higher taxes that paid for wars that devastated their families and lands and added to the economic decline. Urban areas exhibited the effects of depopulation and economic dislocation.

§2-542. Black Death—Pandemic hit Europe. Between 1347 and 1351, one-third or more of Europe's population died. The plague recurred nearly every decade for several centuries. By 1450, Europe's population was about one-half of what it had been in 1300. Authors like Boccaccio and Petrarch and others described the horror and despair of the day.

The Flagellant movement arose seeing the plague as God's judgment. Pogroms were unleashed against the Jews as terrified people lashed out as scapegoats. The Jews fled to Eastern Europe. The Church was devastated by the loss of priests and monks. Monasteries and church property were sacked by thugs, lands were seized by freebooters, and spiritual communities simply disintegrated.

The Black Death was a horrible plague. The people afflicted had dark spots swell between their legs and beneath their arms. These oozed black blood and putrid pus. As victims died they often experienced breathing fits that sounded like sneezing. People took to filling their pockets with fragrant flowers to mask the stench of death all around them. The nursery captured the scene:

> Ring around the rosie, pockets full of posie
> Achoo! Achoo! We all fall down.

Between 1347 and 1351, one-third or more of all Europeans died, in excess of twenty-five million people. In Paris for a time, almost one thousand people died daily. One Italian city lost 84% of its population. Constantinople lost 88%. These numbers (earnest scholarly estimates) are so fantastic that I hesitant to use them – I cannot believe it!

The church failed to meet people's needs. The ecclesiastical types retreated to the country and their luxurious manors. The people responded in a variety of ways. Some people partied. Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die. Others saw the plague as a judgment from God and begged God for forgiveness in elaborate shows of penance. The so-called flagellants were quite over the top in their practices at this time. Still others lashed out blaming the infidel for the plague. Jewish communities were butchered and their property burned by "good Christian people."

§2-543. Famine and climate change—This often goes without comment in histories of the period. Climate experts think that Europe experienced a warming trend from 800-1200, after which the climate cooled, shortening the growing season. During the 800-1200 span, Europe's agricultural output nearly doubled due to the warmer seasons, the clearing of forests for increased acreage to plant, and some technological advances. These advances included the heavy iron plow that was so useful in cultivating the heavy soils of northern Europe, the padded horse collar allowing medieval farmers to utilize horses as well as oxen during plowing seasons, water mills which harnessed an inanimate source of energy to do the difficult work of grinding grain, and the three field (instead of two field) planting system which helped increase acreage under cultivation. As a result of these and other improvements, Europe's population grew and its economic circumstances improved from Charlemagne's time through the High Middle Ages.

Beginning with the Late Middle Ages, this began to change. The climate cooled substantially and this affected agricultural output. We have records of severe famine in northern Europe circa 1315 and the years following. The available forests had already been cleared so there was no longer a ready avenue to increase acreage available for cultivation. The technological advances failed to improve production enough to offset shorter seasons and the inability to expand acreage under cultivation.

Famine combined with plague and other factors in this era led to depopulation. Europe's population possibly doubled in the time between Charlemagne and the end of the High Middle Ages. There was a sense of growth and optimism. In the Late Middle Ages, Europe entered a steep decline. Demographic experts estimate that the continent's population in 1450 was half what it had been before the onset of the Black Plague in 1347. This demographic and economic freefall had devastating consequences to social stability and to the European mindset during this age.

§2-544. The Hundred Years War (1337-1453) dragged on intermittently between England and France, two of Western Europe's most powerful states. This was a fight for the succession of the French crown, whose roots went back to the Norman conquest of England in 1066. In 1328, the Capetian dynasty in France (987-1328) died out. Philip of Valois and Edward III of England both had strong claims to the French throne. Philip was chosen as Philip VI, and war broke brought out nine years later due to petty quarreling whose real roots were in this essential rivalry. The war was fought in four stages:

- 1337-1360—This phase was a resounding English success. They won smashing victories at Crecy (1346) and Poitiers (1356) and concluded a very favorable peace with the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360.
- 1369-1396—During this phase, the French regained nearly everything they lost in the first phase. However, the truce signed in 1396, left the essential issues undecided. The English still made claims to the French throne and still had a toehold in the prosperous province of Aquitaine.
- 1413-1422—Henry V revived the claim of the English kings, invaded France again, and won a smashing victory at Agincourt (1415). English victories continued until the Treaty of Troyes in 1420 recognized Henry's claims to the throne. He was designated the successor to the aged Charles VI of France. The French reneged on this deal when Henry V died in the same year as Charles VI (1422) and his claims were asserted in favor of his infant son.
- 1429-1453—Joan of Arc's heroics rallied the French at the beginning of this fourth and final stage. The war ended when the French pushed the English out of their last stronghold on the continent at Calais in 1453.

The war brought enormous stress and suffering to both countries. Taxes soared. There was widespread destruction. The Church often attempted to mediate the dispute and repeatedly failed. The embarrassment of Christians slaughtering Christians in a barbaric fashion went on decade after decade.

An essential English tactic throughout the first phase of the war was one of hit-and-run raids known as *chevauchees*. A typical *chevauchee* would consist of a fast-moving, small English army that would sweep through French territory and destroy everything and everyone in its way. The impact on defenseless peasants was enormous and exceedingly cruel. Of course, the French were motivated to return this in kind.

The privileges of the nobility of both nations were subtly undermined. Those privileges were based on military service and the reality that the mounted knight ruled the battlefield. The Hundred Years War demonstrated that that reality was changing. The key to the spectacular English victories at Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt were the English archers. They were yeoman who yielded the longbow with expertise. The French nobility could arrogantly scoff at the unmanly practice of killing at a distance, but the reality was that this projectile weapon had advanced in power and accuracy to command a shift

in battlefield tactics. The implications of that were not lost on regular folks.

In addition, the length and intensity of the war proved the old feudal arrangements were no longer adequate. Those involved an exchange of land for military service, usually pegged at forty days a year. But this war demanded far more than that and both the French and English monarchs began to rely on armies they had to pay. Nobles increasingly substituted "shield money" for service requirements where they paid for retinues to serve the king rather than fight themselves.

Yet it was the French peasantry who groaned under taxes to random captive kings and nobles. It was the peasantry who were slaughtered by *chevauchees* while their feudal betters, whose privileges were based on their ability to provide protection in an insecure age, sat safely in their castles and did little to protect the peasants they were exploiting.

§2-545. Peasant uprisings—This led to peasant revolts in both lands. In 1357, Etienne Marcel led the Parisians in an insurrection against the royal government. The mob held Paris for months, keeping the dauphin (the heir to the thrine) hostage. The dauphin escaped, rallied his support, and returned, besieged, and retook Paris in 1358.

Following this uprising, there was a brief, but very violent, uprising in an extensive region around Paris. This was known as the *Jacquerie*, deriving its name from Jacques Bonhomme, a generic term for the French peasant. The equivalent in our culture today is "Joe Sixpack" or "John Q. Public." Following the debacle at Poitiers in 1356, the French king and many nobles, having hit up the peasants for money to fund massive ransoms, had the gall to demand extra feudal work services to rebuild their castles and restore their lands. This new demand came in the immediate aftermath of the first great wave of the Black Plague which hit Europe in 1348-1351. That plague had disproportionately hit the peasantry (while the nobles retired to their castles and manor houses). The peasants were routed at Meaux and the revolt was cruelly crushed. Tens of thousands of peasants lost their lives.

England experienced a similar revolt during the second phase of the Hundred Years War, during which the English had suffered defeats. The Peasants Revolt of 1381 was rooted in the same kind of abuses that infuriated the French peasants. The peasants killed English tax collectors in an uprising protesting excessive war taxes and other inequities. It met the same kind of reprisal as in France and was cruelly suppressed.

It was not just in England and France that the ire of the "regular Joe" stirred. In Italy there was urban unrest among the underprivileged in the great commercial centers there. The most famous was the revolt of the Ciompi in Florence (1378-1382). There the artisans rebelled against the inequitable economic norms that favored the great merchants. The Black Death had hit the Italian cities hard and had exacerbated the unfair economics in the cities. The artisans and unskilled laborers seized control of Florence and kept control for four years. It was their own infighting that did them in. They failed to deal equitably with one another.

Because the Church was closely tied to the feudal system, it also faced hardship during periods of social upheaval. For example, the turning point of the Peasants' Revolt in England was when the peasants went after and killed the biggest tax collector of them, Simon Sudbury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Simon just happened to be the Archbishop of Canterbury as well. This type of arrangement was common across Europe. The Church was closely associated with the feudal order and the injustices inherent within it.

F.   Theological Fragmentation

§2-546. Realism/nominalism—Realism held that earthly society reflected a divinely-ordained order of

spiritual ideals or universals. This was the mindset of the scholastics of the High Middle Ages. Doubts arose in an age of pandemic plague, incessant and prolonged war, depopulation, and economic decline. Nominalism became an increasingly popular belief, arguing that universals were not created by God but were simply names people used to classify and comprehend groups of things. This shift is clearly seen in the thought of Duns Scotus and William Ockham.

§2-547. John Duns Scotus (1265-1308)—Aquinas seemed to imply that God was bound by His own laws of reason. Scotus emphasized God's total freedom of will over His rationality. Aquinas had concluded that God wills what is good; Scotus concluded that whatever God wills is good. Scotus argued for the freedom of human will as against Augustine's doctrine of total depravity. Also, Scotus said that God could have saved humanity anyway He chose. The incarnation and crucifixion happened because God willed to demonstrate His love that way. This line of thought was similar to that of Peter Abelard two centuries earlier. Scotus also said that reason can provide some knowledge of God, but we are better off focusing on what God has willed to do in the past and accept by faith the truths of Scripture.

§2-548. William Ockham (1285-1349)—Ockham assailed scholasticism and was severely critical of the Papacy. He claimed the Pope had no authority over secular affairs, and, even in spiritual affairs, only the Bible offered the Christian an infallible authority. He was imprisoned at Avignon, escaped to Bavaria, and took refuge at the court of Louis IV of France.

His nominalism impacted salvation doctrine. He did not ascribe to theories of how Christ's work affected all of humankind. Salvation depended on what God willed to do in individual cases. He emphasized God's choice and human works, salvation dependent on Christ's sacrifice and God's elective choice, but emphasized good works as human partnership with God in contributing to one's own salvation.

He rejected universals. While he developed explanations for certain Church tenets, he held that they had to be accepted by faith alone. Our senses do not provide us with empirical evidence of God or of any transcendent truth. He deemed the scholastic project of harmonizing faith and reason an impossibility.

§2-549. Theology and political theory—Church's political claims embedded in the medieval version of Christendom came increasingly under attack. Many people urged the dismantling of the doctrine that temporal rulers received their authority from the Pope. This occurred as early as 1302 in the writing of John of Paris. About a decade later, in the work *On Monarchy*, Dante asserted that temporal authority came from God, not the Pope. The Pope and king were on equal footing.

Marsilius of Padua went further in *Defender of Peace* in 1324. He asserted that the Church had important spiritual responsibilities but no secular authority. He argued for the elimination of ecclesiastical properties and insisted that clerics should take and live by a vow of poverty. He urged that the Church be ruled by Councils and assailed the Papacy for elevating itself over other bishops, presuming to define doctrine alone, and to create its own ecclesiastical laws. He was the forerunner of the conciliar movement.

G.   Effects of the Rise of Capitalism and the Dawn of the Age of Discovery

§2-551. Generally—The economic life of early medieval Europe was largely local, undeveloped, and agrarian-based. There were few entrepreneurial enterprises and the Church honed its teaching to support the agrarian economic model. It discouraged the development of capital, prohibited usury (lending at an excessive rate of interest or, it some instances, at any rate of interest), and railed against greed, which had the effect of demonizing the profit motive altogether.

§2-552. Growth of merchant class—The High and Late Middle Ages saw the growth of the merchant class, especially in the Italian city-states and in the towns of northern Europe. The Crusades were a boon to the growth of European commerce with the larger world. This commerce accelerated greatly after the fall of Constantinople to the crusaders in 1204, since the net commercial effect of that tragic event was the replacement of Constantinople with the Italian city-states, especially Venice and Genoa, as Europe's commercial hub. Profits rolled in and many in these cities found that the business of investment and managing investments were even more lucrative than the commercial ventures themselves. Soon the Italian city-states became the bankers of Europe, and the capital base of Europe grew exponentially.

§2-553. Age of discovery—Investment opportunities abounded. In the Late Middle Ages, merchants in Spain, Portugal, England, and France hoped to bypass Muslim and Italian middlemen by discovering direct routes to profitable trading partners in the East. Portugal's Vasco de Gama discovered a sailing route around the southern tip of Africa in 1498, opening the Indian Ocean to Portuguese merchants. Columbus's discovery of America in 1492, financed by Spain, was an attempt to get to profitable Eastern trading partners by sailing west (grossly underestimating the distances involved).

The dawning Age of Discovery was fueled by the enormous profits that could be made at the expense of inhabitants of lands overseas and drove western imperialism as European nations conquered foreign lands and exploited them as colonies. Preaching the gospel to these exploited peoples was used as a reason that excused behavior that soiled the name of Christ.

§2-554. Waning of feudal arrangements—In rural areas, this age witnessed the gradual disappearance of the manorial system as nobles found it more advantageous to rent their lands to the growing number of free peasants than to farm the land themselves relying on the forced labor of serfs. The symbol of feudalism (the landowning lord) became a capitalistic landowner living on rents paid in money.

These developments fueled social change. For centuries, Europe had enjoyed a stable social order built around three groups: those who fought (the nobles); those who prayed (the priests and monks); and those who worked the land (the peasants and serfs). The Church had frequently endorsed this social order, and it had been seen as expressing God's divine purpose. The rise of merchants and artisans, who matched nobles in both prosperity and status, demonstrated that social hierarchy during the early Middle Ages was not ordained or unchangeable.

This emerging capitalistic class also allowed European rulers an opportunity to harness the financial resources to develop stronger central governments. The new class welcomed the stronger central government and social order as good for business. It also got them out from under the burdensome and antiquated feudal system. The Church benefited from these feudal customs and thus was seen as a problem by both the rulers and the entrepreneurial class.

H.   Renaissance

§2-556. Generally—The Renaissance emphasized human worth and dignity, not medieval notions of depravity and helplessness. The people of the Renaissance longed to restore the classical heritage of Greece and Rome. The movement took different emphases in Italy and in northern Europe.

§2-557. In Italy—In Italy, the Renaissance witnessed the continued rise of the Italian city-states whose prominence was driven by commerce and the wealth generated by trade. The great merchants controlled industry and commerce and found themselves increasingly involved in high finance. In the Late Middle Ages, Italy was the banker of Europe.

Italian politics reflected these economic realities. The Italian city-states got upper hand with Papacy

and steadily weakened the imperial power of the Holy Roman Empire. By the fifteenth century, five major powers—Venice, Milan, Florence, Naples, and the Papal States—held sway over Italian politics.

It was a time where the intellectual and cultural life of Italy thrived and was promoted by the wealthy families. Social position was based increasingly on wealth and culture rather than on birth lineage. Educated urban laity emerged in the cities accompanied by the growth of secularism in urban culture, especially among upper classes.

There was a revival of interest in ancient languages and in the humanities. Renaissance writers called themselves humanists because they focused on practical human action rather than on the categories of scholastic logic. Renaissance humanism was expressed in glorious artistic works on Christian themes as well as in the bawdy tales of Boccaccio (1313-1375) in *Decameron* and the power politics of Machiavelli (1469-1527).

The focus of the age was on the nobility of human nature as emphasized *Orations on the Dignity* of *Man* by Pico della Mirandola (1486). Cities adorned themselves with art and architecture that proclaimed the goodness and beauty of both God, man, and creation. Stress was placed on the restoration and imitation of the classics in literature.

Art moved away from Gothic themes to naturalism. Humanity was the subject of the great painters like Giotto and Fra Angelico as well as for the great sculptors like Michaelangelo (1475-1564). Renaissance also had a critical mindset as demonstrated by Lorenzo Valla, who proved that the *Donation of Constantine* was a fraud and that the Apostle's Creed did not go back to the apostles themselves.

§2-558. In Northern Europe— The Renaissance arrived later and was less pronounced than in Italy, though it was motivated by similar factors and unfolded in much the same way. Political power followed economic gains made through commerce. Netherlands, England, and France arose to compete with the Italian cities for wealth, commerce, and political muscle. As in Italy, northern humanism fostered the growth of an educated laity, monarchial politics, anti-clerical secularism, and the growth of a non-institutional lay piety.

The Renaissance tended to be less secular in the north. Reuchlin (1455-1522) and other scholars brought the study of classical literature, Greek, and Hebrew to the fore in the universities. Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) wrote *Utopia*, casting a vision of the ideal society based on human work and wisdom as well as on religion. In the North, humanist priorities took a literary bent, returning to the ancient texts, investigation of the errors in the Latin Vulgate, rejection of allegorical interpretation of Scripture, and stressed morals over dogma.

The greatest of the northern humanists was Erasmus (1466-1536). He critically edited the Greek New Testament (known as the Textus Receptus) and translated it into Latin. He wrote *In Praise of Folly* where he lampooned superstition and foolishness in contemporary society. He believed that the key to changing society was in education based on humanistic ideals and Christian virtues focused on the Bible and the classics. At first, he was attracted to Luther; however, he later decided that Luther was just as rigid in his beliefs as the established Church.

§2-559. Impact of the printing press—With the fall of Constantinople, Eastern scholars fled to the West with the classical texts and the ancient Greek and Latin manuscripts of the Bible. Christian humanists began to read the Bible again and read it in the original languages thanks to the availability of the texts. This new explosion of interest in Scriptural study was aided by the invention of the printing press. In 1453, Johann Gutenberg discovered how to mold movable metal type and incorporate this type into pressing mechanism. Suddenly, Europeans had the ability to mass produce books! The popes gravitated to the revival of the arts encouraged by the Renaissance and took an interest in the

renewal of the Greek and Latin classics. But they did not follow up on the revival of Scriptural interest. A telling oversight!

I. Renaissance Popes

§2-561. Generally—This is an umbrella term for the popes of the mid-15th century to the early 16th century, from Nicholas V (1447-1455) to Leo X (1513-1521). The Renaissance popes cared nothing about reform and little more about church business. Devoted to power and pleasure, they ignored, suppressed, and sabotaged efforts at institutional change.

The early Renaissance popes stymied the conciliar movement's efforts at reform. When successful, they thought that was the end of this "reform thing" and went back to business as usual. They busied themselves with the collection of revenue, with Italian politics, and with the patronage of the arts. They became embroiled in political intrigue inside and outside the Church.

Financial and political corruption, gross immorality, and nepotism reached its highest level under Alexander VI (1492-1503). His successor, Julian II, was more soldier than priest. Leo X (1513-1521), the pope when Luther nailed his 95 Theses to the door of Wittenberg Cathedral, was the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent of Florence and had little interest in his papal duties. When elected pope, he remarked "God has given us the papacy—now let us enjoy it!" What follows is a brief run-down of these popes.

§2-562. Nicholas V (1447-1455)—The rebuilding of Rome and making it a cultural and intellectual center were his top priorities. He spent enormous sums garnered from all corners of Europe on the walls, gates, fountains, and squares of the city of Rome.

§2-563. Calixtus III (1455-1458)—He attempted to organize a crusade against the Turks. He was the father of the infamous Borgia family who dominated Italian politics in the mid to late 15th century. He carried on an extensive and blatant campaign of papal nepotism.

§2-564. Sixtus IV (1471-1484)—Former head of the Franciscans, he outdid all in nepotism and reckless simony. He was deeply involved in bloody family feuds. He sponsored an outrageous tax on grain that financed expensive art projects like the Sistine Chapel and all but starved the poor people of Rome.

§2-565. Innocent VIII (1484-1492)—He continued the pattern of selling church offices and indulgences which funded Rome's construction projects.

§2-566. Alexander VI (1492-1503)—Rodrigo Borgia (Alexander VI's real name) was king of the dirt-balls. He bought his election as pope with bribes to the cardinals and scandalized an already jaded Rome with his immorality. He sold the office of cardinal to high bidders, confiscated their estates upon death, granted divorces or political deals for money, supported several mistresses and proudly acknowledged his illegitimate children. His favorite bastard (both literally and as a personality) Cesare Borgia, was made a cardinal in his teens and was the ruthless servant of Papal political interests. Cesare was said to be the subject of Machiavelli's *The Prince*.

§2-567. Julian II (1503-1513)—Easily the most warlike of the popes, he was constantly fighting throughout his pontificate. The young Erasmus, studying in Italy at the time, witnessed the grand entrance into Bologna of the victorious Pope Julius II. He was reported to have muttered: ``Whose successor is this? Julius Caesar's or Jesus Christ's?''

Julian was also a great sponsor of the arts. He was the patron of Michelangelo and Raphael and began the rebuilding of St. Peter's Basilica. He was the pope portrayed by Rex Harrison in the movie *The Agony and the Ecstasy*. He was always in need of money and expanded the corrupt practices of the

time in whatever way proved profitable.

§2-568. Leo X (1513-1521)—Giovanni De Medici, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, had little interest in his papal duties. He was a lover and patron of the arts and was endlessly scrounging for money. Martin Luther objected to the papal funding demands and the sale of indulgences which launched the Reformation in 1517. Leo underestimated the danger there. He never understood that all Europe was fed up.

J.   Eastern Orthodoxy—

§2-571. Generally—The 11th through the 15th centuries witnessed three significant developments for Eastern Orthodoxy:
- the break with Rome in 1054;
- the gradual decline and final collapse of the Byzantine Empire with the fall of Constantinople in 1453; and
- the rise of Orthodoxy in Russia.

§2-572. Break with Rome—People often stress "little conflicts," such as the filioque controversy, clerical celibacy, liturgical differences, what sort of bread to use in the Eucharist, that contributed to the breach between the Eastern and Western churches. However, the most important problems were power claims and territory infringement; claims by the popes to be supreme and the western encroachment on Byzantine territory.

Norman conquests in southern Italy and their subsequent invasion of the Balkans certainly soured relations. Cardinal Humbert's incredible tactlessness and arrogant power claims during the crisis of 1054 did not help matters. But the crowning blow was the Crusader sack of Constantinople in 1204. Not only did the Crusaders carry away the collected wealth of centuries from that storied city but they also unleashed a bloodbath on their fellow believers. After this sorry episode, mediation between the two sides consistently failed. In 1261, Emperor Michael Palaeologus sought western help and in 1274, agreed to reunion at the Council of Lyons. However, the laity in the East would have nothing to do with their Western counterparts. The same kind of thing happened at Council of Florence in 1439.

§2-573. Fall of Constantinople—The former "Queen of Cities" fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. The Orthodox Church were "people of the book" in the eyes of the Ottoman sultan. The arrangement that resulted was that the patriarch was solely responsible for Orthodoxy before the sultan. It consolidated his power but also magnified his danger because he was accountable for Orthodoxy everywhere in the Ottoman realm. Christians purchased a limited freedom by paying the Muslim head tax, were required to wear distinctive clothing, rarely allowed to build new churches or make improvements, and were forbidden to evangelize.

The Ottomans were the most recent version of Muslim empire in the Middle East. They were founded by a 14th century warrior, Othman, and were centered in what is now Turkey. Prior to the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, Eastern scholars fled to Europe with a treasure trove of ancient documents. That exodus helped trigger the Renaissance in Italy and in the rest of Europe.

The decisive battle for Constantinople was a heroic defense by a tiny force holding the great walls against an overwhelmingly superior Muslim army. The night before the final assault, the defenders gathered for a worship service at Hagia Sophia. Even the Roman Catholic bishops forgot their ancient schism and joined their Orthodox brethren for a communion service, the last one celebrated in Justinian's ancient edifice. The next day, the Muslims conquered the city, the emperor dying in the thick of the fray where the walls were breached. Hagia Sophia became a mosque until the 1930s when

it became a museum, known as Aya Sofya today.

§2-574. Rise of Russian Orthodoxy—The fall of Kiev to the Mongols in 1240, accelerated the rise of the Church in Russia. The Mongols demanded heavy tribute from the people but exempted the Church from it. The Church rose to a position of national and cultural leadership under the Mongols. Byzantine Christianity shaped Russian worship and piety. Russian monks adopted elements of Palestinian monasticism. Sections of the Bible and worship services were rendered in everyday language. Customs of tithing and of veneration of the saints were borrowed from the West.

The ideal of emptying oneself of pride, position, and self-interest, known as kenoticism from the Greek *kenosis* meaning emptying one's self, became one of the characteristic features of Russian monasticism. The monk, Theodosius, was the great 11th century exponent of this practice based on the famous passage in Philippians 2:5-11. Sergus of Radonezh (1314-1392) was also one of Russia's most beloved saints and a practitioner of radical humility.

Russian Orthodoxy promoted a sense of national identity. Monasteries promoted adoption of a common language and allegiance to rulers and served as intellectual centers where the only schools and libraries were found. The Church was also used as a political tool by such rulers as Ivan III who initially took the title of tsar (Caesar) claiming to be the successor to the Byzantine Empire after the fall of Constantinople. In Ivan's view, Moscow would now serve as the center of Orthodoxy and was declared the "third Rome". Caesaropapism, Byzantine style, was the assumed modus operandi.

K.   Beyond Europe

§2-576. Coptic and Ethiopian churches—The Coptics were and are a group in Egypt and Africa who dissented from the decisions at the Council of Chalcedon in favor of a moderate Monophysitism. The spread of Islam into northern Africa in the seventh century placed the Coptics in Egypt under the sway of the crescent and isolated them in Sudan and Ethiopia from the rest of the Christian world. By the tenth century, the relative tolerance of the Islamic rulers gave way to a set of severe restrictions on Christians that made it illegal for Christians to preach to Muslims, display Christian symbols, or to "interfere" in the general society's practice of Islam in any way. During the High and Late Middle Ages, Egyptian Christians were subject to alternating periods of uncertain peace and violent repression.

The Ethiopian Church had strong historical and doctrinal ties to the Coptics. Legend has it that the faith was brought to Ethiopia by the Ethiopian eunuch, whose conversion is described in Acts 8:26-40. Whether or not this was true, Christianity was well established in that land by the 4th century. Isolated by the Islamic advance in the seventh century, we know little of what took place until the 13th century, other than a flourishing monastic movement successfully encouraged the growth of the faith and the building of churches. By the 15th century, the Ethiopian church was vigorous enough to send delegates to the Council of Florence (circa 1439).

§2-577. Monophysites in Syria, Armenia, and beyond – These Monophysites survived foreign rule and persecution under Byzantine, Islamic, and Mongol rulers. History knows the Syrian Monophysites as Jacobites, a name taken from Jacob Baradeus, a sixth century bishop who traveled widely and encouraged the Syrian congregations in the face of the Orthodox Byzantine persecutions. A tiny minority, they survived this and periodic Islamic repression due to the dedicated leadership of successive patriarchs in Antioch, a strong monastic tradition, and translations of Scripture and liturgy into their native Syriac. The Jacobites kept in close communion with the Coptic churches. In addition, several Jacobite churches were founded in southern India and claimed to trace their roots to the Apostle Thomas, who tradition says was martyred near Madras.

In Armenia, the Monophysites followed Syrian influence in rejecting the edicts of the Council of Chalcedon for religious and cultural reasons. Their religious convictions were reinforced by a desire to remain free of the Byzantine state. Thus, Byzantine Caesaropapism was a large factor in their religious affiliation.

The Monophysites survived Islamic domination in the 7th to 9th centuries, building schools and monasteries where possible and producing a body of literature that was quite impressive given their restrictive circumstances. In the High and Late Middle Ages, they continued to endure through periods of Arab, Mongol, and Turkish domination.

§2-578. Nestorians take their name from Nestorius, the bishop condemned for his alleged view of the separation of the human and divine nature of Christ at the Council of Ephesus in 431. They endured opposition and persecution from Byzantine authorities from the 5th to the 7th century. Most of them fled from the Empire by the end of the 5th century and settled in Persia. They endured the hostility of the Zoroastrian Persians until the Islam conquests of the 7th century. Their situation improved under Muslim domination, and they were granted a limited legal standing and a greater measure of religious freedom. In the High and Late Middle Ages, they launched missionary campaigns eastward, reaching as far as Mongolia and China.

## III.	Key Figures

### A.	Reformers

§2-581. John Wycliffe (1320-1384) was a philosophy and theology professor at Oxford whose thought reflected the growth of English anti-clericalism in the 14th century. He is known as the "Morningstar of the Reformation" for his ideas reflected what was to come. He started by supporting a greater role for the civil authority in removing property from immoral clerics. He argued that the English government could correct church abuses and should take the offices away from unworthy clerics and even seize church property. He sought a dominion founded on grace, where God gave no lordship to His servants without first giving Himself to them. Priest and laity were equal before God; a personal relationship with God was everything. Character is the necessary badge of office. In a work published in 1378, at the time of the Papal Schism, Wycliffe asserted that the Papacy had departed from the simple apostolic faith.

He wanted to completely restructure the Church hierarchy, emphasizing the priesthood of all believers, and criticizing the elaborate ritual of the Church of his day. Wycliffe challenged a range of medieval beliefs including indulgences, papal pardons, pilgrimages to shrines, the worship of images, the veneration of the saints and Mary, the treasury of merit, the distinction between mortal and venial sins, and the doctrine of transubstantiation. Above all, he argued for the authority of Scripture and for a return of Church practice to those standards rather than the rituals dictated by tradition. He had a different understanding of the Church itself. The Church, for Wycliffe, was not an elaborate organization whose pinnacle was the papacy, but consisted of every person called by God to faith in Christ. This was the precursor of the Reformation idea of the church.

Wycliffe's major works were *On the Church* (1377) and *On the Authority of Sacred Scriptures* (1378). He was condemned and expelled from Oxford. His followers spread rapidly in England and Scotland. He was posthumously declared a heretic at the Council of Florence and his bones exhumed and burned.

Wycliffe's followers were known as "Poor Preachers" by their friends and ``Lollards'' by their enemies. The derivation of the latter name is problematical. It may come from the Dutch word for "mumblers"

or the Latin word for "darnel weeds", neither complimentary. They translated the Bible into the vernacular, a project started by Nicholas of Hereford and completed by John Purvey. By 1401, the Lollards were being hunted down and burned at the stake. By 1407, the English government, bowing to the influence of the Church, made it illegal to own a Bible without a license. By 1428, the Lollards were driven underground. They resurfaced as recruits for the Protestant Reformation.

§2-582. John Hus (1373-1415)—Bohemia and England were linked by royal marriage in 1383. Wycliffe's ideas were welcomed in Bohemia where John Hus gave them a voice. He served as both a priest and a professor at the University of Prague, where he was deeply influenced by Wycliffe's ideas. His work *On the Church* drew heavily on Wycliffe. He attacked the corruption of the Church in its practice of indulgences, as well attacking the cult of the saints, pilgrimages, and other popular devotional practices of the day. He stood for the superior authority of Scripture.

Hus was summoned to the Council of Constance and was granted safe passage by the Holy Roman emperor to appear. That pledge was ignored by the Council, Hus was condemned and burned at the stake in 1415. His prayer at the stake was noteworthy:

> O most holy Christ, draw me, weak as I am, after Thyself, for if Thou dost not draw us we cannot follow Thee. Strengthen my spirit, that it may be willing. If the flesh is weak, let thy grace preceded us; come between and follow, for without Thee we cannot go for Thy sake to cruel death. Give me a fearless heart, a right faith, a firm hope, a perfect love, that for Thy sake I may lay down my life with patience and joy. Amen.

B.   Mystics

§2-586. Meister Eckhart (1260-1327)—He understood God as the ground of all being, beyond categories yet everywhere present. He encouraged seeking out the innermost depths of one's soul, believing that only there could God truly be encountered. When that occurs, the soul is transformed into God by "begetting" of the Son there. After his death, twenty-eight of his propositions were declared heretical or misleading. Many were concerned about his perceived pantheism.

§2-587. Richard Rolle (1300-1349)—He was the primary figure of English mysticism in the first part of the 14th century. He was from a well-to-do family but embraced Lady Poverty, as Francis of Assisi had. Educated at Oxford and Paris, he fled the world, lived for a time as a hermit, and then spent his days alternating between solitude and service and giving spiritual counsel. He wrote extensively and translated the Psalms into English. He emphasized the individual's communion with God, a communion he conceived of happening primarily in solitude.

§2-588. Bridget of Sweden (1303-1373)—Born of the high aristocracy, she was the wife of a prominent noble, mother of eight children. Upon the death of her husband, she embarked on her mystical walk. She founded an order of mystics, the Bridgettines, and had numerous visions and revelations. She had organizing and administrative skills and was not the least reticent to give stinging rebukes to the honchos of her day. She even took the King of Sweden to task for onerous taxation and for injustice to the humble among his subjects.

§2-589. Catherine of Siena (1347-1380)—An anchorite commanded to go into the world and help the poor, she served the poor and sick amid episodes of the Black Plague. Advisor to many influential people, she served as something of a Christian ambassador in numerous situations. Her prestige at the time was immense. She persuaded Gregory XI to return the papacy to Rome. She carried on a huge correspondence with people ranging from rulers to literate peasants. Her spiritual journey is recorded in her work *Dialogue*.

§2-590. Julian of Norwich (1342-1416)—A famous English nun and mystic. She was a recluse who experienced certain revelations recorded in her work *Showings or Revelations of Divine Love*. Her primary theme was God's love. She used both masculine and feminine language to describe God.

§2-591. Margery Kempe (1373-1438)—Mother of fourteen who developed profound convictions and spoke of extraordinary experiences with God. Encouraged by Julian of Norwich, she was an outspoken critic of clergy and laity of her time and of the prevailing social norms.

D.   Theologians

§2-596. John Duns Scotus (1265-1308)—Aquinas seemed to imply that God was bound by His own laws of reason. Scotus emphasized God's total freedom of will over His rationality. Aquinas had concluded that God wills what is good; Scotus concluded that whatever God wills is good. Scotus argued for the freedom of human will as against Augustine's doctrine of total depravity. Also, Scotus said that God could have saved humanity anyway He chose. The incarnation and crucifixion happened because God willed to demonstrate His love that way. He also said that reason can provide some knowledge of God, but we are better off focusing on what God has willed to do in the past and accept by faith the truths of Scripture.

§2-597. William Ockham (1285-1349)—Ockham assailed scholasticism and severely criticized the Papacy. He claimed the Pope had no authority over secular affairs, and that, even in spiritual affairs, only the Bible offered the Christian an infallible authority. He was imprisoned at Avignon, escaped to Bavaria, and took refuge at the court of Louis IV of France.

His nominalism influenced salvation doctrine. He did not ascribe to theories of how Christ's work affected all of humankind. Salvation depended on what God willed to do in individual cases. He emphasized God's choice and human work. Salvation was dependent on Christ's sacrifice plus God's elective choice, but he emphasized good works as human partnership with God in contributing to one's own salvation.

He rejected universals and developed "Ockham's razor," that is the axiom that the best explanation of an event is the one that relies on the fewest assumptions. He held that reason cannot prove the truth of any Christian tenet, they had to be accepted by faith alone. He taught that our senses do not provide us with empirical evidence of God or of any transcendent truth. The scholastic project of harmonizing faith and reason was impossible.

§2-598. Erasmus (1466-1536) was the bastard son of an unwed teenager and a prurient priest. He longed to study Greek at a university but was unable because he was poor. Instead, he studied for the priesthood and came to the notice of his local bishop who sent him to the University of Paris to study Greek. This budding humanist went on to study Greek all over Europe. He critically edited the Greek New Testament (known as the *Textus Receptus*) and translated it into Latin. He wrote *In Praise of Folly* where he lampooned superstition and foolishness in contemporary society. He believed that the key to changing society was in education based on humanistic ideals and Christian virtues focused on the Bible and the classics. Initially attracted to Luther, he ultimately decided that the reformer was just as rigid in his beliefs as the established Church.

V.   Piety's Practice

§2-601. Parish life—Parish life reflected the low state of the Church at large. There was widespread corruption, a general breakdown of church pastoral care and moral fiber, and much financial pressure and mismanagement. The bishops and abbots shifted their focus from spiritual guidance to secular

concerns—the church was a gigantic landowner. The zeal and piety of the religious orders was eroding.

§2-602. Decline in monasticism and among secular clergy—Monasticism turned mediocre. Most complaints were about a slide, laxness, laziness, and mismanagement of the vast properties controlled by monasteries. Worldly influence grew with the number of retirements to monasteries and growing number of oblates (children committed to the care of the monks, who frequently stayed and became monks themselves). The monastic community was devastated by the plague. Monks grew discouraged and despondent. Monasteries were targeted and plundered by thugs.

The secular clergy followed their bishops in their preoccupation with the money trail. Absenteeism and pluralism (one person holding multiple sees) of bishops left the clergy unsupervised. Priestly faults were increasingly apparent, including a lack of theological or any education, exploitation of office for personal gain or family benefit, personal immorality, and fund-raising abuses.

§2-603. Pilgrimage; cult of saints and the virgin; indulgences—Formal worship for the laity came to be increasingly a matter of observation, not participation. The striking feature of popular piety of the day was the appeal of personal experience and the immediate experience of the benefits of belief.

Pilgrimages had been popular since the 3rd and 4th centuries when Christians started seeking out martyr tombs. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land were popular and the threat to them was one of the causes of the great response to the Crusades. Pilgrimages had various destinations. Three were most popular— Rome, Jerusalem, and a site in northwestern Spain.

The cult of the Saints and Mary grew in popularity. The pilgrimage business was frequently connected to shrines of saints or to those of Mary. The practice of praying to saints to intercede on behalf of the petitioner was common feature of popular piety. The most popular intercessory figure was that of Mary. Christ was seen as a cold, distant, judgmental figure in the popular imagination and Mary the ticket to His merciful, compassionate side.

Indulgences developed as spiritual supplemental insurance. Penance and absolution dealt with eternal punishments but did not extinguish temporal punishments for sin. These were subject to "the work of satisfaction," fasting, prayer, alms, pilgrimages etc. Penance unfinished during this life meant Purgatory in the next. Indulgences (sold for money) came to the rescue as the Church merchandised its Treasury of Merit. This practice became the flashpoint that set off the Protestant Reformation in 16th century.

§2-604. Mysticism and the religion of experience—Mystics were widely revered and mystical experiences were granted great credibility. The mystical phenomena is best understood as a hunger in popular piety for experiential religion. The three observations made earlier ought to be reiterated here: :
- The mystical phenomena suggests a reaction against the highly institutional Church of the day and the deep and widely shared desire for a more personal experience of God than what formal worship allowed.
- By taking spiritual paths outside of those sanctioned by the Church, the mystics took great risks of being censured by Church authorities. The practice provided a precedent that the Reformation would build upon.
- The publication of mystical works and devotionals created a trend that was going to continue, that of making religious literature available in the vernacular to ordinary people as well as to clerics and scholars.

VI.   Summary: Europe on the Eve of the Reformation

§2-606. Generally— The Late Middle Ages was the lull before the storm. Offices continued to be sold. Indulgences did a booming business. If you got out of line, the Inquisition was there to take care of your wrong opinions. Everything continued as if nothing was wrong.

§2-607. Stage set for the Reformation—The Protestant Reformation was one of the most complex movements in history, resulting from religious, moral, economic, political, and social causes. A minor theological debate over indulgences suddenly exploded exposing how unstable the late medieval context really was. "I perceive a certain fatal change in human affairs," wrote Erasmus, sensing the significance of the events unfolding around him.

§2-608. Religious causes—The religious causes for the Reformation developing throughout the Middle Ages summarized:

- Abuses in the Church—Many or most priests were theologically and biblically ignorant, the blind leading the blind. Many led scandalous lives. Ecclesiastical graft was widespread and extensive in operation, as was simony, absenteeism, sales of indulgences, relics, and other religious items. Abuse of popular piety abounded. Erasmus expressed his amazement at the amount of wood contained in the true cross, enough to build a ship or a whole fleet of them, by his estimate.
- Growing theological differences—There were two theological models in medieval Catholicism that were in tension with each other:
    - Augustinianism viewed human nature as depraved, making redemptive good works impossible. People are dependent on God's grace for their redemption and their deliverance from sin.
    - Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas and the scholastics viewed people as endowed by God with free will and the power to choose between good and evil. Aided by grace, people can make this choice. God's grace, mediated by the Church through the sacraments, provided a cradle to grave funnel, if you will, of God's grace for all of life's occasions.

    The Reformers returned to Augustine and focused on Paul's teaching on justification by faith. They turned away from the organized Church's ecclesiastical claims of monopoly on God's saving grace. They emphasized depravity (original sin), God's choice in predestination, the bondage of the human will, and the centrality of God's grace in Christ.
- Papal turn-off—Fiscal abuse, a series of lousy popes, the money-grubbing, the nepotism, and the entirely compromised position of the Papacy through the Babylonian Captivity and the Papal Schism had turned Europe off. Europeans saw the Papal office as a plaything of secular powers and an ecclesiastical prize for the power families of Italian politics.
- Mystics preferred personal connection with God, rejecting the medieval Church's formal rituals. For them, faith and practical piety rowed the boat of true religion, not sacraments and priestly rituals. In addition, the age saw the predecessors to the Reformers touch the primary themes of the Reformation:
    - Authority—the Bible over (or prior to) the Church;
    - Salvation—by faith, not by sacramental mediation;
    - Church—primarily organic not organizational; Christ's mystical body not His formal ecclesiastical structure;

- True spirituality was conceived along lines different than that of the medieval.

§2-609. Political causes— The political causes for the Reformation developing throughout the Middle Ages summarized:

- Growth of nationalism—Nation-states emerged to contend with the Papacy's power claims and vision of Christendom. Points of contention included:
  - Papal taxes and exemption from nation-state taxes;
  - Papal courts negating national court jurisdiction;
  - Italians utilizing Europe's resources for their own aggrandizement on religious pretenses;
  - Papal control over powerful offices in nation-states and extensive landholdings in various nation-states.
- Rise of absolute kings/rulers exacerbated the tension. Dual jurisdictional claims are particularly troubling to absolutists. They saw themselves as the lords of the various nation-states and were not interested in sharing power.

§2-610. Economic causes—The economic causes for the Reformation developing throughout the Middle Ages summarized:

- The desire to confiscate Church wealth. Philip IV of France was the first king to blatantly display this greedy, covetous desire, but others followed. The Church's landholdings in Europe were extensive. By some estimates, the Church owned one-third of the land in Germany and one-fifth of that in France. This was in addition to enormous hoards of portable wealth – gold, jewels, furnishings, etc.
- Papal fiscal dealings had tentacles all over Europe—various papal taxes and fees included mandatory tithes, fees for indulgences, dispensations, judicial decisions, annulments of marriages, annates or commission for entry into Church offices or property. The list went on and on. The net effect was a tremendous drain on national resources to a trans-national organization. It was a drain on Europe for the benefit of Italy. This was seen as particularly a drain on Germany where there was no central authority to challenge the authority claims of the Pope and his agents.
- The rise of the middle class opposed to the feudal privileges and oppressions of the nobility that the Church participated in to a great extent. The Church's entanglement in the feudal hierarchy made it increasingly suspect to the common people.
- Competitive capitalism challenged the Church's backing of static medieval guilds, extensive feudal manors with its system of oppressive fees, as well as its opposition to usury and speculation.

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