GENERAL
CHURCH HISTORY

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Chapter 1

History of Christianity

Ecclesiastical history is the scientific investigation and the methodical description of the temporal development of the Church considered as an institution founded by Jesus Christ and guided by the Holy Ghost for the salvation of mankind.

The annals of Christianity in its widest sense are occasionally dated from the creation of man, seeing that a Divine revelation was made to him from the beginning. However, since Christ is the founder of the perfect religion which derives from Him its name, and which He established as a free and independent association and a sublime common possession of the whole human race, the history of Christianity maybe more naturally taken to begin with the earthly life of the Son of God. The historian, however, must deal with the ages preceding this momentous period, in so far as they prepared mankind for the coming of Christ, and are a necessary elucidation of those factors which influenced the historical development of Christianity.

The external historical form of Christianity, viewed as the religious association of all the faithful who believe in Christ, is the Church. As the institution which the Son

of God founded for the realization on earth of the Kingdom of God and for the sanctification of man, the Church has a double element, the Divine and the human. The Divine element comprises all the truths of Faith which her Founder entrusted to her - His legislation and the fundamental principles of her organization as an institute destined for the guidance of the faithful, the practice of Divine worship, and the guardianship of all the means by which man receives and sustains his supernatural life. The human element in the Church appears in the manner in which the Divine element manifests itself with the co-operation of the human free will and under the influence of earthly factors. The Divine element is unchangeable, and, strictly speaking, does not fall within the scope of history; the human element on the other hand is subject to change and development, and it is owing to it that the Church has a history. Change appears first of all by reason of the extension of the Church throughout the world since its foundation. During this expansion various influences revealed themselves, partly from within the Church, partly from without, in consequence of which the expansion of Christianity was either hindered or advanced. The inner life of the Christian religion is influenced by various factors: moral earnestness, for example, and a serious realization of the aims of the Church on the part of Christians promote the attainment of her interests; on the other hand, when a worldly spirit and a low standard of morality infect many of her members, the Church's action is gravely impeded. Consequently although the teaching of the Church is in itself, as to its material content, unchangeable considered as supernatural revelation, there is still room for a formal development of our scientific apprehension and explanation of it by means of our natural faculties. The development of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and constitution, of the worship of the Church, of the legislation and discipline which regulate the relations between the members of the Church and maintain order, offers not a few changes which are a proper subject for historical investigation.

We are now in a position to grasp the scope of ecclesiastical history. It consists in the scientific investigation and methodical treatment of the life of the Church in all its manifestations from the beginning of its existence to our own day among the various divisions of mankind hitherto reached by Christianity. While the Church

remains essentially the same despite the changes which she undergoes in time, these changes help to exhibit more fully her internal and external life. As to the latter, ecclesiastical history makes known in detail the local and temporal expansion or restriction of the Church in the various countries, and indicates the factors influencing the same (History of Missions, in the widest sense), also the attitude which individual states or political bodies and other religious associations assume towards her (History of Ecclesiastical Polity, of Heresies and their Refutation, and of the Relations of the Church with Non-Catholic Religious Associations). If we turn to the internal life of the Church, ecclesiastical history treats of the development of ecclesiastical teaching, based on the original supernatural deposit of faith (History of Dogma, of Ecclesiastical Theology, and Ecclesiastical Sciences in general), of the development of ecclesiastical worship in its various forms (History of Liturgy), of the utilization of the arts in the service of the Church, especially in connexion with worship (History of Ecclesiastical Art), of the forms of ecclesiastical government and the exercise of ecclesiastical functions (History of the Hierarchy, of the Constitution and Law of the Church), of the different ways of cultivating the perfect religious life(History of Religious Orders), of the manifestations of religious life and sentiment among the people, and of the disciplinary rules whereby Christian morality is cultivated and preserved and the faithful are sanctified (History of Discipline, Religious Life, Christian Civilization.).

Universal history of the Church

The universal ecclesiastical history is, as its name implies, to exhibit a well-balanced description of all phases of ecclesiastical life. The investigation and treatment of the various phenomena in the life of the Church furnish the material of which universal church history is built. It must first treat of the one true Church which from the time of the Apostles, by its uninterrupted existence and its unique attributes, has proved itself that Christian association which is alone in full possession of revealed truth: the Catholic Church. It must, moreover, deal with those other religious associations which claim to be the Church of Christ, but in reality originated through separation from the true Church. The Catholic historian does not admit that the various forms of the Christian religion may be taken, roughly speaking,

as a connected whole, nor does he consider them one and all as so many imperfect attempts to adapt the teachings and institutions of Christ to the changing needs of the times, nor as progressive steps towards a future higher unity wherein alone we must seek the perfect ideal of Christianity. There is but one Divine revelation given us by Christ, but one ecclesiastical tradition based on it; hence one only Church can be the true one, i.e. the Church in which the aforesaid revelation is found in its entirety, and whose institutions have developed on the basis of this revelation and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. To assume equality among the various forms of the Christian religion would be equivalent to a denial of the Divine origin and supernatural character of the Church.

While, however, the Catholic Church is the central subject of universal ecclesiastical history, all other forms of the Christian religion must also be considered by it, for they originated by secession from the true Church, and their founders, in so far as each form can be traced back to a founder, were externally members of the Church. Some of these separated bodies still retain among their institutions certain ecclesiastical forms which were in common use at the time of their separation from the Church, wherefore a knowledge of such institutions is of no little use to students of ecclesiastical conditions previous to the separation. This is true in a special manner of the Oriental Christian communities, their liturgy and discipline. Moreover, such schismatic bodies became, as a rule, the bitterest enemies of the Church; they harassed and persecuted its faithful adherents and endeavoured in every way to induce them also to secede. New doctrinal discussions arose as a result of these secessions, ending usually in fuller and more exact statements of Christian teaching, and new methods had to be adopted to nullify the attacks made by apostates on the Catholic Faith. In this way non-Catholic communities have often indirectly influenced the development of the interior life of the Church and the growth of new institutions.

The vast material which, from these points of view, a universal history of the Church must treat, calls of course for methodical arrangement. Ecclesiastical history has generally been divided into three chief periods, each of which is subdivided into shorter epochs characterized by changes of a less universal nature.

First period

Origin and Development of the Church in the ancient Græco-Roman world (from the birth of Christ to the close of the seventh century).

- First Epoch: Foundation, expansion and formation of the Church despite the oppression of the pagan-Roman state (from Christ to the Edict of Milan, 313).

- Second Epoch: The Church in close connexion with the Christian-Roman Empire (from the Edict of Milan to the Trullan Synod, 692).

Second period

The Church as the guide of the Western nations (from the close of the seventh century to the beginning of the sixteenth).

- First Epoch: The popes in alliance with the Carlovingians, decadence of religious life in the West, isolation of the Byzantine Church and its final rupture with Rome (Trullan Synod to Leo IX, 1054).

- Second Epoch: Interior reformation of ecclesiastical life through the popes, the Crusades, flourishing of the religious life and sciences, acme of the ecclesiastical and political power of the papacy (from 1054 to Boniface VIII, 1303).

- Third Epoch: Decline of the ecclesiastical and political power of the papacy; decay of religious life and outcry for reforms (from 1303 to Leo X, 1521).

Third period

The Church after the collapse of the religious unity in the West, struggle against heresy and infidelity, expansion in non-European countries (from beginning of sixteenth century to our own age).

- First Epoch: Origin and expansion of Protestantism; conflict with that heresy and reformation of ecclesiastical life (from 1521 to Treaty of Westphalia, 1648).

- Second Epoch: Oppression of the Church by state-absolutism, weakening of religious life through the influence of a false intellectual emancipation (from 1648 to the French Revolution, 1789).

- Third Epoch: Oppression of the Church by the Revolution; renewal of ecclesiastical life struggling against infidelity; progress of missionary activity (from 1789).

First period

The foundation of the Church and the development of fixed standards of ecclesiastical life within the limits of Græco-Roman civilization.- In this period the geographical extent of the Church is practically confined to the Mediterranean lands of the Roman Empire. Only in a few places, especially in the Orient, did she overstep its boundaries. The uniform and universal Græco-Roman civilization there prevailing was a propitious soil for the growth of the new ecclesiastical life, which displays three main phases.

- The foundation of the Church by the Apostles, those few but all-important years in which the messengers of God's Kingdom, chosen by Christ Himself, laid out the ground-plan for all subsequent development of the Church (Apostolic Epoch).

- The expansion and interior formation of the Church amid more or less violent but ever persistent attacks on the part of the Roman government (Epoch of Persecutions). In the different provinces of the Roman Empire, and in the East even beyond its confines, Christian communities sprang into life guided originally by men who had been appointed by the Apostles and who continued their work. Insignificant at first, these communities increased steadily in membership despite the equally steady opposition of the Roman government and its sanguinary attempts at repression. It was then that the ecclesiastical hierarchy, worship, the religious life assumed fixed forms that conditioned all later development.

- The third epoch is characterized by a close union between Church and State, by the consequent privileged position of the clergy and the complete conversion of the Roman state (The Christian Empire).

Heresies regarding the person of the Incarnate Son of God bring to the front important dogmatical questions. The first great councils belong to this epoch, as well as the rich ecclesiastico-theological literature of Christian antiquity. Meanwhile the ecclesiastical hierarchy and administration are developed more fully, the primacy of Rome

standing out conspicuously as in the preceding epoch. Monasticism introduces a new and important factor into the life of the Church. The fine arts place themselves at the service of the Church. In the eastern half of the empire, later known as the Byzantine Empire, this development went on quite undisturbed; in the West the barbarian invasion changed radically the political conditions, and imposed on the Church the urgent and important task of converting and educating new Western nations, a task which she executed with great success. This brought a new element into the life of the Church, so important that it marks the beginning of a new period.

During the first six decades of the first century AD, Judaism was composed of about two dozen competing factions: Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, Zealots, followers of John the Baptist, followers of Yeshua of Nazareth (Iesous in Greek, Iesus in Latin, and Jesus in English), followers of other charismatic leaders, etc. All followed common Jewish practices, such as observing dietary restrictions, worshiping at the Jerusalem temple, sacrificing animals, observing weekly sabbaths, etc.

Yeshua of Nazareth (Jesus Christ) conducted a short ministry (one year, in the Galillee according to the synoptic gospels; perhaps three years, mainly in Judea according to the Gospel of John). His teachings closely matched those of be it Hillel (the House of Hillel). Hillel was a great Jewish rabbi who lived in the second half of the 1st century BC one or two generations before Yeshua's birth.

Yeshua was charged with what would be called "aggravated assault" under today's law, for his attack on merchants in the Temple. This was apparently considered treason or insurrection by the occupying Roman forces. (Crucifixion, when used on a non-slave such as Jesus, was restricted to these two crimes.) He was executed by a detail of Roman soldiers, perhaps during the springtime, sometime in the very late 20's or early 30's AD. Nobody seems to have recorded the year in a way that survived to the present time. Most historians date the event in April of the year 30. According to the Gospels, his disciples initially returned to their homeland of Galilee immediately following their leader's death.

Four decades later, in 70 AD the Roman Army attacked Jerusalem and destroyed the central focus of Jewish life: the temple. This was

an absolutely devastating blow at the time; Jewish life was totally disrupted. Jews were no longer able to worship at the Temple. Out of this disaster emerged two main movements: rabbinical Judaism centered in local synagogues, and the Christian movement.

There was great diversity within the Christian movement during the first few decades after Jesus' execution. Some of Jesus' followers (and those who never met Jesus but who were inspired by his teachings) settled in Jerusalem. But others spread across the known world, teaching very different messages. "Even in the same geographical area and sometimes in the same cities, different Christian teachers taught quite different gospels and had quite different views of who Jesus was and what he did."[1] During the latter part of the first century AD, the three largest groups within the primitive Christian movement were:

Jewish Christianity: Jesus disciples and other followers who fled to the Galilee after Jesus' execution appear to have regrouped in Jerusalem under the leadership of James, one of Jesus' brothers. The group viewed themselves as a reform movement within Judaism. They organized a synagogue, worshiped and brought animals for ritual sacrifice at the Jerusalem Temple. They observed the Jewish holy days, practiced circumcision of their male children, strictly followed Kosher dietary laws (Jewish eating rules), and practiced the teachings of Jesus as they interpreted them to be. They are frequently referred to today as the Jewish Christians. The Jewish Christians under James of Jerusalem Church included many members who had had close relationship with Jesus. They believed that Jesus was the Jewish Messiah. They viewed Jesus as a great prophet and rabbi, but not as a deity. There are many references in the New Testament to conflicts between the followers of Paul and the Jewish Christians. Jewish Christians were killed, enslaved, or scattered during the Roman attack on Jerusalem in 70 CE. Some theologians note that members of the Jewish Christian movement had a close and lengthy association with Jesus, whereas Paul never met Jesus. In cases of conflict between the teachings of Paul and the beliefs of James' group, the latter was thought of more accurately reflect Jesus' original teachings.

Pauline Christianity (Gentile Christianity): Saul, a Jew from Tarsus, originally prosecuted the Jewish Christians on behalf of the

priests at the Jerusalem Temple. He experienced a powerful religious conversion, after which, he departed for places unknown for three years. Later, having changed his name to Paul, he became the single most active Christian missionary, from about 36 BC until his execution by the Romans in the mid-60's. He created a new Christian movement, people from Greek, Roman, Persian, Egyptian, Mesopotamian religious traditions. Paul abandoned most of the Laws of Moses and rejected many of the Jewish behavioral rules that Jesus and his disciples had followed during his ministry. Paul taught that God had unilaterally abrogated his covenants with the Jews and transferred them to his own Christian groups. Paul's churches survived his death and flourished. 13 of his letters to his various church groups were later accepted into the canon of the New Testament.

Christian groups typically met in the homes of individual believers. Leaders were known as episkoipos (bishop, overseer), *presbuteros* (elder, presbyter) and *poimen* (pastor, shepherd). Ordination of priests and consecration of bishops was also practiced by the Christianity of the NT era. In addition to the above main groups, there were many smaller religious communities, which have been referred to as Matthean Christianity, Johannine Christianity, etc.

Jesus' Apostles ordained bishops, who in turn ordained the next generation of bishops. This continuous line of ordination, called the apostolic succession, has continued down to the present day. Thus the authority for the ordination of a new bishop today could theoretically be traced back as far as the individual Apostles - except that accurate records were not kept in the early decades of Christianity.

Jesus assigned to Peter the responsibility of establishing the Christian church. Peter traveled to Rome where he was the first pope. At his death, his work was continued by a continuous succession of popes. The 1st century AD popes were:

- ❖ St. Peter (30 to 67 AD, approximately)
- ❖ Linus (67 to 76)
- ❖ St. Evaristus (97 to 105)
- ❖ Clement of Rome (88 to 97)
- ❖ Cletus (76 to 88)

The Church was a fully functioning organization with authority centered at Rome, as early as the middle of the 1st century. "History proves that from that time [of Peter] on, both in the East and the West, the successor of Peter was acknowledged to be the supreme head of the [Christian] Church."

It is true that it was Siricius, who reigned at the end of the 4th century AD, was the first bishop of Rome to be called by the title Pope. Besides, it was Pope Leo I, who reigned from 440 to 461 AD, was the first to claim that the bishop of Rome was highest ranking of the bishops of the church. Both these claims were made based on the Biblical claim on the Petrine priority.

Matthew 16:18-19: "And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." The Greek word "ekklesia" is translated as church in the the Bible. Catholics typically interpret "ekklesia" as referring to a formal church organization. This passage thus assigns Peter the responsibility to begin to assemble a great monolithic religious organization with Peter as its initial head. Many Protestant theologians generally interpret the word as referring to an informal faith community. Aramaic or Syro-Chaldaic, the word "Cephas" meant both the name "Peter," and the word "rock." The following patristic attestations are also pointing towards the petrine primacy in the early church.

- ❖ 170 AD: Tatian the Syrian repeated the contents of Matthew 16 in The Diatesseron
- ❖ 200 AD: Tertullian also referred to Matthew 16 in Demurrer against the Heretics
- ❖ 220 AD: Tertullian made a second reference to Matthew 16 in Modesty 21:9-10
- ❖ 221 AD: Clement refers to Peter being "...set apart to be the foundation of the Church..." in his Letter of Clement to James
- ❖ 221 AD: Clement appears to refer to a conversation between Peter and Simon Magus at Rome in which Peter refers to himself as

"...a firm rock, the foundation of the Church." in theClementine Homilies, 17:19

- ❖ 248 AD: Origen refers to Peter as "that most solid of rocks, upon which Christ built the Church" in Homilies on Exodus 5:4.
- ❖ 200 CE: Clement of Alexandria referred to Peter as: "...the chosen, the pre-eminent, the first among the disciples, for whom alone with himself the Savior paid the tribute..." ("Who is the rich man that is saved?," 21:3-5).
- ❖ 211 CE: Tertullian wrote: "...remember that the Lord left the keys of it to Peter here, and through him to the Church..." ("Antidote Against the Scorpion, 20)"
- ❖ 220 CE: Tertullian also wrote that God said to Peter "Upon you...I will build my Church; and I will give to you the keys, not to the Church; and whatever you shall have bound or you shall have loosed, not what they shall have bound or they shall have loosed" (Modesty, 21:9-10).

Church historians during the first period

Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine (died 340) is rightly styled the "Father of Church History". We are indebted to him for a "Chronicle" (P.G., XIX) and a "Church History" (ibid., XX; latest scientific edition by Schwartz and Mommsen, 2 vols, in "*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*", Berlin, 1903-8). The "Church History" was an outgrowth of the "Chronicle", and was the first work to merit fully the name it bore. It first appeared in nine books and covered the time from the death of Christ to the victories of Constantine and Licinius (312 and 313). Eusebius afterwards added a tenth book, which carried the narrative to the victory of Constantine over Licinius (323). He made use of many ecclesiastical monuments and documents, acts of the martyrs, letters, extracts from earlier Christian writings, lists of bishops, and similar sources, often quoting the originals at great length so that his work contains very precious materials not elsewhere preserved. It is therefore of great value, though it pretends neither to completeness nor to the observance of due proportion in the treatment of the subject-matter. Nor does it present in a connected and systematic way the history of the early Christian Church. It is to no small extent a vindication of the Christian religion, though the author

did not primarily intend it as such; it is impossible, however, for any true history of the Church not to exhibit at once the Divine origin of the latter and its invincible power. Eusebius has been often accused of intentional falsification of the truth, but quite unjustly; it may be admitted, however, that in judging persons or facts he is not entirely unbiased. On the other hand, he has been rightly censured for or his partiality towards Constantine the Great and his palliation of the latter's faults ("Vita Constantini" in P.G., XX, 905 sqq.; latest scientific ed. Heikel, "Eusebius' Werke", I, Leipzig, 1902, in "*Die griech, christl.Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*"). In his biography of the great emperor, Eusebius, it must be remembered, sought to set forth in the most favourable light the Christian sentiments of the imperial convert and his great services to the Christian Church. A brief historical treatise of Eusebius, "On the Martyrs of Palestine", has also been preserved.

This great Christian historian found several imitators in the first half of the fifth century; it is to be regretted, however, that the first two general narratives of ecclesiastical history after Eusebius have been lost - i.e. the "Christian History" of the presbyter Philip of Side in Pamphylia (Philippus Sidetes), and the "Church History" of the Arian Philostorgius. Three other early ecclesiastical histories written about this period are also lost (the presbyter Hesychius of Jerusalem (died 433), the Apollinarian, Timotheus of Berytus, and Sabinus of Heraclea). About the middle of the fifth century the "Church History" of Eusebius was continued simultaneously by three writers - an evidence of the esteem in which this work of the "Father of Church History" was held among scholarly ecclesiastics. All three continuations have reached us. The first was written by Socrates, an advocate (*scholasticus*) of Constantinople, who, in his "Church History" (P.G., LXVII, 29-842; ed. Hussey, Oxford, 1853), which he expressly (I, 1) calls a continuation of the work of Eusebius, describes in seven books the period from 305 (Abdication of Diocletian) to 439. It is a work of great value. The author is honest, exhibits critical acumen in the use of his sources, and has a clear and simple style. After him, and frequently making use of his history, comes Hermias Sozomenus (or Sozomen), also an advocate in Constantinople, whose "Church History" in nine books comprises the period from 324 to 425 (P.G., LXVII, 834-1630; ed. Hussey, Oxford, 1860), but is inferior

to that of Socrates. Both these writers are surpassed by the learned Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus (died about 458), who, in his "Church History" (P.G., LXXXII, 881-1280; ed. Gaisford, Oxford, 1854), a continuation of the work of Eusebius, describes in five books the period from the beginning of Arianism (320) to the beginning of the Nestorian troubles (428). In addition to the writings of his predecessors, Socrates and Sozomen, he also used those of the Latin scholar Rufinus, and wove many documents into his clear well-written narrative. Theodoret wrote also a "History of the Monks" (P.G., LXXXII, 1283-1496), in which he sets forth the lives of thirty famous ascetics of the Orient. Like the famous "History of the Holy Fathers" ("Historia Lausiaca", so called from one Lausus to whom the book was dedicated by Palladius, written about 420; Migne, P.G., XXXIV, 995-1278; Butler, "The Lausiac History of Palladius", Cambridge, 1898), this work of Theodoret is one of the principal sources for the history of Oriental monasticism. Theodoret also published a "Compendium of Heretical Falsehoods", i.e. a short history of heresies with a refutation of each (P.G., LXXXIII, 335-556). Together with the similar "Panarion" of St. Epiphathus (P.G., XLI-XLII), it offers important material to the student of the earliest heresies.

During the sixth century these historians, found other continuators. Theodorus Lector compiled a brief compendium (yet unedited) from the works of the above-mentioned three continuators of Eusebius: Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. He then wrote in two books an independent continuation of this summary as far as the reign of Emperor Justin I (518-27); only fragments of this work have reached us (P.G., LXXXVI, I, 165-228). Zacharias Rhetor, at first an advocate at Berytus in Phœnicia and then (at least from 536) Bishop of Mitylene in the Island of Lesbos, composed, while yet a layman, an ecclesiastical history, which describes the period from 450 to 491, but is mostly taken up with personal experiences of the author in Egypt and Palestine. A Syriac version of this work is extant as books III-VI of a Syriac universal history, while there are also extant some chapters in a Latin version (Laud, "Anecdota Syriaca", Leyden, 1870; P.G., LXXV, 1145-78; Ahrens and Krüger, "Die sogennante Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor", Leipzig, 1899). Apart from this history, his inclination towards Monophysitism is also

apparent from his biography of the Monophysite patriarch, Severus of Antioch, and from his biography of the monk Isaias, two works extant in a Syriac version (Laud, op. cit., 346-56, edited the "Life of Isaias", and Spanuth, Göttingen, 1893, the "Life of Severus"; cf. Nau in "Revue de l'orient chrétien", 1901, pp. 26-88). More important still is the "Church History" of Evagrius of Antioch, who died about the end of the sixth century. His work is a continuation of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, and treats in six books the period from 431 to 594. It is based on good sources, and borrows from profane historians but occasionally Evagrius is too credulous. For Nestorianism and Monophysitism, however, his work deserves careful attention (P.G., LXXXVI, I, 2415-886; edd. Bidez and Parmentier in "Byzantine Texts" by J. B. Bury, London, 1899). Among the chronicles that belong to the close of Græco-Roman antiquity, special mention is due to the Chronicon Paschale, so called because the Paschal or Easter canon forms the basis of its Christian chronology (P.G., XCII). About the year 700 the Monophysite bishop, John of Nikiu (Egypt) compiled a universal chronicle; its *notitiæ* are of great value for the seventh century. This chronicle has been preserved in an Ethiopic version ("Chronique de Jean, eveque de Nikiou", publ. par. H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1883). Zotenberg believes that the work was originally written in Greek and then translated; Nöldeke ("Gottinger gelehrte Anzeigen", 1881, 587 sqq.) thinks it more probable that the original was Coptic. To the Alexandrian Cosmas, known as the "Indian Voyager" we owe a Christian "Topography" of great value for ecclesiastical geography (ed. Montfaucon, "Collectio nova Patrum et Scriptor. græc", II, Paris, 1706; translated into English by McCrindle, London, 1897). Of great value also for ecclesiastical geography are the "Notitiæ episcopatuum" (*Taktika*), or lists of the patriarchal, metropolitan, and episcopal sees of the Greek Church ("Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiæ græcæ episcopatuum", ed. Parthey, Berlin, 1866; "Georgii Cyprii Descriptio orbis Romani", ed. Geizer, Leipzig, 1890). The most important collection of the early Greek historians of the Church is that of Henri de Valois in three folio volumes (Paris, 1659-73; improved by W. Reading, Cambridge, 1720); it contains Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Evagrius, and the fragments of Philostorgius and Theodorus Lector.

The ancient Syrian writings of ecclesiastico-historical interest are chiefly Acts of martyrs and hymns to the saints ("Acta martyrum et sanctorum", ed. Bedjan, Paris, 1890-). The "Chronicle of Edessa", based on ancient sources, was written in the sixth century (ed. Assemani, "Bibliotheca orientalis", I, 394). In the same century the Monophysite bishop, John of Ephesus, wrote a history of the Church, but only its third part (571 to 586) is preserved (ed. Cureton, Oxford, 1853; tr., Oxford, 1860). Lengthy extracts from the second part are found in the annals of Dionysius of Telmera. His work covers the years 583-843 (fragments in Assemani, "Bibliotheca orientalis", II, 72 sqq.). Among the Armenians we meet with versions of Greek and Syriac works. The most important native Armenian chronicle of anecclesiastico-historical character is ascribed to Moses of Chorene, an historical personage of the fifth century. The author of the "History of Greater Armenia" calls himself Moses of Chorene, and claims to have lived in the fifth century and to have been a disciple of the famous St. Mesrop (q.v.). The self-testimony of the compiler must be rejected, since the work makes use of sources of the sixth and seventh centuries, and there is no trace of it to be found in Armenian literature before the ninth century. Probably, therefore, it originated about the eighth century. In the known manuscripts the work contains three parts: the "Genealogy of Greater Armenia" extends to the dynasty of the Arsacides, the "Middle Period of our Ancestry" to the death of St. Gregory the Illuminator, and the "End of the History of our Country" to the downfall of the Armenian Arsacides (ed. Amsterdam, 1695; Venice, 1881; French translation in Langlois, "Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie", 2 vols., Paris, 1867-9). In the Middle Ages there was still extant a fourth part. The work seems to be on the whole reliable. The ancient history, down to the second or third century after Christ, is based on popular legends. Another Armenian historian is St. Elishé.

Comprehensive ecclesiastico-historical works appear in the Latin West later than in the Greek East. The first beginnings of historical science are confined to translations with additions. Thus St. Jerome translated the "Chronicle" of Eusebius and continued it down to 378. At the same time he opened up a special field, the history of Christian literature, in his "De viris illustribus"; ("Chronicon", ed. Schoene, 2 vols., Berlin, 1866-75; "De vir. ill.", ed.

Richardson, Leipzig, 1896). About 400 the "Church History" of Eusebius was translated by Rufinus who added the history of the Church from 318 to 395 in two new books (X and XI). Rufinus's continuation was itself soon translated into Greek. The latest edition is in the Berlin collection of Greek Christian writings mentioned above in connexion with Eusebius. St. Jerome's Latin recension of the "Chronicle" of Eusebius was followed later by many other chronicles, among which may be mentioned the works of Prosper, Idacius, Marcellinus, Victor of Tununum, Marius of Avenches, Isidore of Seville, and Venerable Bede. In the West, the first independent history of revelation and of the Church was written by Sulpicius Severus, who published in 403 his "Historia (Chronica) Sacra" in two books; it reaches from the beginning of the world to about 400 (P.L., XX; ed. Hahn, Vienna, 1866). It is a short treatise and contains little historical information. A little later, Orosius wrote his "*Historia adversus paganos*" in seven books - a universal history from the standpoint of the Christian apologist. It begins with the deluge and comes down to 416. The purpose of Orosius was to refute the pagan charge that the great misfortunes of the Roman Empire were due to the victory of Christianity (P.L., XXXI; ed. Zangemeister, Vienna, 1882). With the same end in view, but with a far grander and loftier conception, St. Augustine wrote his famous "*De civitate Dei*", composed between 413 and 428, and issued in sections. It is an apologetic philosophy of history from the standpoint of Divine revelation. The work is important for church history on account of its numerous historical and archæological digressions (ed. Dombart, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1877). About the middle of the sixth century, Cassiodorus caused the works of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret to be translated into Latin, and then amalgamated this version into one complete narrative under the title "Historia tripartita" (P.L., LXIX-LXX). Together with the works of Rufinus and Orosius, it was one of the principal sources from which through the middle Ages the Western peoples drew their knowledge of early church history. Rich material for ecclesiastical history is also contained in the national histories of some Western peoples. Of the "History of the Goths", written by Cassiodorus, we possess only an extract in Jordanis, "*De origine actibusque Getarum*" (ed. Mommsen in "*Mon. Germ. Hist: Auct. antiquissimi*", V., Berlin, 1882). Especially important is the "History of the Franks" in ten books by Gregory of

Tours, which reaches to 591 (ed. Arndt, "*Mon. Germ. Hist: Scriptores rerum Meroving*." I, Hanover, 1884-5). Gregory wrote also a "*Liber de vitâ Patrum*", a work entitled "*In gloriâ martyrum*", and the book "De virtutibus (i.e.miracles) S. Juliani" and "*De virtutibus S. Martini*" (ed. cit., pt. II, ad. Krusch). In the beginning of the seventh century St. Isidore of Seville composed a "Chronicle of the West Goths" ("*Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum, Suevorum*", ed. Mommsen, "*Chronica Minora*", II, 241-303). Several other similar chronicles, from the fourth to the seventh century, were edited by Mommsen in the "*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi*" under the title of "*Chronica Minora*".

Second period

The Church as mistress and guide of the new Romanic, German, and Slavic states of Europe, the secession of Oriental Christendom from ecclesiastical unity and the final overthrow of the Byzantine empire. - In this period occurred events which for a considerable time greatly affected ecclesiastical life. Three main epochs suggest themselves.

• The first centuries of this epoch are characterized by the development of a close union between the papacy and the new Western society and by the falling away of the Orient from the centre of ecclesiastical unity at Rome. The Church carried out the great work of civilizing t barbarian nations of Europe. Her activity was consequently very many-sided, and she gained a far-reaching influence not only on religious, but also on political and social life. In this respect the creation of the Western Empire. and its relations with the pope as the head of the Church were characteristic of the position of the medieval Church. A deep decline, it is true, followed this alliance of the popes with the Carlovingians. This decline was manifest not only at Rome, the centre of the Church, where the factious Roman aristocracy used the popes as political tools, but also in different parts of the West. Through the intervention of the German emperor the popes resumed their proper position, but at the same time the influence of the secular power on the government of the Church grew dangerous and insupportable. The action of Photius, the Patriarch

of Constantinople, led to a rupture with Rome, which was destined to become final.

- A second part of this period shows how the Christian West grew into the great fellowship of the peoples under the supreme guidance of a common religious authority. Popular life everywhere reflects this Christian universalism. In the conflict with the secular power, the popes succeeded in carrying through ecclesiastical reforms, and at the same time set afoot in the West the great movement of the Crusades. All public interests centered in the ecclesiastical life. Nobles and commonalty, filled with the spirit of faith, furthered vigorously through powerful associations the aims of the Church. The papacy rose to the zenith of its power, not only in the religious, but also in the temporal domain. New orders, particularly the mendicant, fostered a genuine religious life in every rank of society. The universities became the centres of a notable intellectual activity, devoted for the most part to the development of theology. The building of magnificent churches was undertaken in the cities and was an evidence at once of the religious zeal and the vigorous self-confidence of the inhabitants. This powerful position of the Church and her representatives entailed, nevertheless, many dangers, arising on the one hand from the increasing worldliness of the hierarchy, and on the other from the opposition to an excessive centralization of ecclesiastical government in the papal curia, and the antagonism of princes and nations to the political power of the ecclesiastical superiors, particularly the popes.

- In consequence a third epoch of this period is filled with reaction against the evils of the preceding time, and with the evil results of wide-spread worldliness in the Church and the decline of sincerely religious life. It is true that the papacy won a famous victory in its conflict with the German Hohenstaufen, but it soon fell under the influence of the French kings, suffered a grievous loss of authority through the Western Schism and had difficulty at the time of the reform councils (Constance, Pisa, Basle) in stemming a strong anti-papal tide. Furthermore, the civil authority grew more fully conscious of itself, more secular in temper, and frequently hostile to the Church; civil encroachments on the ecclesiastical domain multiplied. In general, the spheres

of spiritual and secular authority, the rights of the Church and those of the State, were not definitely outlined until after many conflicts, for the most part detrimental to the Church. The Renaissance introduced a new and secular element into intellectual life; it dethroned from their supremacy the long dominant ecclesiastical studies, disseminated widely pagan and materialistic ideas, and opposed its own methods to those of scholasticism, which had in many ways degenerated. The new heresies took on a more general character. The call for "reform of head and members", so loudly voiced in the councils of those days, seemed to justify the growing opposition to ecclesiastical authority. In the councils themselves a false constitutionalism contended for the supreme administration of the Church with the immemorial papal primacy. So many painful phenomena suggest the presence of great abuses in the religious life of the West. Simultaneously, the Byzantine Empire was completely overthrown by the Turks, Islam gained a strong foothold in south-eastern Europe and threatened the entire Christian West.

Third period

The collapse of religious unity among the two western nations, and the reformation from within of the ecclesiastical life, accomplished during the conflict against the latest of the great heresies. -Immense geographical expansion of the Church owing to the zealous activity of her missionaries through whom South America, part of North America and numerous adherents in Asia and Africa, were gained for the Catholic Faith. In this period, also, which reaches to our own time, we rightly discern several shorter epochs during which ecclesiastical life is characterized by peculiar and distinctive traits and phenomena.

- The civil life of the various Western peoples was no longer regarded as identified with the life and aims of the Universal Church. Protestantism cut off whole nations, especially in Central and Northern Europe, from ecclesiastical unity and entered on a conflict with the Church which has not yet terminated. On the other hand, the faithful adherents of the Church were more closely united, while the great Ecumenical Council of Trent laid a firm foundation for a thorough reformation in the inner or domestic

life of the Church, which was soon realized through the activity of new orders (especially the Jesuits) and through an extraordinary series of great saints. The popes again devoted themselves exclusively to their religious mission and took up the Catholic reforms with great energy. The newly discovered countries of the West, and the changed relations between Europe and the Eastern nations aroused in many missionaries a very active zeal for the conversion of the pagan world. The efforts of these messengers of the Faith were crowned with such success that the Church was in some measure compensated for the defection in Europe.

- The subsequent epoch shows again a decline of ecclesiastical influence and religious life. Since the middle of the seventeenth century, there exist three great religious associations: the true Catholic Church; the Greek schismatical church, which found a powerful protector in Russia, together with the smaller schismatical churches of the East; Protestantism, which, however, never constituted a united religious association, but split up constantly into numerous sects, accepted the direct supremacy of the secular power, and was by the latter organized in each land as a national church. The growing absolutism of states and princes was in this way strongly furthered. In Catholic countries also the princes tried to use the Church as an "*instrumentum regni*", and to weaken as much as possible the influence of the papacy. Public life lost steadily its former salutary contact with a universal and powerful religion. Moreover, a thoroughly infidel philosophy now leveled its attacks against Christian revelation in general. Protestantism rapidly begot a race of unbelievers and shallow free-thinkers who spread on all sides a superficial scepticism. The political issue of so many fatal influences was the French Revolution, which in turn inflicted the severest injuries on ecclesiastical life.

- With the nineteenth century appeared the modern constitutional state based on principles of the broadest political liberty. Although in the first decades of the nineteenth century the Church was often hampered in her work by the downfall of the old political system, she nevertheless secured liberty under the new national popular

government, fully developed her own religious energies, and in most countries was able to exhibit an upward movement in every sphere of religious life. Great popes guided this advance with a strong hand despite the loss of their secular power. The Ecumenical Council of the Vatican, by defining papal infallibility, supported with firmness ecclesiastical authority against a false subjectivism. The defection of the Old Catholics was relatively unimportant. While Protestantism is the daily prey of infidelity and loses steadily all claim to be considered a religion based on Divine revelation, the Catholic Church appears in its compact unity as the true guardian of the unadulterated deposit of faith, which its Divine Founder originally entrusted to it. The conflict is ever more active between the Church, as the champion of supernatural revelation, and infidelity, which aims at supremacy in public life, politics, the sciences, literature, and art. The non-European countries begin to play an important role in the world, and point to new fields of ecclesiastical activity. The Catholic faithful have increased so rapidly during the last century, and the importance of several non-European countries on ecclesiastical life has taken on such proportions, that the universal history of the Church is becoming more and more a religious history of the world.

The great turning-points in the historical development of the Church do not appear suddenly or without due cause. As a rule divers important events occurring within the shorter epochs bring about eventually a change of universal import for the life of the Church, and compel us to recognize the arrival of a new period. Naturally, between these prominent turning-points there are shorter or longer intervals of transition, so that the exact limits of the chief periods are variously set down by different ecclesiastical historians, according to the importance which they severally attach to one or the other of the aforesaid momentous events or situations. The division between the first and second periods has its justification in the fact that, owing to the downfall of the Western Roman Empire and to the relations between the Church and the new Western nations, essentially new forms of life were called into being, while in the East Byzantine culture had become firmly established. The turning-point between the old and the new state of things did not, however, immediately follow

the conversion of the Teutonic tribes; a considerable time elapsed before Western life was moving easily in all its new forms. Some (Neander, Jacobi, Baur, etc.) consider the pontificate of Gregory the Great in 590, or (Moeller,Müller), more generally, the end of the sixth and the middle of the seventh century as the close of the first period; others (Dollinger, Kurtz) take the Sixth General Council in 680, or (Alzog, Hergenröther, von Funk, Knöpfler) the Trullan synod of 692, or the end of the seventh century; others again close the first period with St. Boniface (Ritter, Niedner), or with the Iconoclasts (Gieseler, Mohler), or with Charlemagne (Hefele, Hase, Weingarten). For the West Kraus regards the beginning of the seventh century as the close of the first period; for the East, the end of the same century. Speaking generally, however, it seems more reasonable to accept the end of the seventh century as the close of the first period. Similarly, along the line of division between the second and the third periods are crowded events of great importance to ecclesiastical life: the Renaissance with its influence upon all intellectual life, the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, the discovery of America and the new problems which the Church had to solve in consequence, the appearance of Luther and the heresy of Protestantism, the Council of Trent with its decisive influence on the evolution of the interior life of the Church. Protestant historians regard the appearance of Luther as the beginning of the third period. A few Catholic authors (e.g. Kraus) close the second period with the middle of the fifteenth century; it is to be noted, however, that the new historical factors in the life of the Church which condition the third period become prominent only after the Council of Trent, itself an important result of Protestantism. It seems, therefore, advisable to regard the beginning of the sixteenth century as the commencement of the third period.

Nor do authors perfectly agree on the turning-points which are to be inserted within the chief periods. It is true that the conversion of Constantine the Great affected the life of the Church so profoundly that the reign of this first Christian emperor is generally accepted as marking a sub-division in the first period. In the second period, especially prominent personalities usually mark the limits of the several sub-divisions, e.g. Charlemagne, Gregory VII, Boniface VIII, though this leads to the undervaluation of other important factors e.g.

the Greek Schism, the Crusades. Recent writers, therefore, assume other boundary lines which emphasize the forces active in the life of the Church rather than prominent personalities. In subdividing the third period the same difficulty presents itself. Many historians consider the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century as an event of sufficient importance to demand a new epoch; others, more reasonably perhaps see a distinct epochal line in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), with which the formation of great Protestant territories came to an end.

Endnotes

[1]   Gregory J. Riley, *One Jesus, many Christs*, (SanFrancisco : Harper, 1997) 4.

Chapter 2

Roman Persecution

From A.D. 30 to A.D. 311, a period in which 54 emperors ruled the Roman Empire, only about a dozen took the trouble to harass Christians. Furthermore, not until Decius (249-251) did any deliberately attempt an Empire-wide persecution. Until then, persecution came mainly at the instigation of local rulers, albeit with Rome's approval. Nonetheless, a few emperors did have direct and, for Christians, unpleasant dealings with this faith. Here are the most significant of those rulers.

Claudius (41-54)

Perhaps the first to persecute Christians-inadvertently. Sickly, ill-mannered, and reclusive, Claudius devoted his early days to the quiet study of Etruscan and Carthaginian history, among other subjects. Understandably, he was an embarrassment to the activist imperial family. But the murder of his nephew, the emperor Gaius, in 41 propelled him to the throne nonetheless. During his reign, he wisely avoided potentially costly foreign wars, extended Roman citizenship at home, and showed tolerance toward a variety of religions. However, "since

the Jews were continually making disturbances at the instigations of Chrestus, he [Claudius] expelled them from Rome… " So writes the Roman historian Suetonius about events in Rome around 52. "Chrestus" may have been a thorn in the side of Roman politicos anxious to be rid of him and his cohorts. Or "Chrestus" may be the way uninformed bureaucrats pronounced the name about which Jews argued: Christus. Such arguments between Jews and Christians were not unknown (e.g., in Ephesus; Acts 19). Claudius likely and inadvertently was the first emperor, then, to persecute Christians (who were perceived as a Jewish sect)-for, it seems, disturbing the peace.

Nero (54-68)

Nero was a savage madman in whose reign Peter and Paul were martyred. He was said to be a man with light blue eyes, thick neck, protruding stomach, and spindly legs and was a crazed and cruel emperor, a pleasure-driven man who ruled the world by whim and fear. It just goes to show the difference an upbringing makes. His mother, the plotting Agrippina, managed to convince her husband, Claudius, to adopt her son Nero and put him, ahead of Claudius' own son, first in line for the throne. Maternal concern not satisfied, she then murdered Claudius, and Nero ruled the world at age 17.

The young Nero, having been tutored by the servile philosopher and pedophile Seneca, was actually repulsed by the death penalty. But he resourcefully turned this weakness into strength: he eventually had his mother stabbed to death for treason and his wife Octavia beheaded for adultery. (He then had Octavia's head displayed for his mistress, Poppaea, whom years later he kicked to death when she was pregnant) The Senate made thank offerings to the gods for this restoration of public morality.

Unfortunately, that is but the tip of the bloody and treacherous iceberg of Nero's reign. Yet such activities overshadow the few constructive things he attempted, albeit without success: the abolition of indirect taxes (to help farmers), the building of a Corinthian canal, and the resettlement of people who had lost their homes in the Great Fire of Rome in 64.

Nero tried to pin the blame for that fire on the city's small Christian community (regarded as a distinct, dissident group of Jews), and so,

appropriately, he burned many of them alive. Peter and Paul were said to have been martyred as a result. But the rumors persisted that Nero had sung his own poem "The Sack of Troy" (he did not "fiddle") while enjoying the bright spectacle he had ignited. That business about singing was not unreasonable, for Nero had for years made a fool of himself by publicly playing the lyre and singing before, literally, command performances. Political turmoil finally forced the troubled emperor to commit suicide. His last words were, "What a showman the world is losing in me!"

Domitian (81-96)

It is believed that the Book of Revelation depict the atrocities of Domitin. The historian Pliny called Domitian the beast from hell who sat in its den, licking blood. In the Book of Revelation, John of the Apocalypse may have referred to Domitian when he described a beast from the abyss that blasphemes heaven and drinks the blood of the saints. Domitian repelled invasions from Dacia (modern-day Rumania) - something later emperors would have increasing difficulty doing. He also was a master builder and adroit administrator, one of the best who ever governed the Empire. Suetonius, who hated Domitian, had to admit that "he took such care to exercise restraint over the city officials and provincial governors that at no time were these more honest or just." But there was something wrong with Domitian. He enjoyed catching flies and stabbing them with a pen. He liked to watch gladiatorial fights between women and dwarfs. And during his reign he was so suspicious of plots against his life, the number of imperial spies and informers proliferated, as did the number of casualties among suspect Roman officials. Domitian was the first emperor to have himself officially titled in Rome as "God the Lord." He insisted that other people hail his greatness with acclamations like "Lord of the earth," "Invincible," "Glory," "Holy," and "Thou Alone." When he ordered people to give him divine honors, Jews, and no doubt Christians, balked. The resulting persecution of Jews is well-documented; that of Christians is not. However, the beast that the author of Revelation describes, as well as the events in the book, is perhaps best interpreted as hidden allusions to the rule of Domitian. In addition, Flavius Clemens, consul in 95, and his wife, Flavia Domitilla, were executed and exiled, respectively, by Domitian's orders; many historians suspect this was because they were Christians. But what

goes around comes around. An ex-slave of Clemens, Stephanus, was mobilized by some of Domitian's enemies and murdered him.

Trajan (98-117)

Trajan was a skilled ruler who established policies for treating Christians. So well did Trajan rule that senators and emperors of the later Empire wished that new emperors should be "more fortunate than Augustus, better than Trajan." Trajan began his rule intent on conquests that would excel those of his hero Julius Caesar. Although he did not succeed, his conquest of Dacia turned out to be the last major conquest of ancient Rome. Between military campaigns, Trajan found time to be an effective, albeit conservative, civilian administrator, protecting the privileges of the senate. He is also known for the impressive public works he undertook, especially his Aqua Trajana, the last of the aqueducts to serve Rome; Trajan's Baths, which included soaring concrete arches, apses, and vaults; and the complex and magnificent Forum of Trajan.

A series of letters with Bithynian Governor Pliny display Trajan's concern for the welfare of the provinces. Unfortunately for Christians, this concern was combined with suspicious preoccupation with state security and a tendency to interfere in internal affairs of ostensibly self-governing cities. In one letter he tells Pliny how to deal with Christians "They are not to be hunted out. [Although] any who are accused and convicted should be punished, with the proviso that if a man says he is not a Christian and makes it obvious by his actual conduct - namely, by worshiping our gods - then, however suspect he may have been with regard to the past, he should gain pardon from his repentance." Even though relatively temperate, the great Trajan became the first emperor known to persecute Christians as fully distinct from the Jews. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, was perhaps the best known to have suffered death during his reign.

Marcus Aurelius (161-180)

Marcus was a great Stoic philosopher whose reign fueled anti-Christian hostilities. Marcus Aurelius actively pursued military campaigns nearly his entire reign. From 161 to 167, Rome battled the invading Parthians in Syria. To repel Germanic tribes who were marauding Italy and then retreating across the Danube, Marcus

personally conducted a punitive expedition from 167–173. On an expedition to extend Rome's northern borders, he suddenly died in 180 at his military headquarters. This is not, of course, the Marcus Aurelius we've come to know and love. That Marcus ruminated eloquently in his philosophical Meditations. Having converted to Stoicism early in life, these personal reflections display lofty and bracing austerity: we must show patient long-suffering; our existence on this earth is fleeting and transitory. Yet, there is also this humane strain in Marcus: all men and women share the divine spark, so they are brothers and sisters. "Men exist for each other," he wrote. "Then either improve them, or put up with them." As for himself, he tried to improve them. It was during his reign that the Institutes of Gaius, an elementary handbook about which our modern knowledge of classical Roman law is based, were written. Also, numerous measures were taken to soften the harshness of the law against the weak and helpless.

Except those Christians. Officially, Marcus took the position of his predecessor Trajan, also followed by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. But his philosophical mentors convinced him that Christianity was a dangerous revolutionary force, preaching gross immoralities. So under Marcus, anti-Christian literature flourished for the first time, most notably Celsus's The True Doctrine. More regrettably, Marcus allowed anti-Christian informers to proceed more easily than in the past, with the result that fierce persecutions broke out in various regions. In Lyons in 177, the local bishop was martyred, bringing Irenaeus to the office. In addition, Justin, the first Christian philosopher, was martyred during Marcus's reign. During the reign of the magnanimous, philosopher-king Marcus Aurelius, then, Christian blood flowed more profusely than ever before.

Septimius Severus (193–211)

Septimus was a consummate soldier in whose reign Perpetua was killed. He militarily dispensed with Pescennius Niger, rival emperor in the east, in 195, and then with Clodius Albinus in 197, rival emperor in the West. In 208 he set out for Britain to shore up its defenses, and on that trip succumbed to illness in 211. At death, he is said to have summoned his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, and said, "Keep on good terms with each other, be generous to the soldiers, and take no heed of anyone else." That generosity to soldiers was one of Severus's

trademarks. During his reign he raised their pay 67 percent and ennobled the military so that it became a promising path for many different careers. In addition, the deity most popular with soldiers, the sun-god Mithras, began to edge out the competition in the Roman pantheon. During the first part of his reign, Severus was not unfriendly toward Christians. Some members of his household, in fact, professed the faith, and he entrusted the rearing of his son, Caracalla, to a Christian nurse.

However, in 202 Severus issued an edict that forbade further conversions to Judaism and Christianity. A persecution followed, especially in North Africa and Egypt. The North African theologian Tertullian penned his famous apologetic works during this period, but to no avail. Among others, the dramatic martyrdom of Perpetua and her servant Felicitas occurred under Severus. Clement of Alexandria also perished, as did the father of Origen. (Tradition holds that Origen, in his youthful ardor, wished to share his father's fate, but his resourceful mother prevented his leaving the house by hiding his clothes). But the persecution ended at Severus's death, and except for a brief bout under Maximinus (235-238), Christians were free from persecution for some 50 years.

Decius (249-251)

Decius was leader of the first Empire-wide persecution. For decades, Roman emperors had become increasingly concerned with the ragged edges of the Empire and the invading barbarian tribes that harassed them. Decius, from a village near the Danube, at the northern frontier of the Empire, recognized the military dimensions of the problem but perceived some spiritual ones as well.

He was concerned that traditional polytheism was weakening, and thought a resurrection of devotion to the deified Roman rulers of the past would help restore Roman strength. Naturally, monotheistic Christians stood in the way. Although they still constituted a small minority, their efficient and self-contained organization, with no need of the state, irritated him. Consequently, Decius became the first emperor to initiate an Empire-wide persecution of Christians, apparently one with intensity. After executing Pope Fabian he is said to have remarked, "I would far rather receive news of a rival to the throne than of another bishop of Rome."

Although he did not actually order Christians to give up their faith, he did expect them to perform one pagan religious observance. When undertaken, Christians would receive a Certificate of Sacrifice (libellus) from the local Sacrificial Commission and so be cleared of suspicion of undermining the religious unity of the Empire. As expected, many Christians succumbed to this pressure; others paid bribes to receive the certificate. But many refused to compromise and died as a result. Origen was arrested and tortured during this time. Though released, he died within a few years. Decius, a not-incompetent general, died in Scythia Minor (in modern-day Bulgaria and Rumania) while engaging in battle, the other tactic he thought necessary to shore up the troubled Empire.

Valerian (253-260)

Valerian blamed Christians for the Empire's woes. He seems to have been honest and well intentioned, but he inherited an empire nearly out of control. Plague and civil strife raged within the provinces. At the eastern borders, Germanic tribesmen invaded with greater efficiency and more numbers. Meanwhile, attacks from the north were underway. Valerian, recognizing that one emperor could not simultaneously defend north and east, extended in 256-257 the principle of collegiate rule to his son and colleague Gallienus, who was already fully occupied to the north. To divert attention from the troubles that beset the Empire, Valerian blamed the Christians. In August 257 he intensified Decius's policies by ordering clergy to sacrifice to the gods of the state (although, with usual Roman pragmatism, they were not prohibited from worshiping Jesus Christ in private.) A year later clergy became liable to capital punishment. Pope Sixtus II and St. Lawrence were subsequently burned to death in Rome, and Cyprian was executed at Carthage. In addition, the property of Christian laity, especially that of senators and equites (a class immediately below senators) was confiscated, and Christian tenants of imperial estates were condemned to the mines. In 259, the Persians, under Shapur I, launched a second series of attacks in Mesopotamia. (In the first, 254-256, they had captured and plundered 37 cities.) Valerian took an army into Mesopotamia to drive Shapur back from the beseiged city of Edessa. However, in May 260, Valerian was taken prisoner. In Michael Grant's words, "The capture of a Roman emperor by a

foreign foe was an unparalleled catastrophe, the nadir of Roman disgrace." Fortunately, soon after Valerian's capture, in an attempt to win the favor of eastern Christians against the Persians, Gallienus lifted the edicts against Christians.

Diocletian (284-305)

Diocletian was a gifted organizer who led the Great Persecution to extinguish Christianity.

Diocletian was the most remarkable imperial organizer since Augustus, and that talent, unfortunately, was not lost on Christians. He is most famous for his reconstruction of the Empire into a Tetrarchy. The Empire was divided between four men, two Augusti and, under them, two Caesars. However, the multiplying of ruling authorizes did not ease the transition of rulers, as Diocletian had hoped, but only made for more strife. Diocletian also presided over a complete reconstruction of the Empire's military system, which included the garnering of enormous taxes to pay for its half-million soldiers, a huge increase from the previous century. He tried to insure that tax burdens were equitably distributed, but for all its fairness, the new system tended to freeze people in their professions and social positions, and led, on paper, to a thoroughgoing totalitarian state (in practice, however, there was no way to fully implement the new rules). Diocletian's gift for mass organization, unfortunately, extended to things religious and patriotic. In 303, encouraged by his Caesar Galerius, and attempting to rouse patriotic feeling, Diocletian returned to hounding Christians, even though his wife, Prisca, belonged to the faith.

It was the first time in almost 50 years that an emperor had taken the trouble.

Yet, as never before, the motive of this Great Persecution was the total extinction of Christianity. It was, it seems, the final struggle between the old and new orders, and therefore the fiercest.

The first of Diocletion's edicts prohibited all Christian worship and commanded that churches and Christian books be destroyed. Two further edicts, required in the eastern provinces, ordered clergy to be arrested unless they sacrificed to pagan deities. By 304 this edict was extended to all Christians and was particularly vicious in Africa, under Diocletian co-Augustus Maximian.

After a serious illness in 304, Diocletian took the unprecedented step of abdicating the throne. Although called back for a brief period, he retired to farming in Salonae in Dalmatia (in modern-day Yugoslavia). The persecutions continued under Galerius, now promoted to Augustus. But falling seriously ill in 311, Galerius and his fellow emperors issued an edict canceling the persecution of Christians. The following year, Constantine emerged triumphant in the West after the battle at the Milvian Bridge. In 313 he and Licinius, soon to control the Eastern Empire, issued the Edict of Milan, which decreed full legal toleration of Christianity. For all intents and purposes, no Roman emperor harassed Christians again.

Chapter 3

Constantine and the Edict of Milan

While the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great reigned (306-337 AD),Christianity began to transition to the dominant religion of the Roman Empire. Historians remain uncertain about Constantine's reasons for favoring Christianity, and theologians and historians have argued about which form of Early Christianity he subscribed to. There is no consensus among scholars as to whether he adopted his mother Helena's Christianity in his youth, or (as claimed by Eusebius of Caesarea) encouraged her to convert to the faith himself. Some scholars question the extent to which he should be considered a Christian emperor: "Constantine saw himself as an 'emperor of the Christian people'. If this made him a Christian is the subject of ... debate.", although he allegedly received a baptism shortly before his death.

Constantine's decision to cease the persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire was a turning point for Early Christianity, sometimes referred to as the Triumph of the Church, the Peace of the Church or the Constantinian shift. In 313, Constantine and Licinius

issued the Edict of Milan decriminalizing Christian worship. The emperor became a great patron of the Church and set a precedent for the position of the Christian emperor within the Church and the notion of orthodoxy, Christendom, ecumenical councils and the state church of the Roman Empire declared by edict in 380. He is revered as a saint and is apostolos in the Eastern Orthodox Church and Oriental Orthodox Church for his example as a "Christian monarch."

Eusebius of Caesarea and other Christian sources record that Constantine experienced a dramatic event in 312 at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, after which Constantine claimed the emperorship in the West. According to these sources, Constantine looked up to the sun before the battle and saw a cross of light above it, and with it the Greek words "*ί Οϊýόó Íβêá*" (in this sign, conquer!), often rendered in a Latin version, "in hoc signo vinces"(-in this sign, you will conquer). Constantine commanded his troops to adorn their shields with a Christian symbol (the Chi-Rho), and thereafter they were victorious.

Following the battle, the new emperor ignored the altars to the gods prepared on the Capitoline and did not carry out the customary sacrifices to celebrate a general's victorious entry into Rome, instead heading directly to the imperial palace. Most influential people in the empire, however, especially high military officials, had not been converted to Christianity and still participated in the traditional religions of Rome; Constantine's rule exhibited at least a willingness to appease these factions. The Roman coins minted up to eight years after the battle still bore the images of Roman gods. The monuments he first commissioned, such as the Arch of Constantine, contained no reference to Christianity.

The Edict of Milan

The Edict of Milan was a proclamation that permanently established religious tolerance in the Roman Empire. This edict allowed Christians, in particular, the freedom to worship whatever deity they chose and assured them the right to keep property and to organize churches. Christianity eventually became the state religion of the Roman Empire in 380. While the former polytheistic Roman religion viewed the emperor as having divine status, the new Christian religion moved the religious focus away from the state to a single deity. The addition of

popes and church elders playing a role in the politics of Rome may have made the political scene more complex.

The edict of Milan came out by the two men who were the Roman emperors - Constantine ruling the West and Licinius the East. They met "under happy auspices," as their joint communiqué put it. After years of power struggles for the imperial purple, the Roman world enjoyed a degree of peace. And after the failure of the Great Persecution (initiated by the emperors Diocletian and Galerius in 303-304), the Christian church had begun to recover its stability. Constantine and Licinius turned their minds to matters affecting the general welfare of the Empire.

They determined first of all to attend to "the reverence paid to the Divinity." This required a guarantee of full religious freedom to the Christians, setting them on a par with those who followed other religions. The so-called Edict of Milan provided for this. It marks the Roman Empire's final abandonment of the policies of persecution of Christians. The age of the martyrs was at an end. The transition to the era of the "Christian Empire" had begun.

Original Text of the Edict

Among other arrangements which we are always accustomed to make for the prosperity and welfare of the republic, we had desired formerly to bring all things into harmony with the ancient laws and public order of the Romans, and to provide that even the Christians who had left the religion of their fathers should come back to reason ; since, indeed, the Christians themselves, for some reason, had followed such a caprice and had fallen into such a folly that they would not obey the institutes of antiquity, which perchance their own ancestors had first established; but at their own will and pleasure, they would thus make laws unto themselves which they should observe and would collect various peoples in diverse places in congregations. Finally when our law had been promulgated to the effect that they should conform to the institutes of antiquity, many were subdued by the fear of danger, many even suffered death. And yet since most of them persevered in their determination, and we saw that they neither paid the reverence and awe due to the gods nor worshipped the God of the Christians, in view of our most mild clemency and the constant habit by which we are accustomed to grant indulgence to all, we

thought that we ought to grant our most prompt indulgence also to these, so that they may again be Christians and may hold their conventicles, provided they do nothing contrary to good order. But we shall tell the magistrates in another letter what they ought to do.

Wherefore, for this our indulgence, they ought to pray to their God for our safety, for that of the republic, and for their own, that the republic may continue uninjured on every side, and that they may be able to live securely in their homes. (c.35)This edict is published at Nicomedia on the day before the Kalends of May, in our eighth consulship and the second of Maximinus.[1]

The "Edict of Milan " (313 AD): When I, Constantine Augustus, as well as I Licinius Augustus d fortunately met near Mediolanurn (Milan), and were considering everything that pertained to the public welfare and security, we thought -, among other things which we saw would be for the good of many, those regulations pertaining to the reverence of the Divinity ought certainly to be made first, so that we might grant to the Christians and others full authority to observe that religion which each preferred; whence any Divinity whatsoever in the seat of the heavens may be propitious and kindly disposed to us and all who are placed under our rule And thus by this wholesome counsel and most upright provision we thought to arrange that no one whatsoever should be denied the opportunity to give his heart to the observance of the Christian religion, of that religion which he should think best for himself, so that the Supreme Deity, to whose worship we freely yield our hearts) may show in all things His usual favor and benevolence. Therefore, your Worship should know that it has pleased us to remove all conditions whatsoever, which were in the rescripts formerly given to you officially, concerning the Christians and now any one of these who wishes to observe Christian religion may do so freely and openly, without molestation. We thought it fit to commend these things most fully to your care that you may know that we have given to those Christians free and unrestricted opportunity of religious worship. When you see that this has been granted to them by us, your Worship will know that we have also conceded to other religions the right of open and free observance of their worship for the sake of the peace of our times, that each one may have the free opportunity to worship as he pleases; this regulation is made we that we may not seem to detract from any dignity or any religion.

Moreover, in the case of the Christians especially we esteemed it best to order that if it happems anyone heretofore has bought from our treasury from anyone whatsoever, those places where they were previously accustomed to assemble, concerning which a certain decree had been made and a letter sent to you officially, the same shall be restored to the Christians without payment or any claim of recompense and without any kind of fraud or deception, Those, moreover, who have obtained the same by gift, are likewise to return them at once to the Christians. Besides, both those who have purchased and those who have secured them by gift, are to appeal to the vicar if they seek any recompense from our bounty, that they may be cared for through our clemency,. All this property ought to be delivered at once to the community of the Christians through your intercession, and without delay. And since these Christians are known to have possessed not only those places in which they were accustomed to assemble, but also other property, namely the churches, belonging to them as a corporation and not as individuals, all these things which we have included under the above law, you will order to be restored, without any hesitation or controversy at all, to these Christians, that is to say to the corporations and their conventicles: providing, of course, that the above arrangements be followed so that those who return the same without payment, as we have said, may hope for an indemnity from our bounty. In all these circumstances you ought to tender your most efficacious intervention to the community of the Christians, that our command may be carried into effect as quickly as possible, whereby, moreover, through our clemency, public order may be secured. Let this be done so that, as we have said above, Divine favor towards us, which, under the most important circumstances we have already experienced, may, for all time, preserve and prosper our successes together with the good of the state. Moreover, in order that the statement of this decree of our good will may come to the notice of all, this rescript, published by your decree, shall be announced everywhere and brought to the knowledge of all, so that the decree of this, our benevolence, cannot be concealed.

Endnotes

[1]   From Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.* ch. 34, 35. Opera, ed. O. F. Fritzsche, II, P. 273. (Bibl. Patt. Ecc. Lat. XI, Leipzig, 1844.)

Chapter 4

History of Monasticism

Monasticism was unknown in Christianity until the end of the third century. Most of the early Christians continued to own private property after their conversion, and marriage was not condemned. St. Paul expressed a personal preference for celibacy, but admitted there was no "command from the Lord" on the matter. Widows were treated with special respect, but those under the age of 60 were enjoined to remarry and bear children. Missionary and charity work were emphasized over personal meditation and spiritual development.

However, there were strands within Christianity dating back to the time of the apostles that emphasized asceticism, celibacy, poverty or moral perfection. Fasting was an accepted discipline in the early church. It became customary for older widows to remain single and devote themselves to prayer and church work. Celibacy was lauded as a higher calling by not only St. Paul, but also The Shepherd of Hermas and the Marcionites. In 305, a synod in Spain required celibacy of bishops. By then,

the custom had already been established that members of the clergy should not marry or (if widowed) remarry after ordination.

The traditional account of Christian monasticism begins with St Paul of Thebes retreating to a cave in the Egyptian desert in AD 250 to avoid the persecution initiated by Decius. St Paul himself is probably a mythical figure, but there may well have been Egyptian hermits at this time. At the other end of the north African coast the bishop of Carthage, St Cyprian, goes into hiding in the same year and for the same reason.

Certainly there are Christian hermits in Egypt by the early 4th century. The best known of them is St Anthony, whose Famous temptations take lurid and often sexual forms which later prove irresistible to generations of painters. Early in the 4th century, perhaps in response to the new favour shown to Christianity by Constantine, Anthony organizes other hermits, living nearby in the desert, into a partly shared existence. For most of the week they maintain their solitary life. But on Sundays they come together for worship and a communal meal. In this there is the beginning of a monastic community. One of the world's oldest monasteries, named after St Anthony and established soon after his death, still survives in the desert near the Red Sea - below the mountain cave in which the saint spent his last years.

Monks

In ancient Egypt and Syria, the distinction between the tilled and irrigated fields of the villages and the surrounding wilderness was very clear. Beyond the fields was "the desert," rocky and dry land, with a sparse vegetation of brambles, nettles, and thorn bushes, and incapable of supporting human habitation. It was the site of caves and small springs of brackish or salty water, abounding in poisonous snakes, lizards of all sorts, and watched over by vultures. But believe or not, these conditions favored the life of a monk. The moderate temperatures and sparse rain meant that he could live alone with little shelter, and the solitude and stark landscape aided in meditation and prayer.

From time immemorial, however, men and women had left their villages to live nearby in these badlands and to seek - with the aid of solitude, exposure to the weather, and in hunger and thirst - a deeper knowledge of the universe and the role of human beings in it, and

perhaps to experience a mystic ecstacy in which they felt themselves united with the universe and its god. Associated with this custom was the popular custom of going out into the desert to seek enlightenment, particularly when confronted with some important decision or when dissatisfied with life in general. Moses, Elijah, Jesus, and Muhammad, as well as the entire Israelite people, among many others, retreated into the desert and found their life's mission there.

Such people, hermits [a word that comes from eremus, or "desert," and meaning "desert dwellers"], were regarded by the local villagers as holy men. They would take offerings of food to the hermits near their village, and the hermits would give them wise advise. Some hermits subjected themselves to rather extreme forms of self punishment to drive out cravings for worldly things, and the villagers, admiring such conduct, would sometimes travel long distances to see and offer sustenance.

Anthony of Egypt (251-356)

One of these was a young man named Anthony (251-356), a resident of Alexandria in Egypt. He went into the desert at the age of fifteen and remained there, living a life of extreme austerity, for the next ninety years. As time passed, Anthony became famous and numbers of young men decided to join him in the desert the learn from him and to attempt to follow his way of life. Through a famous biography written by Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, Anthony's way of life became widely known and his influence spread beyond Egypt, and soon collections of hermits were establishing themselves in various places throughout the Eastern Roman Empire.

Why did he become so famous and why was his example so influential? Why were young men and women, but especially young men, so eager to give up all of the pleasures of the world and to abandon their families, friends, and - something that was extremely important to the people of the time to give up their hopes that their name and family would live on through their children? If we are to rely entirely on Athanasius' Life of St. Anthony, it was not only because people believed that the world was filled with demons that sought to lead men and women off the path that led to eternal life and that Anthony's way of life prepared people to fight off these evil forces. Athanasius portrayed Anthony as if he were a wrestler in training

and so tapped both the religious fervor and the sports fever that were characteristic of the common men and women of the eastern empire. The monks were known as "athletes of Christ," and so were doubly worthy of emulation.

The coenobitic life: 4th century AD

The move to fully communal monasticism also takes place in Egypt. Pachomius, a Christian hermit living beside the Nile at Dandara from about AD 320, persuades others to join him in what is effectively a village of anchorites. Each man lives in his own hut, but they eat their meals in common - usually in the open air. Pachomius establishes ten more communities of the same kind, two of them for women. Pachomius writes a 'rule' by which each community must live and worship, thus forming the basis for coenobitic monasticism (from Greek *koinos* 'common' and '*bios*' life). The rule of St Pachomius is now lost, but it is known to St Benedict when he establishes the pattern of western monasticism.

Pachomius (290-346) and Basil

But the number of people who adopted this eremitical (hermit) life made the point of it all to live alone a difficult matter and it became necessary to develop some form of regulation to allow hermits to live in close proximity while still maintaining a life of isolation. Pachomius (290-346) developed of Rule that attempted to solve that problem. Under this Rule, the monks lived in isolated huts, gathering only for meals and even then not speaking to each other. Pachomius went a step further, however, and arranged that the monks should work to produce their own food and clothing. In this way, they were no longer dependent upon the charity that the public could spare for their sustenance, and the number of people who could adopt this cenobitical life (meaning "life in common") became, for all purposes, unlimited. After the reforms of Pachomius, the number of monasteries and monks began to increase rapidly in the East.

Pachomius' reforms were carried still further by Basil. The Rule that he wrote in about 360 abandoned the idea of isolation and extreme asceticism that had been characteristic of Anthony's approach to the spiritual life. Under Basil's Rule, the monks lived and worked together, and were supposed to form a community based upon moderation and fellowship. So it was that only four years after Anthony's death, the

monastic ideal had become so moderated that it was nothing like what had originally attracted people to it.

Western Monasticism: St. Martin of Tours (316-97)

The first people in Western Europe to adopt the life of hermits are Celtic Christians in Gaul in the early 4th century. And the first monastery in the west is founded there, at Ligugé near Poitiers in AD 360, by St Martin. He later creates a much larger monastic complex at Marmoutier, near Tours, where he becomes the bishop in 372. By the end of the century a monastery of this kind is founded on Lérins, an offshore island in the bay of Cannes. It is no doubt the Celtic link which carries this tradition to Ireland, where monasticism - at first of the rocky-island variety - makes a major contribution to the spread. While this strange transformation had been occurring in the East, attempts to spread the monastic ideal to the West had been largely unsuccessful. Athanasius spent several years in exile in the West about the middle of the fourth century, and had attempted to spread the ideal of St. Anthony. Perhaps the greatest follower of the monastic ideal of the time was Martin of Tours (316-397), a cavalryman from the Danubian frontier who became the most famous and influential spiritual leader of early medieval Europe. He was best known for having torn his cavalry cloak (capella in half to share with a naked beggar in the midst of winter. The cloak was preserved and became a powerful relic. Charlemagne took it to Aachen to place in his palace church, which soon became known as "the Capella" as a result. In time, most Carolingian churches came to be called by the same name, and our modern word "chapel" is derived from St. Martin's cloak.

Despite his admiration of Anthony, Martin seemed incapable of emulating him. Even before embarking on his spiritual life, Martin had displayed an attention to the plight of the poor that played little or no part in Anthony's search for the holy life. Moreover, as soon as Martin was discharged from the army, he began to attempt to convert his family and comrades. Anthony had shown little interest in Jesus' admonition "to spread the Good News to the nations," which was something that Martin was constantly involved in promoting. Finally, Anthony had lived his ninety years free from any responsibility for anyone or anything, while Martin soon found himself bishop of Tours, a difficult administrative and political task that absorbed much of his energy for the rest of his life.

Monasticism in Ireland and Scotland these same demands limited the influence of the most important center of eastern monasticism in the West. The eastern monk, Honoratus, established a community on the isle of Lèrins, of the coast of southern France, a community that soon developed a school of Christian doctrine and an example of the monastic life. A number of brilliant men sought the monastic life there, but, one after the other, they were called forth to assume the responsibilities of bishoprics and the leadership of missionary churches.

The most famous of the students of Lèrins was the Englishman, Patrick. After some time in the monastic life, Patrick felt the missionary call, and left to complete the conversion if Ireland. His love of the monastery did not desert him, and Ireland developed a set of ecclesiastical institutions peculiar to itself. Unlike those lands that had once been part of the Roman empire, Ireland did not have an urban infrastructure. Its population was grouped in clans - something like the smaller groups that joined together to form a North American Indian tribe. The clansmen often lived in small, scattered settlements, coming together for special purposes in the village in which the hereditary chief of the clan resided. Irish Christianity adapted to these circumstances. Monasteries were established in virtually each of the many clans that made up the Irish folk, and the abbots became in many ways as much clan chieftains as monastic rulers. Many such abbots were regarded in their lifetime as saints, and there are stories in which entire monasteries, each under their own saintly abbot, did battle with each other for one reason or another.

The Irish attempted to follow the eastern mode of an ascetic life, but they were also convinced of the need to spread the word of Christianity and went about it in a unique way. They would board one of the flimsy leather and wicker boats that were used by the Irish, push out to sea, and go wherever the current took them. One place they landed was the island of Iona, off the western coast of Scotland, where they founded what became a famous and influential monastery. The monks of Iona soon managed to convert southern Scotland and the North of England to Christianity, and they founded still other monasteries there, the most famous being Lindisfarne, on an island off the eastern coast of Northumbria. Although their practices differed from the Christians following the policies of the bishop of Rome, the Irish were quite learned and skillful. They had close contact by sea

with Spain and, through Spain, with the Byzantine world, and so contributed to what is sometimes called the Northumbrian Renaissance in the seventh and eighth centuries. For a time, the North of England was one of the most cultured regions in Western Europe.

Benedict of Nursia (480-543)

Monasticism did not spread as rapidly on the continent as in the British Isles, perhaps because it still had not developed a character that struck a responsive chord in the people of the West. This was reserved for Benedict of Nursia (480- 543), who founded the great monastery of Monte Cassino, where he wrote his Holy Rule.

Benedict had studied law before adopting a monastic life, and he defined his monastery as a corporation. More to the point, however, he emphasized obedience and discipline, regular and congregate meals, a moderate life divided equally between work, sleep and prayer, standard dress to be drawn from a common store, a series of special offices to regulate the communal life and a number of other, similar, things. His monastery was to be much like an army unit, and he freely used military terminology in writing the Rule. He referred to his monks as a schola, a word from which we derived "school," but which originally referred to an elite army unit. Regularity, moderation and, above all, discipline appealed to the people of the West, and the military ideal was one that attracted them.

Benedict's form of monastery slowly began to spread and eventually became the standard form for almost all western monasteries. Moreover, the Benedictine monks became known not as "athletes of Christ," as were their eastern counterparts, but militi Christi, "soldiers of Christ," and military imagery became a permanent aspect of western Christianity.

But the Benedictine Rule had an even greater importance for western attitudes and values. It stated that the abbot was in complete control of the monastery, but that he had to consult with the entire body of monks on all important matters, take responsibility for his decisions, and observe the regulations set forth in the Rule. In addition, it required the congregation to read and discuss the Rule chapter by chapter, beginning over again once they had completed it. This may not seem very important, but consider that the abbot's powers were limited and that the principle of limited sovereignty was a new concept

in the West. Moreover, he was limited by the Rule, which everyone was to know and which governed all of the monastery's affairs. The Rule was, therefore, a written constitution; something that the founders of the United States felt was a great step forward for individual liberty and which the subjects of Great Britain even now do not possess.

Then, too, all of the monks were equal in status. Although their offices might give them certain authority, this was a result of the office and did not belong to the man himself. There were neither nobles nor commoners in a Benedictine monastery. When they passed through the door of the monastery and were "born again" into the monastic life they were born equal. This was a revolutionary idea in 1776, when it was written into the American Declaration of Independence. Finally, all were expected to work. In almost all previous societies, people tried to gain a position of wealth and power that would allow them to avoid labor. Benedict stated that work joyously performed was itself a praise of God. People sometimes speak of "the Protestant Work Ethic." Although it is true that the value placed upon labor as somehow ennobling is almost unique to western society, the idea was developed and practiced long before the Protestant Reformation.

St Jerome, translator and Monk: 4th - 5th century AD

Jerome acquires a firm commitment to the monastic life during his travels in the Middle East as a young man. These include two years living as a hermit in the desert. Like St Anthony before him, he suffers vivid sexual hallucinations. His description of beating his breast to drive them away becomes a favourite theme for artists (painterly tradition provides him with the large stone which he uses for the purpose).

Jerome is not entirely suited to the desert life. In Rome, in AD 382, he experiments with a different sort of monasticism, living with a group of rich Roman widows and virgins. He teaches them Hebrew and they look after him, while he begins his translation of the Bible into Latin. In 385 Jerome and his virgins go on pilgrimage together to Palestine and to the monasteries of Egypt. In 386 they settle in Bethlehem. Here Paula, a widow leading the group of women, organizes the building of a monastery with Jerome at its head, an adjacent convent under her own supervision, and a hostel for

pilgrims. Bethlehem remains Jerome's home for the remaining thirty-four years of his life. Here he writes a large number of religious and literary works, including several biographies. But his greatest achievement is his translation of the Bible (the Old Testament from Hebrew, the New Testament from Greek) into the version which becomes the standard Latin text, known as the Vulgate.

Eastern monasticism: from the 4th century AD

The monastic tradition of eastern Christianity remains true to its ascetic origins, with the discomfort of the hermitage carried to extremes in the strange tradition of the Stylites. Even today the monasteries of the Coptic church of Egypt and Ethiopia, together with the Greek Orthodox communities of Mount Athos and Meteora in Greece and of St Catherine's below Mount Sinai, give the impression of subsisting at the furthest possible remove from the everyday life of fertile valleys.

Celtic monasticism in the west has the same quality. But the much more influential Benedictines will be closely involved in the world. Meanwhile the unusual experiment of St Jerome, a westerner in the east, deserves a mention.

Chapter 5

Eastern Churches

An accident of political development has made it possible to divide the Christian world, in the first place, into two great halves, Eastern and Western. The root of this division is, roughly and broadly speaking, the division of the Roman Empire made first by Diocletian (284-305), and again by the sons of Theodosius I (Arcadius in the East, 395-408; and Honorius in the West, 395-423), then finally made permanent by the establishment of a rival empire in the West (Charlemagne, 800). The division of Eastern and Western Churches, then, in its origin corresponds to that of the empire.

Western Churches are those that either gravitate around Rome or broke away from her at the Reformation. Eastern Churches depend originally on the Eastern Empireat Constantinople; they are those that either find their centre in the patriarchate of that city (since the centralization of the fourth century) or have been formed byschisms which in the first instance concerned Constantinople rather than the Western world.

Another distinction, that can be applied only in the most general and broadest sense, is that of language. Western Christendom till the Reformation was Latin; even now the Protestant bodies still bear unmistakably the mark of their Latinancestry. It was the great Latin Fathers and Schoolmen, St. Augustine (d. 430) most of all, who built up the traditions of the West; in ritual and canon law the Latinor Roman school formed the West. In a still broader sense the East may be called Greek. True, many Eastern Churches know nothing of Greek; the oldest (Nestorians, Armenians, Abyssinians) have never used Greek liturgically nor for their literature; nevertheless they too depend in some sense on a Greek tradition. Whereas our Latin Fathers have never concerned them at all (most Eastern Christians have never even heard of our schoolmen or canonists), they still feel the influence of the Greek Fathers, their theology is still concerned about controversies carried on originally in Greek and settled by Greek synods. The literature of those that do not use Greek is formed on Greek models, is full of words carefully chosen or composed to correspond to some technical Greek distinction, then, in the broadest terms, is: that a Western Church is one originally dependent on Rome, whose traditions are Latin; an Eastern Church looks rather to Constantinople (either as a friend or an enemy) and inherits Greek ideas.

The point may be stated more scientifically by using the old division of the patriarchates. Originally (e.g. at the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325, can. vi) there were three patriarchates, those of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. Further legislation formed two more at the expense of Antioch: Constantinople in 381 and Jerusalem in 451. In any case the Roman patriarchate was always enormously the greatest. Western Christendom *may be defined quite simply as the Roman* patriarchate *and all Churches that have broken away from it. All the others, with* schismatical *bodies formed from them, make up the Eastern half.* But it must not be imaged that either half is in any sense one Church. The Latin half was so (in spite of a few unimportant schisms) till the Reformation. To find a time when there was one Eastern Church we must go back to the centuries before the Council of Ephesus (431). Since that council there have been separate schismatical Eastern Churches whose number has grown steadily down to our own time. The Nestorian heresy left a

permanent Nestorian Church, the Monophysite and Monothelite quarrels made several more, the reunion with Rome of fractions of every Rite further increased the number, and quite lately the Bulgarian schism has created yet another; indeed it seems as if two more, in Cyprus and Syria, are being formed at the present moment (1908).

Families of churches

Eastern Christians have a shared tradition, but they became divided during the early centuries of Christianity in disputes about christology and theology.

In general terms, Eastern Christianity can be described as comprising four families of churches: the Assyrian Church of the East, the Eastern Orthodox Churches, Oriental Orthodoxy, and the Eastern Catholic Churches.

Although there are important theological and dogmatic disagreements among these groups, nonetheless in some matters of traditional practices that are not matters of dogma, they resemble each other in some ways in which they differ from Catholic and Protestant churches in the West. For example, in all the Eastern churches, parish priests administer the sacrament of chrismation to newborn infants just after baptism; that is not done in Western churches. All the groups have weaker rules on clerical celibacy than those of the Latin Rite (i.e., Western) Catholic churches, in that, although they do not allow marriage after ordination, they allow married men to become priests (and originally bishops).

The Eastern churches' differences from Western Christianity have as much, if not more, to do with culture, language, and politics as they do with theology. For the non-Catholic Eastern churches, a definitive date for the commencement of schism cannot be given, although conventionally, it is often stated that the Assyrian Church of the East became estranged from the church of the Roman Empire in the years following the Council of Ephesus (431 C.E.), Oriental Orthodoxy separated after the Council of Chalcedon (451 C.E.), and the split between the Church of Rome and the Orthodox Church is usually dated to 1054 C.E. (often referred to as the Great Schism).

The Oriental Orthodox and Assyrian Church of the East left the Eastern Orthodox Church in the early centuries due to their rejection of certain Ecumenical Councils.

Assyrian Church of the East

The Assyrian Church of the East, which sometimes calls itself the *Assyrian Orthodox Church*, traces its roots to the Sea of Babylon, said to have been founded by Saint Thomas the Apostle. It accepts only the first two Ecumenical Councils of the undivided Church-the Council of Nicaea and the First Council of Constantinople-as defining its faith tradition. This church developed within the Persian Empire, at the east of the Christian world, and rapidly took a different course from other Eastern Christians. In the West, it is sometimes inaccurately called the Nestorian Church.

Oriental Orthodox Churches

Oriental Orthodoxy refers to the churches of Eastern Christian tradition that keep the faith of the first three Ecumenical Councils of the undivided Church: the First Council of Nicaea (325 C.E.), the First Council of Constantinople (381 C.E.) and the Council of Ephesus (431C.E.), and rejected the dogmatic definitions of the Council of Chalcedon (451 C.E.). Hence, these churches are also called *Old Oriental Churches*. Oriental Orthodoxy developed in reaction to Chalcedon on the eastern limit of the Byzantine Empire and in Egypt and Syria. In those locations, there are now also Eastern Orthodox Patriarchs, but the rivalry between the two has largely vanished in the centuries since schism.

The following Oriental Orthodox churches are autocephalous and in full communion together:

- ❖ Armenian Apostolic Church
- ❖ Coptic Orthodox Church
- ❖ Eritrean Orthodox Tewahdo Church
- ❖ Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church
- ❖ Indian Orthodox Church
- ❖ Syriac Orthodox Church

Eastern Orthodox Churches

The Eastern Orthodox Church is a Christian body whose adherents are largely based in Russia, Greece, Eastern Europe and the Middle East, with a growing presence in the western world. Eastern Orthodox Christians accept seven Ecumenical Councils.

Orthodox Christianity identifies itself as the original Christian church founded by Christ and the Apostles, and traces its lineage back to the early church through the process of Apostolic Succession and unchanged theology and practice. Orthodox distinctives (shared with some of the Eastern Catholic Churches) include the Divine Liturgy, Mysteries or Sacraments, and an emphasis on the preservation of Tradition, which it holds to be Apostolic in nature.

Orthodox Churches are also distinctive in that they are organized into self-governing jurisdictions along national lines. Orthodoxy is thus made up of 14 or 15 national autocephalous bodies. Smaller churches are autonomous and each have a mother church that is autocephalous.

The Eastern Orthodox Church includes the following churches

- **Autocephalous Churches**
  - The Church of Constantinople
  - The Church of Alexandria
  - The Church of Antioch
  - The Church of Jerusalem
  - The Church of Moscow
  - The Church of Georgia
  - The Church of Serbia
  - The Church of Romania
  - The Church of Bulgaria
  - The Church of Cyprus
  - The Church of Greece
  - The Church of Albania

  ‣ The Church of Poland

  ‣ The Church of Slovakia and the Czech Lands

  ‣ The Orthodox Church in America

- **Autonomous Churches**

  ‣ The Church of Sinai (Jerusalem Patriarchate)

  ‣ The Church of Finland (Ecumenical Patriarchate)

  ‣ The Church of Japan (Moscow Patriarchate)

  ‣ The Church of Ukraine (Moscow Patriarchate)

- **Exceptional churches generally considered to be orthodox in beliefs but otherwise not in communion with all of the above churches.**

  ‣ The Church of Sinai (Jerusa

  ‣ Russian Orthodox Church outside of Russia - Talks underway to normalize status. (Unification with Russian Orthodox Church achieved May 17, 2007)

  ‣ The Church of Ukraine (Kiev Patriarchate)

  ‣ The Church of Macedonia

Most Eastern Orthodox is united in communion with the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, though unlike in the Roman Catholic Church, this is a looser connection rather than a top-down. It is estimated that there are approximately 240 million Orthodox Christians in the world. Today, many adherents shun the term "Eastern" as denying the church's universal character. They refer to Eastern Orthodoxy simply as the *Orthodox Church*.

Eastern Catholic Churches

The definition of an Eastern-Rite Catholic is: *A* Christian *of any Eastern rite in union with the* pope: i.e. a Catholic who belongs not to the Roman, but to an Eastern rite. They differ from other Eastern Christians in that they are in communion with Rome, and from Latins in that they have other rites.

The split between the Latin and Byzantine churches, which had been symbolized by the mutual excommunications of Patriarch Michael Cerularius and Cardinal Ugo da Silva Candida in 1054, became definitive in the minds of the common people in the east after the Crusades and the sacking of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204. Attempts at reunion took place at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 and at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438-1439, but neither was successful.

Subsequently, a Roman Catholic theology of the Church continued to develop which vigorously emphasized the necessity of the direct jurisdiction of the Pope over all the local churches. This implied that churches not under the Pope's jurisdiction could be considered objects of missionary activity for the purpose of bringing them into communion with the Catholic Church. At the same time, the notion of "rite" developed, according to which groups of eastern Christians who came into union with Rome would be absorbed into the single Church, but allowed to maintain their own liturgical tradition and canonical discipline.

This missionary activity, which was sometimes carried out with the support of Catholic governments of countries with Orthodox minorities, was directed towards all the eastern churches. Eventually segments of virtually all of these churches came into union with Rome. It should be recognized, however, that not all these unions were the result of the activity of Catholic missionaries. The Bulgarian Byzantine Catholic Church, for example, was the direct result of a spontaneous movement of Orthodox towards Rome. And the Maronites in Lebanon claim never to have been out of communion with the Roman Church.

Inevitably, these unions resulted in a process of latinization, or the adoption of certain practices and attitudes proper to the Latin Church, to a certain degree, depending on the circumstances of the group. As a result, these churches sometimes lost contact with their spiritual roots. The monastic tradition, so central to Orthodox spirituality, died out in most of the Eastern Catholic churches, although religious life often continued in the form of congregations modeled on Latin apostolic communities. Since the Second Vatican Council, efforts have been made to reverse this process.

All of these churches come under the jurisdiction of the Pope through the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, one of the offices of the Roman Curia. It was created in 1862 as part of the *Propaganda Fide* (which oversaw the church's missionary activity), and was made an autonomous Congregation by Benedict XV in 1917. It has the same role with regard to bishops, clergy, religious, and the faithful in the Eastern Catholic churches that other offices of the Curia have in relation to the Latin church.

The Oriental Congregation also oversees the prestigious Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, which is under the direction of the Jesuits and has one of the best libraries for eastern Christian studies in the world.

It should be mentioned that in the past the Eastern Catholic churches were often referred to as "Uniate" churches. Since the term is now considered derogatory, it is no longer used.

The Catholic Eastern Churches

Most Orthodox views these churches as an obstacle in the way of reconciliation between the Catholic and Orthodox churches. They feel that their very existence constitutes a denial by Catholics of the ecclesial reality of the Orthodox Church, and that these unions grew from efforts to split local Orthodox communities. They tend to consider Eastern Catholics either as Orthodox whose presence in the Catholic Church is an abnormal situation brought about by coercive measures, or even as Roman Catholics pretending to be Orthodox for the purpose of proselytism.

One of the documents of the Second Vatican Council, *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, dealt with the Eastern Catholic churches. It affirmed their equality with the Latin Church and called upon Eastern Catholics to rediscover their authentic traditions. It also affirmed that Eastern Catholics have a special vocation to foster ecumenical relations with the Orthodox.

The ecclesial life of the Eastern Catholic churches is governed in accordance with the *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches*, which was promulgated by Pope John Paul II on October 18, 1990, and had the force of law as of October 1, 1991. According to the new Eastern Code, the Eastern Catholic churches fall into four categories:

- Patriarchal Churches (the Chaldean, Armenian, Coptic, Syrian, Maronite, and Melkite)
- Major Archiepiscopal (Ukrainian, Syro-Malabar, Romanian and Syro-Malankara)
- Metropolitan *sui iuris* (the Ethiopian, American Ruthenian, Hungarian, Eritrean and Slovak churches)
- Other churches *sui iuris* (Bulgarian, Greek, Italo-Albanian, Russian, Belarusan, and Albanian churches, as well as the Ruthennian eparchy of Mukaèevo and apostolic exarchate in Prague, and the three Greek Catholic jurisdictions in former Yugoslavia).

Each Eastern Catholic patriarchal church has the right to choose its own Patriarch. He is elected by the Synod of Bishops and is immediately proclaimed and enthroned. He subsequently requests ecclesiastical communion from the Pope. The synods of patriarchal churches also elect bishops for dioceses within the patriarchal territory from a list of candidates that have been approved by the Holy See. If the one elected has not been previously approved, he must obtain the consent of the Pope before ordination as bishop. A Major Archbishop is elected in the same manner as a Patriarch, but his election must be confirmed by the Roman Pontiff before he can be enthroned. Metropolitans are named by the Pope on the basis of a list of at least three candidates submitted by the church's council of bishops.

Chapter 6

Early Church Missions

12 disciples spread Gospel to known world: James to Spain, Andrew to Russia, Paul to Asia Minor and Europe, Thomas to India. Apostle Simon the Zealot: Most legends place his missionary work in Egypt (with Mark). According to a sixth-century apocryphal tradition, he preached the Gospel in Persia with Jude (Judas Thaddaeus), where they were both martyred.

St. Thomas in India**:** The astonishing thing is not so much the account of St. Thomas' martyrdom, but the fact that he should have lived in here at all-in what was then a small village on the east coast of the Indian peninsula-a very long way off from his native Palestine. Documentary evidence indicates that active trading between the Middle East and the Malabar Coast of India was in existence as far back as the first century, B.C. It is therefore theoretically possible that St. Thomas could have crossed the Arabian Sea aboard an Arab dhow. It can only be a gift of Grace that the faith and tradition of a small community of the early Christians in India have remained alive and vibrant throughout nearly two thousand years. There is no good reason to

doubt the living tradition of St. Thomas Christians that the Apostle arrived in Kodungalloor (Muziris) in Kerala in 52 AD, preached the gospel, established seven churches, and moved on to other kingdom, returning to Madras (Mylapore) in 72 AD where he was martyred that year. The St. Thomas Christians in India is hailing from th missionary patronage of apostle Thomas.

Second Century Missions

❖ **Polycarp** - One of the most widely-publicised martyrs in the years following the New Testament was Polycarp, the much-loved bishop of Smyrna (Turkey)… For some 50 years he wielded powerful influence in his position. It was in AD156 that anti-Christian persecution broke out in the province of Asia. Civil authorities, for reasons not fully clear, decided to kill a few Christians. Polycarp was immediately feared to be a likely target, so local believers insisted that he take refuge in a secluded area. His period of hiding was short-lived. After torturing a servant, the soldiers learned his whereabouts and found him hiding in a hayloft.

But execution, it was learned, was not what the authorities wanted. What they really wanted was a denial of his faith. What a victory that would be for paganism and what a blow to the "cult" of Jesus. "What harm is there in saying, "Caesar is Lord' and offering incense and saving yourself," the officials pleaded with him, "Have respect for your age… take the oath and I will let you go." But Polycarp, with his face set, looked at all the crowd in the stadium and waved his hand towards them, sighed, looked up into heaven and said, "Eighty and six years have I been His servant, and He has never done me wrong. How can I blaspheme my king who saved me? … The fire you threaten burns for a time and is soon extinguished; there is a fire you know not of - the fire of the judgement to come and of eternal punishment, reserved for the ungodly. But why do you hesitate? Do what you want." So he was burned at the stake.

❖ **Pantaenus:** The towering stone structure of the Greek Orthodox Church of Mar Girgis greets you as you step out of the metro station. Centuries ago, Persian, Greek, and then Roman soldiers doing sentry duty atop this tower would have been looking down at the River Nile instead of a metro line, and the ground surrounding the fortress would be some 10 metres lower than its current level...

Pantaenus was born in Alexandria at the beginning of the second Gregorian century. It seemed that Pantaenus and his contemporary Clement of Alexandria were ... veterans in sciences and wisdom of the ancient, as well as their professionalism in Christian principles. In 181 AD, Pantaenus was appointed principal of the Seminary. He remained in his position till he was chosen by Pope Dimitros to preach in India, after his Holiness had received a letter from Indians seeking for a leading Christian figure to teach them Christian faith. Pantaenus welcomed this request entrusting to Clement of Alexandria to take over the reins of the Seminary in 190 AD till his return. Pantaenus headed for India to propagate the Gospels. Meanwhile, Christians realized the life of Jesus must be translated into Egyptian language. Pantaenus assumed this charge, but he was encountered with the inaccuracy of the hieroglyphic language in the pronunciation of some paragraphs and accents, so he added six letters of alphabet to the hieroglyphic. Such a work was undertaken by Pantaenus in cooperation with his disciples till it was accomplished. He, therefore, was able to translate the Holy Bible for the Egyptians in their own language for the availability to study it at their homes and churches. By this time, hieroglyphic was replaced by Greek language. After his nomination for a second time as Principal of the Seminary, Pantaenus lived a short time and died in 190 AD.

❖ **Northwest Africa** - Latin - Tertullian wrote "We are but of yesterday, and we have filled every place among you - cities, islands, fortresses, towns, market-places, the very camp, tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum…" (*Apologeticus* 37)

Third Century Missions

❖ **Gregory Thaumaturgos of Pontus, Asia Minor**: was born and reared a pagan in a wealthy family. Tutoured in his school subjects by Origen, he was converted and returned to Pontus, where he was made bishop against his protestations in 240. He gave himself to completing the conversion of the populace of his diocese. When he died, about 30 years later, the overwhelming majority had accepted the Christian faith. It is said that when he became bishop, he found only 17 Christians in his see and that at his death only 17 remained pagan! In achieving this mass conversion, Gregory made

the transition as easy as possible, substituting festivals in honor of Christian martyrs for the feasts of the old gods.

❖ **Gregory the Illuminator of Armenia**: Gregory seems to have been of the Armenian aristocracy and to have become a Christian while in exile in Asia Minor. Returning to Armenia and seeking to propagate his new faith, Gregory encountered persecution. Then he won the king, Tradt, by name. Why the king became a Christian we can only conjecture, but with the consent of his nobles he supported Gregory. The compliant population rapidly moved over to the new faith. Many of the shrines of the pre-Christian paganism were transferred, together with their endowments, to the service of Christianity, and numbers of pagan priests or their sons passed over into the body of Christian clergy.

❖ Here is an instance of a group adoption of the Christian faith engineered by the accepted leaders and issuing in an ecclesiastical structure which became identified with a particular people or state. To this day the Armenian Church has been known by Gregory's name and is a symbol of Armenian nationalism.

Fourth Century Missions

❖ **Constantine**: invaded Italy on his march towards Rome and was faced with the army of his first formidable opponent, Maxentius. Apparently he knew that Maxentius was relying on pagan magic and felt the need of a more powerful supernatural force to offset it. Years later he told his friend, Bishop Eusebius, the most eminent of early Church historians that, after noon, as he was praying, he had a vision of a cross of light in the heavens bearing the inscription, "conquer by this" … Constantine was victor, the winning battle being at the Milvian Bridge, near Rome, and he therefore took possession of the capitol. His faith in the efficacy of Christianity was thus won, and he supported Christianity along with other pagan religions in his realm.

❖ **Ulfilias**: The Visigoths, or West Goths, a warlike people, lived along the Roman frontier west of the Black Sea. After they had been "Christianized," Ulfilas (311-382), their bishop, saw they needed the Bible in their own tongue, "to speak to their hearts." First, Ulfilas had to make an alphabet. He knew that neither the Greek nor the Roman alphabet would fit a Germanic language. He chose

from these alphabets only the letters that corresponded to the speech sounds of Visigoth. For sounds for which there were no letters, he used runes, an early Germanic alphabet of limited use. With this, he translated the Bible. The Visigoths migrated west and were the first to conquer Rome (A.D. 410) their aim, however, was not so much to destroy but to acquire the benefits of civilization. It was largely due to the work of Ulfilas that these plunderers became peacemakers.

Chrysostom: Towards the end of the year 397, Chrysostom was chosen… against his will, archbishop ofConstantinople . He was hurried away from Antioch by a military escort, to avoid a commotion in the congregation and to make resistance useless. Chrysostom soon gained by his eloquent sermons the admiration of the people, of the weak Emperor Arcadius, and, at first, even of his wife Eudoxia... He extended his pastoral care to the Goths who were becoming numerous in Constantinople, had a part of the Bible translated for them, often preached to them himself through an interpreter, and sent missionaries to the Gothic and Scythian tribes on the Danube. He continued to direct by correspondence those missionary operations even during his exile. For a short time he enjoyed the height of power and popularity.

But he also made enemies by his denunciations of the vices and follies of the clergy and aristocracy. He emptied the Episcopal palace of its costly plate and furniture and sold it for the benefit of the poor and the hospitals. He introduced his strict ascetic habits and reduced the luxurious household of his predecessors to the strictest simplicity. He devoted his large income to benevolence. He refused invitations to banquets, gave no dinner parties, and ate the simplest fare in his solitary chamber. He denounced unsparingly luxurious habits in eating and dressing, and enjoined upon the rich the duty of almsgiving to an extent that tended to increase rather than diminish the number of beggars who swarmed in the streets and around the churches and public baths. He disciplined the vicious clergy and opposed the perilous and immoral habit of unmarried priests of living under the same roof with "spiritual sisters." …Chrysostom's unpopularity was increased by his irritability and obstinacy (which some attributed to an ascetic lifestyle that ruined his stomach). The Empress Eudoxia was jealous of his influence

over Arcadius and angry at his uncompromising severity against sin and vice. She became the chief instrument of his downfall… The saint died in the city of Comene on September 14th in the year 407 on his way to a place of exile, having been condemned by the intrigues of the empress Eudoxia because of his daring denunciation of the vices ruling over Constantinople. The last words on his lips were, "Glory be to God for all things!"

- ❖ **Axum**: **Frumentius**: A Christian philosopher from Tyre called Meropius travelled to India with his wards, Frumentious and Aedsius. On the way home, they fell prey to pirates in the Red Sea and were shipwrecked. Meropius and the rest of the ship's company were massacred, but the people of Aksum found the two boys sitting under a tree, studying. They were welcomed at the court of the King, Ella Amida; Aedsius became his cupbearer, and Frumentius became his treasurer and secretary. Then the King died, Frumentius acted as regent until prince Ezana came of age. When the prince came into his inheritance, Aedisius went back to Tyre and Frumentius went to Alexandria, Egypt to ask for a bishop for the Christians of Aksum. Athanasius responded by consecrating Frumentius and sending him back toAksum as its first bishop. During his reign as king of Aksum, Ezana's monument s and coins provide a fascinating mirror of his gradual adoption of Christianity. His earliest inscriptions are dedicated to the South Arabian gods Astar, Baher, and Meder, later the invoke the "Lord of Heaven," and finally, the Trinity. Christianity became the official faith of that state!

- ❖ **Egyptian Coptic Church** which grew in this time period was not Hellenistic, but made of common people who spoke Egyptian Coptic. They more readily embraced the otherworldly emphasis of Gnosticism, but were persecuted severely - many fled to the desert. One church father wrote, "If the Tiber flooded or if the Nile failed to flood, there was a cry of 'Christians to the lion!'" (Tertullian, *Apologeticus* 40). Likewise in North Africa, the poorer classes that remained faithful during earlier persecutions formed the Donatist church. They opposed the more wealthy Roman Catholic Church leaders, such as Augustine. They were, however, active in providing medical care for plague victims in the city of Carthage .

❖ **Arabia**: Theophilus the Indian was sent from Rome and converted the king of Southern Arabia, planted 4 churches in Yemen . Abdisha builds monastery in Bahrain.

Fifth Century Missions

Many European tribes were converted. Patrick worked among the Irish, Ninian among the Picts, and there were many others. Some of the autobiographical notes of Patrick is given below and these line would shed light upon the nature of missionary work during this period.

❖ **Confession Of Patrick- Translated from the Latin by Ludwig Bieler**

I am Patrick, a sinner, most unlearned, the least of all the faithful, and utterly despised by many. My father was Calpornius, a deacon, son of Potitus, a priest, of the village Bannavem Taburniæ; he had a country seat nearby, and there I was taken captive. I was then about sixteen years of age. I did not know the true God. I was taken into captivity to Ireland with many thousands of people—and deservedly so, because we turned away from God, and did not keep His commandments, and did not obey our priests, who used to remind us of our salvation. And the Lord brought over us the wrath of his anger and scattered us among many nations, even unto the utmost part of the earth, where now my littleness is placed among strangers. And there the Lord opened the sense of my unbelief that I might at last remember my sins and be converted with all my heart to the Lord my God, who had regard for my abjection, and mercy on my youth and ignorance, and watched over me before I knew Him, and before I was able to distinguish between good and evil, and guarded me, and comforted me as would a father his son. Hence I cannot be silent-nor, indeed, is it expedient-about the great benefits and the great grace which the lord has deigned to bestow upon me in the land of my captivity; for this we can give to God in return after having been chastened by Him, to exalt and praise His wonders before every nation that is anywhere under the heaven.

Theology: Because there is no other God, nor ever was, nor will be, than God the Father unbegotten, without beginning, from whom is all beginning, the Lord of the universe, as we have been taught;

and His son Jesus Christ, whom we declare to have always been with the Father, spiritually and ineffably begotten by the Father before the beginning of the world, before all beginning; and by Him are made all things visible and invisible. He was made man, and, having defeated death, was received into heaven by the Father; and He hath given Him all power over all names in heaven, on earth, and under the earth, and every tongue shall confess to Him that Jesus Christ is Lord and God, in whom we believe, and whose advent we expect soon to be, judge of the living and of the dead, who will render to every man according to his deeds; and He has poured forth upon us abundantly the Holy Spirit, the gift and pledge of immortality, who makes those who believe and obey sons of God and joint heirs with Christ; and Him do we confess and adore, one God in the Trinity of the Holy Name...

Escape from Slavery: But after I came to Ireland-every day I had to tend sheep, and many times a day I prayed-the love of God and His fear came to me more and more, and my faith was strengthened… And there one night I heard in my sleep a voice saying to me: 'It is well that you fast, soon you will go to your own country.' And again, after a short while, I heard a voice saying to me: 'See, your ship is ready.' ... then I took to flight, and I left the man with whom I had stayed for six years. And I went in the strength of God who directed my way to my good, and I feared nothing until I came to that ship... And after three days we reached land, and for twenty-eight days we travelled through deserted country. And they lacked food, and hunger overcame them; and the next day the captain said to me: 'Tell me, Christian: you say that your God is great and all-powerful; why, then, do you not pray for us? As you can see, we are suffering from hunger; it is unlikely indeed that we shall ever see a human being again.' I said to them full of confidence: 'Be truly converted with all your heart to the Lord my God, because nothing is impossible for Him, that this day He may send you food on your way until you be satisfied; for He has abundance everywhere.' And, with the help of God, so it came to pass: suddenly a herd of pigs appeared on the road before our eyes, and they killed many of them.

For many tried to prevent this mission; they would even talk to each other behind my back and say: 'Why does this fellow throw

himself into danger among enemies who have no knowledge of God?' … And when I was attacked by a number of my seniors who came forth and brought up my sins against my laborious episcopate... they found-after thirty years! -a confession I had made before I was a deacon. In the anxiety of my troubled mind I confided to my dearest friend what I had done in my boyhood one day, nay, in one hour, because I was not yet strong. I know not, God knows-whether I was then fifteen years old: and I did not believe in the living God... Therefore I give Him thanks who hath strengthened me in everything, as He did not frustrate the journey upon which I had decided, and the work which I had learned from Christ my Lord; but I rather felt after this no little strength, and my trust was proved right before God and men... Hence, then, I give unwearied thanks to God, who kept me faithful in the day of my temptation, so that today I can confidently offer Him my soul as a living sacrifice-to Christ my Lord, who saved me out of all my troubles. Thus I can say: 'Who am I, 0 Lord, and to what hast Thou called me, Thou who didst assist me with such divine power that to-day I constantly exalt and magnify Thy name among the heathens wherever I may be, and not only in good days but also in tribulations?' ...

❖ **Arabia**: Nestorian evangelists penetrate to Soccotra (into the ocean beyond Yemen) and in the other direction into Central Asiato the Huns and beyond, planting churches. Bishops are established in Qatar & Bahrain. A Yemeni merchant named Hayyan preaches the Gospel throughout his country.

❖ **Russia**: Cyril, Byzantine missionary to Moscow, Invents Russian alphabet (Cyrillic) and translates Bible.

❖ **Africa**: Church was weakened by conflict between Donatists and Roman Catholics and then by competition with invading Vikings who were themselves Arian "Christians"! On the other side of Africa, 9 Syrians were sent to Ethiopia, where they founded monasteries and translated the Bible into the Ge'ez language.

Sixth Century Missions

❖ **Columba** (c. 521-597) was born into a noble Irish family in 521 and brought up in the Christian faith. As a young man he entered a monastery, where he was ordained a priest. His evangelistic zeal was evident early in his ministry, and he is credited with establishing

many churches and monasteries in Ireland. Columba's switch from "home" missions to "foreign" missions at the age of 42 was caused by his Irish temper. He was a fighter as well as a saint, "a man of powerful frame and mighty voice." His hot temper drew him into many quarrels, at last into war with King Diarmuid, in which 5000 men were killed. Columba, though victorious, fled from Ireland, resolved to convert as many souls as had fallen in that battle. With 12 clerics to serve under him, he established headquarters just off the coast of Scotland on Iona and established a monastery that fostered the routine monastic life but in addition provided training for evangelists who were sent out to preach the gospel, build churches, and establish more monasteries. Columba himself was active in missionary work, and traveled many times into Scotland, evangelizing the Picts in the Scottish highlands. Brude, High King of Picts, initially refused to let him into his city, but Columba stood by the gates and prayed until the King finally relented. Upon entering the city, Brude's Druid-priests challenged Columba to a duel of paranormal powers, but Columba's feats are said to have been the more powerful and put the Druids to shame. The Loch Ness Monster has never killed a single soul since Columba blessed the beast that had been eating local fishermen.

❖ **Other Notable Missionaries in Europe** : Clovis converted the Franks, Augustine of Canterbury and Ethelbert converted the Angles and Saxons late in this century

❖ **Jacob Bard -** The decisive factor in the Monophysite revival was the organizing missionary genius of Jacob Baradaeus who planted a trail of churches across Asia, which were to spread from Syria to India, and which survive to this day and take his name as "Jacobite" Syrian Orthodox. Jacob was born in the city of Tella in eastern Syria, about 40 miles from Edessa, near the Persian border. He entered his ministry as an ascetic and lived in a [small] monastery near Nisibis… About 542, the king of the Ghassanid Arabs, al Harith ibn Jabadah, who served Byzantine Rome as military governor of the provinces of eastern Syria, sent an embassy to Empress Theodora [of Constantinople], asking, among other things, for two Monophysite missionary bishops… She chose Jacob Baradaeus, who was titled bishop of Edessa, and Theodore, who was made bishop of Bostra in Roman Arabia.

The latter ably served the Ghassanid Arabs, but it was Jacob who became the Monophysite apostle to Asia.

Jacob never really lived in Edessa, his episcopal seat. The police were too hot on his trail. Justinian, not happy with his wife's religious intrigues, gave orders for his arrest. But for over 35 years, from 542 to 578, Jacob eluded the spies and soldiers of the empire. He kept constantly on the move, hastily finishing his work in any town in a day or a night and quickly moving on before he was discovered. He traveled thirty or fourty miles a day, all on foot. Riding a donkey or a horse, he thought, was too much of a luxury for a missionary. Most people took him for a beggar because his clothes were so tattered and pieced together that he was called Baradai "the patchwork man," which is said to be how he got his nickname… Sometimes his pursuers would meet him face to face but not recognize him. Thinking him a beggar, they would ask, "Have you heard any secret word about that deceiver, Jacob?" and he would say, "Yes, a long way back of here I heard some men say that he was about, and if you hurry perhaps you will catch him." So they would rush off, discover nothing and be left "beating the air… biting their fingers … and gnashing their molars against the man mighty in the Lord," as his biographer tells the tale. From Constantinople to the Persian frontier Jacob Bardai preached, encouraged, and above all ordained, making sure that his evangelistic efforts were not left to wither for lack of structural sinews. He is credited by admiring Monophysite historians with ordaining and unbelievable 100,000 clergy.

❖ **Nubia:** The eunuch whom Phillip encountered and converted was a high official from Meroe, in the employ of Candace. In the fourth century, the growing kingdom of Aksum conquered Meroe . In the culture that ensued, Christianity was known, but not adopted. In one grave, for instance, a cross was found next to charms of gold and lead. Three separate states developed in Nubia, from North to South: Nobatia, Makouria, and Alwa. Christian missionaries came curiously late to Nubia, when one considers the fervor of its Egyptian neighbors, but in 543, the Byzantine empress Theodora sent the Monophysite monk, Julian, to Nubia. Julian converted Nobatia to Christianity, beginning with the court. So rapid and complete was the process that it suggests either that the King

wielded great power, or that a considerable degree of prior Christian influence existed. Makouria was converted by Chalcedonian emissaries in about 569, and Alwa to Monophysite Christianity in 580 by Longinus, the Bishop of Philae, who made a great detour through the desert to avoid Makouria.

Nubia was one of the few countries in the ancient world converted to Christianity without a prior experience of Roman rule… The Nubians used the liturgy of St. Mark, and decorated the walls of their churches with murals that showed their royals dressed in Byzantine style. In 1961, Polish archaeologists excavated what appeared to be a mound of sand, and within it, found Faras Cathedral, its walls decorated with 169 magnificent paintings of dark-skinned Nubian kings, queens, and bishops, biblical figures, and saints… There were up to 6 Christian churches in each village, and the dead during this Christian era were not buried with all the grave goods that the pre-Christians had. In the early 600's the Arabs conquered Egypt, but they did not conquer Nubia . They were repelled by Nubia 's brilliant archers and formed a treaty, recognizing them as an independent, Non-Muslim state.

❖ **Brendan**, an Irish monk sailed to America in a small boat. A 1976 expedition led by Timothy Severin set out to prove that 6th Century technology and seamanship did have the ability to traverse the Atlantic. He set sail in a small leather-hulled boat to duplicate St. Brendan's voyage using 6th Century methods. His success proved beyond question that the trip was indeed possible. Then in 1982 archeologists and ancient language experts unlocked the key to understanding a petroglyph that had been merely a puzzling curiosity since its discovery in 1964. A "petroglyph" is simply a carving of words in stone. This one, located in a rock recess in Wyoming County, West Virginia, U. S. A. , was recognized by language expert Barry Fell to be written in ancient Irish Celtic Ogam, in current use in the 6th Century in Ireland .The translation of this 6th Century Celtic Christian petroglyph reads: At the time of sunrise a ray grazes the notch on the left side on Christmas Day. A feast-day of the Church, the First season of the (Christian) year. The season of the Blessed Advent of the Savior, Lord Christ (Salvadoris Domini Christi). Behold, he is born of Mary, a woman.

On another panel of the petroglyph there is a remarkably significant, though very short, inscription in the Algonquian language, which asserts, "Glad Tidings." We have here compelling evidence that the Christian gospel had come to the Algonquian Indians as early as the 6th Century! And it came to them from Ireland ! This was a full millennium before the English missionary John Elliot, funded largely by the support of the English Chemist Sir Robert Boyle, would once again bring the gospel to the Algonquian Indians. Of course, that early Celtic Christian faith disappeared entirely from America somewhere in that intervening millennium, and we're not sure just when, or why. But it was here, for these American Natives, as early as the 6th Century!

Another petroglyph of the same time period and Celtic Ogam script was found in Boone County West Virginia in the vicinity of Horse Creek. The Horse Creek petroglyph reads: A happy season is Christmas, a lime of joy and goodwill to all people. A virgin was with child; God ordained her to conceive and be fruitful. Ah, Behold, a miracle! She gave birth to a son in a cave. The name of the cave was the cave of Bethlehem. His foster-father gave him the name Jesus, the Christ, Alpha and Omega. Festive season of prayer. St. Brendan, according to the monastic records, made two successful voyages across the Atlantic, and returned to Ireland to found the monastery of Clonfert in County Galway in 561. We know that his voyages were complete before he founded the monastery, so there is a strong historical probability that the Christian presence evidenced in America dates before AD 561. So here, as a result of the Celtic Church, we have a church present in America , that is totally independent of the Roman Catholic, a millennium before the Reformation.

Seventh Century Missions

Nestorians In China: In about 1625 some Chinese digging the foundations of a house near Xian, China 's ancient capital, chanced upon a black marble monument. The Chinese characters inscribed at the top said, "The Monument Commemorating the Propagation of the Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion in the Middle Kingdom." Syriac characters on the stone described the arrival of a missionary, Olopen (or Alopen), in 635. The text also named Chinese emperors who had supported this religion and listed the religion's leaders, including one bishop, 28

presbyters, and 38 others, likely monks. Questions remain, however, about what these people really believed. At best they retained the basic teachings of the Nestorian missionaries, which already makes their theology suspect in the West. A remote Christian outpost in the heart of Taoist country would also have been susceptible to syncretism. In its report on Palmer's discovery, U.S. News claims that the "uniquely Chinese brand of Christianity … mixed with Taoism and Buddhism, differed from the Roman church by discarding the idea of original sin, and preaching against slavery and for gender equality and vegetarianism…"

Nestorian Tablet: "Behold the unchangeably true and invisible, who existed through all eternity without origin; the far-seeing perfect intelligence, whose mysterious existence is everlasting; operating on primordial substance he created the universe, being more excellent than all holy intelligences, inasmuch as he is the source of all that is honorable. This is our eternal true lord God, triune and mysterious in substance. Twenty-seven sacred books [the number in the New Testament] have been left, which disseminate intelligence by unfolding the original transforming principles. By the rule for admission, it is the custom to apply the water of baptism, to wash away all superficial show and to cleanse and purify the neophytes. As a seal, they hold the cross, whose influence is reflected in every direction, uniting all without distinction. As they strike the wood, the fame of their benevolence is diffused abroad; worshiping toward the east, they hasten on the way to life and glory; they preserve the beard to symbolize their outward actions, they shave the crown to indicate the absence of inward affections; they do not keep slaves, but put noble and mean all on an equality; they do not amass wealth, but cast all their property into the common stock; they fast, in order to perfect themselves by self-inspection; they submit to restraints, in order to strengthen themselves by silent watchfulness; seven times a day they have worship and praise for the benefit of the living and the dead; once in seven days they sacrifice, to cleanse the heart and return to purity…

In the time of the accomplished Emperor Tai-tsung, the illustrious and magnificent founder of the dynasty, among the enlightened and holy men who arrived was the most-virtuous Olopun, from the country of Syria. Observing the azure clouds, he bore the true sacred books; beholding the direction of the winds, he braved difficulties and dangers.

In the year of our Lord 635 he arrived at Chang-an; the Emperor sent his Prime Minister, Duke Fang Hiuen-ling; who, carrying the official staff to the west border, conducted his guest into the interior; the sacred books were translated in the imperial library, the sovereign investigated the subject in his private apartments; when becoming deeply impressed with the rectitude and truth of the religion, he gave special orders for its dissemination. In the seventh month of the year A.D. 638 the following imperial proclamation was issued:

"Right principles have no invariable name, holy men have no invariable station; instruction is established in accordance with the locality, with the object of benefiting the people at large. The greatly virtuous Olopun, of the kingdom of Syria, has brought his sacred books and images from that distant part, and has presented them at our chief capital. Having examined the principles of this religion, we find them to be purely excellent and natural; investigating its originating source, we find it has taken its rise from the establishment of important truths; its ritual is free from perplexing expressions, its principles will survive when the framework is forgot; it is beneficial to all creatures; it is advantageous to mankind. Let it be published throughout the Empire, and let the proper authority build a Syrian church in the capital in the I-ning May, which shall be governed by twenty-one priests. When the virtue of the Chau Dynasty declined, the rider on the azure ox ascended to the west; the principles of the great Tang becoming resplendent, the illustrious breezes have come to fan the East"

… When the Duke Koh Tsz'-i, Secondary Minister of State and Prince of Fan-yang, at first conducted the military in the northern region, the Emperor Suh-tsung made him (I-sz') his attendant on his travels; although he was a private chamberlain, he assumed no distinction on the march; he was as claws and teeth to the duke, and in rousing the military he was as ears and eyes; he distributed the wealth conferred upon him, not accumulating treasure for his private use; he made offerings of the jewelry which had been given by imperial favor, he spread out a golden carpet for devotion; now he repaired the old churches, anon he increased the number of religious establishments; he honored and decorated the various edifices, till they resembled the plumage of the pheasant in its flight; moreover, practising the discipline of the Illustrious Religion, he distributed his riches in deeds of benevolence; every year he assembled those in the

sacred office from four churches, and respectfully engaged them for fifty days in purification and preparation; the naked came and were clothed; the sick were attended to and restored; the dead were buried in repose; even among the most pure and self-denying of the Buddhists, such excellence was never heard of; the white-clad members of the Illustrious Congregation, now considering these men, have desired to engrave a broad tablet, in order to set forth a eulogy of their magnanimous deeds.

North African church fell to Islam because they were already very weak from infighting (Romans v. Donatists, rich v. poor), invasions from the North, and lack of missionary vision to evangelize Berbers.

Eighth Century Missions

Eighth Century mission was spear-headed by St. Bonface. Boniface was born in Devonshire England, entered monastic life as a youth, and at the age of 30 was ordained a priest in the Roman Catholic church. Though there were many opportunities to excel as a churchman in his homeland, his deep concern was for the unchristianized pagans on the Continent. After an unsuccessful tour of duty among the Frisians in Holland, he went to Rome to get the backing of the Pope. He thus became no longer an independent missionary, but an emissary of Rome , commissioned to establish papal authority over the church in Western Europe …

Following his return to Germany, he began his missionary work in earnest and won a reputation for courage throughout the Rhineland. Many of the so-called Christians had reverted to pagan practices. Boniface was convinced drastic measures were needed, so he boldly struck a blow to the very heart of the local pagan worship. He assembled a large crowd at Geismar, where the sacred oak of the Thundergod was located, and with the people looking on in horror; he began chopping down the tree… It was a master stroke of missionary policy, and thousands of people recognized the superiority of the Christian God and submitted to baptism. Boniface was encouraged and relieved by the positive reaction and continued on in the same vein, destroying temples and shrines and smashing sacred stones into bits… (In time he mellowed out though.)

From his Celtic forebears, Boniface continued the concept of monastic missions that would prepare the way for a trained, indigenous

clergy. Several monks worked with him, and as each was assigned to a new area, a cloister was established, and training sessions were initiated for new converts. The only truly innovative aspect of his ministry was his enthusiastic recruitment of women to serve the cause of missions…

The phenomenal accomplishments credited to Boniface could not have been carried out without the powerful backing of Charles Martel, whose victory over the Muslims at the Battle of Tours in 732 marked a turning point in the struggle against Islam… (They also could not have been carried out if it weren't for the foundation laid by the earlier endeavors of the Celtic and French monks of Christian communities that he won over to Roman Catholicism.)

During the last years of his life, Boniface returned to Holland to minister to the Frisians... It was there on the banks of the river Borne that he and some 50 assistants and followers set up tents in preparation for a confirmation service of new converts. But the service never took place. Boniface and his companions were set upon and slain by a band of armed pagans, thus ending the ministry of Medieval Europe's most energetic and outwardly-successful missionary."

China: Adam (aka Ching-Ching), Nestorian monk from Central Asia, prolific Bible translator, honored even by Buddhist monks. Uighurs (Northwestern China) declares Nestorian-Manichean Christianity their state religion!

Ninth Century Missions

Anskar: Anskar, often referred to as the "Apostle of the North," was born in France in 801 and schooled from the age of five at the monastery of Corbie, founded more than two centuries earlier by Columba. A mystic moved by visions and dreams, Anskar's highest ambition was to obtain a martyr's crown. Thus, he accepted his dangerous new assignment with eagerness. His hopes of converting the Danes, however, soon dimmed with the political and military impotence of King Harold became apparent, and in less than three years Anskar, along with the king, was expelled from Denmark. No sooner had he been forced out of Denmark than an invitation came from the king of Sweden requesting missionaries. Anskar and another monk immediately accepted the challenge, only to have the ship they

were sailing on attacked by pirates and all of their possessions stolen. On their arrival in Sweden, King Bjorn warmly welcomed them and gave them liberty to preach. He was a great preacher and founded the first Christian church in Sweden c.832. There were many conversions, especially among the nobility - but as in the case of King Harold, conversions were apparently politically motivated.

So significant was Anskar's work from a political perspective that Emperor Louis the Pious struck a deal with Pope Gregory IV to appoint Anskar Archbishop of Hamburg for the Scandanavian and Slavic states of Northern Europe. To aid Anskar in his efforts, Louis gave him a rich monastery in West Flanders, a financial source that allowed him to bestow gifts on the provincial rulers. Anskar recruited monks from Corbie to assist him, and Catholicism made great strides in the next dozen years. The line between religion and politics however, continued to be a fine one, and the gains were usually political in nature, motivated by what the Christian God and His temporal rulers could hopefully provide…

Anskar established schools and also campaigned against slavery. He was an ascetic at heart, and prayer and fasting were viewed as paramount - although never to be done at the expense of useful activity… he himself was often seen knitting while he prayed. As with most medieval spiritual leaders he was credited with great miracles, but he personally sought to avoid all such praise, telling others that the greatest miracle in his life would be if God ever made a thoroughly pious man out of him.

Anskar died peacefully in 865 in Bremen, Germany, without the martyr's crown that he had longed for. But that certainly was not the greatest prize that eluded him. In spite of all his efforts, he was unable to establish a permanent base for Christianity in Scandanavia. After he died, the people reverted to paganism. Interestingly enough, it was not the missionaries, but the common Christians captured as slaves by the Vikings who eventually succeeded in sharing the Gospel with the Northmen and bringing them to faith in Jesus!

Tenth Century Missions

Alfred The Great (849-899) was king of the West Saxons in southwestern England. He saved his kingdom, Wessex , from the

Danish Vikings and laid the basis for the unification of England under the West Saxon monarchy. He also led a revival of learning and literature. He was such an outstanding leader in war and peace that he is the only English king known as "the Great."

Alfred was born in Wantage, now in Oxfordshire, England. He was the youngest son of King Ethelwulf of Wessex . According to the Welsh writer Asser, who wrote a biography of Alfred shortly after his death, Alfred was always eager to learn. Asser says that Alfred's mother offered a book of Anglo-Saxon poems as a prize to the first of her sons who could read it. Alfred won. As a boy, Alfred twice went to Rome, where the pope acknowledged the status of the royal house of Wessex . The journeys also showed Alfred the contrast between England and the more advanced parts of Europe.

Alfred became king in 871 at the death of his brother Ethelred. The West Saxons had been at war with the Danes for many years. After several losing battles, Alfred made peace with the invaders. But the Danes renewed their attacks and defeated Alfred at the Battle of Chippenham in 877. Alfred then defeated the Danes at the Battle of Edington in 878. The Danish leader, Guthrum, agreed to be baptized a Christian. He also agreed to stay north and east of the River Thames, in an area called the Danelaw. However, the Danes broke the peace, and Alfred renewed the war. He won London in 886. All the English people not subject to the Danes recognized Alfred as their ruler and paid him homage. The old, independent Anglo-Saxon kingdoms began to merge under the rule of Wessex. Alfred built forts and boroughs (fortified towns) at strategic points. He stationed his fleet along the coast as protection against further invasions. He also issued a code of laws to restore peaceful government.

Before Alfred, education had declined in England because the Danes had looted monasteries and churches, the centers of learning. Alfred revived learning by bringing teachers and writers from Wales and continental Europe. He encouraged the translation of famous Christian books from Latin into Old English. Under his influence, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle began to be compiled. It is now the main source for

11-13th Century Missions

- Prince of the Kerait tribe received vision to connect with Nestorian missionaries in Mongolia, and is baptized with 200,000 tribesmen. Tribe remains Christian for centuries. The Khan dynasty later comes from this tribe.

- Crusades against heretical Christians in Europe, against Slavs, and against Muslims in Sicil , Spain , and Palestine end up alienating Eastern Christians and Arabic Muslims.

- Mongolia: John of Plano, 1st of seven Roman Catholic missionaries sent to the Far East, was rebuffed by Genghis Khan, but found Nestorians in Khan's court. Marco Polo, who was a not only a trader but also a missionary; he visited Mongolia and also found thousands of Nestorian Christians. Kublai Khan later requests 100 Roman Catholic missionaries, but the pope only sends two, and those two don't make it. The Fransiscan Friar Oderic also makes it over to Peking in the next century, and reports Nestorian Christians there.

Muslim Threat: In many ways, we in the 21st century are reliving this time period as we deal with the conflict between Islam and Christianity. Will we deal with it through warfare, like the crusades, or will we deal with it through evangelism like Francis of Assisi? - Greatest missionary sender of this era – sent missionaries to Morocco , also travelled to Syria and Egypt himself to convert leaders there (unsuccessfully).

Chapter 7

The Church and the Middle Ages

The Middle Ages were a period in Europe dating from the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West, around the 5th century. However, the fixing of dates for the beginning and end of the Middle Ages is arbitrary. According to the Norton Anthology, "Medieval social theory held that society was made up of three 'estates': the nobility, composed of a small hereditary aristocracy, the church, whose duty was to look after the spiritual welfare of that body, and everyone else..."(Norton 76).

By the end of the 5th century the culmination of several long-term trends, including a severe economic dislocation and the invasions and settlement of Germanic peoples within the borders of the Western empire, had changed the face of Europe. For the next 300 years western Europe remained essentially a primitive culture, albeit one uniquely superimposed on the complex, elaborate culture of the Roman Empire, which was never entirely lost or forgotten in the Early Middle Ages"(Microsoft).

The only universal European institution was the church, and even there a fragmentation of authority was the rule; all the power within the church hierarchy was in the hands of the local bishops. The church basically saw itself as the spiritual community of Christian believers, in exile from God's kingdom, waiting in a hostile world for the day of deliverance. The most important members of this community were found outside the hierarchy of the church government in the monasteries that dotted Europe.

According to Microsoft Encarta, "The early Middle Ages drew to a close in the 10th century with the new migrations and invasions, the coming of the Vikings, and the weakening of all forces of European unity and expansion" (Microsoft). These acts resulted in violence and dislocation which caused isolation, population to diminish, and the monasteries again became outposts of civilization.

During the high Middle Ages, the Roman Catholic Church became organized into an elaborate hierarchy with the pope as the head in western Europe. He establishes supreme power. Many innovations took place in the creative arts during the high Middle Ages. Literacy was no longer merely requirement among the clergy. New readings were addressed to a newly literate public that had both the time and the knowledge to enjoy the work.

The late Middle Ages were characterized by conflict. Towns and cities began to grow in alarming numbers; the new towns wanted to have their own self-control. They wanted to be free of outside leadership. One result of this struggle was the intensification of political and social thinking.

In the late medieval period, there was an ugre for the direct experience with God, whether through private, interior ecstasy or mystical illumination. Christ and the apostles presented an image of radical simplicity, and using the life of Christ as a model to be imitated, individuals began to organized themselves into apostolic communities. There was a growing sense of religion and a need to be with Christ and his followers.

1. Early Middle Ages (476-799)

The Early Middle Ages commenced with the deposition of the last Western Roman emperor in 476, to be followed by the barbarian king, Odoacer, to the coronation of Charlemagne as "Emperor of the

Romans" by Pope Leo III in Rome on Christmas Day, 800. The year 476, however, is a rather artificial division. In the East, Roman imperial rule continued through the period historians now call the Byzantine Empire. Even in the West, where imperial political control gradually declined, distinctly Roman culture continued long afterwards; thus historians today prefer to speak of a "transformation of the Roman world" rather than a "fall of the Roman Empire." The advent of the Early Middle Ages was a gradual and often localised process whereby, in the West, rural areas became power centers whilst urban areas declined. With the Muslim invasions of the seventh century, the Western (Latin) and Eastern (Greek) areas of Christianity began to take on distinctive shapes. Whereas in the East the Church maintained its structure and character and evolved more slowly, in the West the Bishops of Rome (i.e., the Popes) were forced to adapt more quickly and flexibly to drastically changing circumstances. In particular whereas the bishops of the East maintained clear allegiance to the Eastern Roman Emperor, the Bishop of Rome, while maintaining nominal allegiance to the Eastern Emperor, was forced to negotiate delicate balances with the "barbarian rulers" of the former Western provinces. Although the greater number of Christians remained in the East, the developments in the West would set the stage for major developments in the Christian world during the later

Early Medieval Papacy

After the Italian peninsula fell into warfare and turmoil due to the barbarian tribes, the Emperor Justinian I attempted to reassert imperial dominion in Italy from the East, against the Gothic aristocracy. The subsequent campaigns were more or less successful, and an Imperial Exarchate was established for Italy, but imperial influence was limited. The Lombards then invaded the weakened peninsula, and Rome was essentially left to fend for itself. The failure of the East to send aid resulted in the popes themselves feeding the city with grain from papal estates, negotiating treaties, paying protection money to Lombard warlords, and, failing that, hiring soldiers to defend the city. Eventually the popes turned to others for support, especially the Franks.

Spread beyond the Roman Empire

As the political boundaries of the Roman Empire diminished and then collapsed in the West, Christianity spread beyond the old borders of the Empire and into lands that had never been under Rome.

Irish and Irish missionaries

Beginning in the fifth century, a unique culture developed around the Irish Sea consisting of what today would be called Wales and Ireland. In this environment, Christianity spread from Roman Britain to Ireland, especially aided by the missionary activity of St. Patrick. Patrick had been captured into slavery in Ireland and, following his escape and later consecration as bishop, he returned to the isle that had enslaved him so that he could bring them the Gospel. Soon, Irish missionaries such as SS. Columba and Columbanus spread this Christianity, with its distinctively Irish features, to Scotland and the Continent. One such feature was the system of private penitence, which replaced the former practice of penance as a public rite.

Anglo-Saxons, English

Although southern Britain had been a Roman province, in 407 the imperial legions left the isle, and the Roman elite followed. Sometime later that century, various barbarian tribes went from raiding and pillaging the island to settling and invading. These tribes are referred to as the "Anglo-Saxons", predecessors of the English. They were entirely pagan, having never been part of the Empire, and although they experienced Christian influence from the surrounding peoples, they were converted by the mission of St. Augustine sent by Pope Gregory the Great. Later, under Archbishop Theodore, the Anglo-Saxons enjoyed a golden age of culture and scholarship. Soon, important English missionaries such as SS. Wilfrid, Willibrord, Lullus and Boniface would begin evangelising their Saxon relatives in Germany.

Franks

The largely Christian Gallo-Roman inhabitants of Gaul (modern France) were overrun by Germanic Franks in the early 5th century. The native inhabitants were persecuted until the Frankish King, Clovis I converted from paganism to Roman Catholicism in 496. Clovis insisted that his fellow nobles follow suit, strengthening his newly established kingdom by uniting the faith of the rulers with that of the ruled.

Frisians of the Low Countries

In 698, the Northumbrian Benedictine monk, Willibrord was commissioned by Pope Sergius I as bishop of the Frisians in what is now the Netherlands. Willibrord established a church in Utrecht.

Much of Willibrord's work was wiped out when the pagan Radbod, king of the Frisians destroyed many Christian centres between 716 and 719. In 717, the English missionary Boniface was sent to aid Willibrord, re-establishing churches in Frisia and continuing to preach throughout the pagan lands of Germany. Boniface was killed by pagans in 754.

Iconoclasm

Iconoclasm as a movement began within the Eastern Christian Byzantine church in the early 8th century, following a series of heavy military reverses against the Muslims. Sometime between 726–730 the Byzantine Emperor Leo III the Isaurian ordered the removal of an image of Jesus prominently placed over the Chalkegate, the ceremonial entrance to the Great Palace of Constantinople, and its replacement with a cross. This was followed by orders banning the pictorial representation of the family of Christ, subsequent Christian saints, and biblical scenes. In the West, Pope Gregory III held two synods at Rome and condemned Leo's actions. In Leo's realms, the Iconoclast Council at Hieria, 754 ruled that the culture of holy portraits (see icon) was not of a Christian origin and therefore heretical. The movement destroyed much of the Christian church's early artistic history, to the great loss of subsequent art and religious historians. The iconoclastic movement itself was later defined as heretical in 787 under the Seventh Ecumenical council, but enjoyed a brief resurgence between 815 and 842.

High Middle Ages (800-1300)

The Carolingian Renaissance was an important issue during this period. Carolingian Renaissance means the intellectual and cultural revival during the late 8th century and 9th century, mostly during the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. There was an increase of literature, the arts, architecture, jurisprudence, liturgical and scriptural studies. The period also saw the development of Carolingian minuscule, the ancestor of modern lower-case script, and the standardisation of Latin which had hitherto become varied and irregular. To address the problems of illiteracy among clergy and court scribes, Charlemagne founded schools and attracted the most learned men from all of Europe to his court, such as Theodulf, Paul the Deacon, Angilbert, Paulinus of Aquileia.

Growing tensions between East and West

The cracks and fissures in Christian unity which led to the East-West Schism started to become evident as early as the fourth century. Cultural, political, and linguistic differences were often mixed with the theological, leading to schism. The transfer of the Roman capital to Constantinople inevitably brought mistrust, rivalry, and even jealousy to the relations of the two great sees, Rome and Constantinople. It was easy for Rome to be jealous of Constantinople at a time when it was rapidly losing its political prominence. Estrangement was also helped along by the German invasions in the West, which effectively weakened contacts. The rise of Islam with its conquest of most of the Mediterranean coastline (not to mention the arrival of the pagan Slavs in the Balkans at the same time) further intensified this separation by driving a physical wedge between the two worlds. The once homogenous unified world of the Mediterranean was fast vanishing. Communication between the Greek East and Latin West by the 600s had become dangerous and practically ceased.

Two basic problems - the nature of the primacy of the bishop of Rome and the theological implications of adding a clause to the Nicene Creed, known as the *filioque* clause - were involved. These doctrinal issues were first openly discussed in Photius's patriarchate.

By the fifth century, Christendom was divided into a pentarchy of five sees with Rome accorded a primacy. The four Eastern sees of the pentarchy, considered this determined by canonical decision and did not entail hegemony of any one local church or patriarchate over the others. However, Rome began to interpret her primacy in terms of sovereignty, as a God-given right involving universal jurisdiction in the Church. The collegial and conciliar nature of the Church, in effect, was gradually abandoned in favour of supremacy of unlimited papal power over the entire Church. These ideas were finally given systematic expression in the West during the Gregorian Reform movement of the eleventh century. The Eastern churches viewed Rome's understanding of the nature of episcopal power as being in direct opposition to the Church's essentially conciliar structure and thus saw the two ecclesiologies as mutually antithetical. For them, specifically, Simon Peter's primacy could never be the exclusive prerogative of any one bishop. All bishops must, like St. Peter, confess Jesus as the Christ and, as such, all are Peter's successors. The

churches of the East gave the Roman See, primacy but not supremacy. The Pope being the first among equals, but not infallible and not with absolute authority.

The other major irritant to Eastern Christendom was the Western use of the *filioque* clause-meaning "and the Son"-in the Nicene Creed. This too developed gradually and entered the Creed over time. The issue was the addition by the West of the Latin clause *filioque* to the Creed, as in "the Holy Spirit... who proceeds from the Father *and the Son*," where the original Creed, sanctioned by the councils and still used today, by the Eastern Orthodox simply states "the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceeds from the Father." The Eastern Church argued that the phrase had been added unilaterally and, therefore, illegitimately, since the East had never been consulted. In the final analysis, only another ecumenical council could introduce such an alteration. Indeed, the councils, which drew up the original Creed, had expressly forbidden any subtraction or addition to the text. In addition to this ecclesiological issue, the Eastern Church also considered the filioque clause unacceptable on dogmatic grounds. Theologically, the Latin interpolation was unacceptable since it implied that the Spirit now had two sources of origin and procession, the Father and the Son, rather than the Father alone.

Photian schism

In the 9th century AD, a controversy arose between Eastern (Byzantine, later Orthodox) and Western (Latin, later Roman Catholic) Christianity that was precipitated by the opposition of the Roman Pope John VII to the appointment by the Byzantine emperor Michael III of Photius I to the position of patriarch of Constantinople. Photios was refused an apology by the pope for previous points of dispute between the East and West. Photius refused to accept the supremacy of the pope in Eastern matters or accept the filioque clause. The Latin delegation at the council of his consecration pressed him to accept the clause in order to secure their support.

The controversy also involved Eastern and Western ecclesiastical jurisdictional rights in the Bulgarian church, as well as a doctrinal dispute over the Filioque ("and from the Son") clause. That had been added to the Nicene Creed by the Latin church, which was later the

theological breaking point in the ultimate Great East-West Schism in the eleventh century. Photius did provide concession on the issue of jurisdictional rights concerning Bulgaria and the papal legates made do with his return of Bulgaria to Rome. This concession, however, was purely nominal, as Bulgaria's return to the Byzantine rite in 870 had already secured for it an autocephalous church. Without the consent of Boris I of Bulgaria, the papacy was unable to enforce any of its claims.

East-West Schism

The East-West Schism, or Great Schism, separated the Church into Western (Latin) and Eastern (Greek) branches, i.e., Western Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy. It was the first major division since certain groups in the East rejected the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon (see Oriental Orthodoxy), and was far more significant. Though normally dated to 1054, the East-West Schism was actually the result of an extended period of estrangement between Latin and Greek Christendom over the nature of papal primacy and certain doctrinal matters like the *filioque*, but intensified by cultural and linguistic differences.

The "official" schism in 1054 was the excommunication of Patriarch Michael Cerularius of Constantinople, followed by his excommunication of papal legates. Attempts at reconciliation were made in 1274 (by the Second Council of Lyon) and in 1439 (by the Council of Basel), but in each case the eastern hierarchs who consented to the unions were repudiated by the Orthodox as a whole, though reconciliation was achieved between the West and what are now called the "Eastern Rite Catholic Churches." More recently, in 1965 the mutual excommunications were rescinded by the Pope and the Patriarch of Constantinople, though schism remains.

Both groups are descended from the Early Church; both acknowledge the apostolic succession of each other's bishops, and the validity of each other's sacraments. Though both acknowledge the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, Eastern Orthodoxy understands this as a primacy of honour with limited or no ecclesiastical authority in other dioceses. The Orthodox East perceived the Papacy as taking on monarchical characteristics that were not in line with the church's tradition.

The final breach is often considered to have arisen after the capture and sacking of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Crusades against Christians in the East by Roman Catholic crusaders were not exclusive to the Mediterranean though (see also the Northern Crusades and the Battle of the Ice). The sacking of Constantinople and the Church of Holy Wisdom and establishment of the Latin Empire as a seeming attempt to supplant the Orthodox Byzantine Empire in 1204 is viewed with some rancour to the present day. Many in the East saw the actions of the West as a prime determining factor in the weakening of Byzantium. This led to the Empire's eventual conquest and fall to Islam. In 2004, Pope John Paul II extended a formal apology for the sacking of Constantinople in 1204; the apology was formally accepted by Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople. Many things that were stolen during this time: holy relics, riches, and many other items, are still held in various Western European cities, particularly Venice.

Monastic Reforms

The following are the major monastic reforms of this period

Cluny: From the 6th century onward most of the monasteries in the West were of the Benedictine Order. Owing to the stricter adherence to a reformed Benedictine rule, the abbey of Cluny became the acknowledged leader of western monasticism from the later 10th century. Cluny created a large, federated order in which the administrators of subsidiary houses served as deputies of the abbot of Cluny and answered to him. The Cluniac spirit was a revitalising influence on the Norman church, at its height from the second half of the 10th centuries through the early 12th.

Cîteaux: The next wave of monastic reform came with the Cistercian Movement. The first Cistercian abbey was founded in 1098, at Cîteaux Abbey. The keynote of Cistercian life was a return to a literal observance of the Benedictine rule, rejecting the developments of the Benedictines. The most striking feature in the reform was the return to manual labour, and especially to field-work. Inspired by Bernard of Clairvaux, the primary builder of the Cistercians, they became the main force of technological diffusion in medieval Europe. By the end of the 12th century the Cistercian houses numbered 500, and at its height in the 15th century the order claimed

to have close to 750 houses. Most of these were built in wilderness areas, and played a major part in bringing such isolated parts of Europe into economic cultivation.

Mendicant orders: A third level of monastic reform was provided by the establishment of the Mendicant orders. Commonly known as friars, mendicants live under a monastic rule with traditional vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, but they emphasise preaching, missionary activity, and education, in a secluded monastery. Beginning in the 12th century, the Franciscan order was instituted by the followers of Francis of Assisi, and thereafter the Dominican order was begun by St. Dominic.

Investiture Controversy

The Investiture Controversy, or Lay investiture controversy, was the most significant conflict between secular and religious powers in medieval Europe. It began as a dispute in the 11th century between the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV, and Pope Gregory VII concerning who would appoint bishops (investiture). The end of lay investiture threatened to undercut the power of the Empire and the ambitions of noblemen for the benefit of Church reform.

Bishops collected revenues from estates attached to their bishopric. Noblemen who held lands (fiefdoms) hereditarily passed those lands on within their family. However, because bishops had no legitimate children, when a bishop died it was the king's right to appoint a successor. So, while a king had little recourse in preventing noblemen from acquiring powerful domains via inheritance and dynastic marriages, a king could keep careful control of lands under the domain of his bishops. Kings would bestow bishoprics to members of noble families whose friendship he wished to secure. Furthermore, if a king left a bishopric vacant, then he collected the estates' revenues until a bishop was appointed, when in theory he was to repay the earnings. The infrequence of this repayment was an obvious source of dispute. The Church wanted to end this lay investiture because of the potential corruption, not only from vacant sees but also from other practices such as simony. Thus, the Investiture Contest was part of the Church's attempt to reform the episcopate and provide better pastoral care.

Pope Gregory VII issued the *Dictatus Papae*, which declared that the pope alone could appoint or depose bishops, or translate them

to other sees. Henry VI's rejection of the decree lead to his excommunication and a ducal revolt; eventually Henry received absolution after dramatic public penance barefoot in Alpine snow and cloaked in a hair shirt, though the revolt and conflict of investiture continued. Likewise, a similar controversy occurred in England between King Henry I and St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, over investiture and ecclesiastical revenues collected by the king during an Episcopal vacancy. The English dispute was resolved by the Concordat of London, 1107, where the king renounced his claim to invest bishops but continued to require an oath of fealty from them upon their election. This was a partial model for the Concordat of Worms (*Pactum Calixtinum*), which resolved the Imperial investiture controversy with a compromise that allowed secular authorities some measure of control but granted the selection of bishops to their cathedral canons. As a symbol of the compromise, lay authorities invested bishops with their secular authority symbolised by the lance, and ecclesiastical authorities invested bishops with their spiritual authority symbolised by the ring and the staff.

Church and State

After the fall of the Roman Empire in the 5th century, there emerged no single powerful secular governments in the West, but there was a central ecclesiastical power in Rome, the Catholic Church. In this power vacuum, the Church rose to become the dominant power in the West. The Church started expanded in the beginning 10th century, and as secular kingdoms gained power at the same time, there naturally arose the conditions for a power struggle between Church and Kingdom over ultimate authority.

In essence, the earliest vision of Christendom was a vision of a Christian theocracy, a government founded upon and upholding Christian values, whose institutions are spread through and over with Christian doctrine. In this period, members of the Christian clergy wield political authority. The specific relationship between the political leaders and the clergy varied but, in theory, the national and political divisions were at times subsumed under the leadership of the Catholic Church as an institution. This model of church-state relations was accepted by various Church leaders and political leaders in European history.

The classical heritage flourished throughout the Middle Ages in both the Byzantine Greek East and the Latin West. In the Greek philosopher Plato's ideal state there are three major classes, which was representative of the idea of the "tripartite soul", which is expressive of three functions or capacities of the human soul: "reason", "the spirited element", and "appetites" (or "passions"). Will Durant made a convincing case that certain prominent features of Plato's ideal community were discernible in the organization, dogma and effectiveness of "the" Medieval Church in Europe: "... For a thousand years Europe was ruled by an order of guardians considerably like that which was visioned by our philosopher. During the Middle Ages it was customary to classify the population of Christendom into laboratores (workers), bellatores (soldiers), and oratores (clergy). The last group, though small in number, monopolized the instruments and opportunities of culture, and ruled with almost unlimited sway half of the most powerful continent on the globe. The clergy, like Plato's guardians, were placed in authority... by their talent as shown in ecclesiastical studies and administration, by their disposition to a life of meditation and simplicity, and ... by the influence of their relatives with the powers of state and church. In the latter half of the period in which they ruled [800 AD onwards], the clergy were as free from family cares as even Plato could desire [for such guardians]... [Clerical] Celibacy was part of the psychological structure of the power of the clergy; for on the one hand they were unimpeded by the narrowing egoism of the family, and on the other their apparent superiority to the call of the flesh added to the awe in which lay sinners held them.... In the latter half of the period in which they ruled, the clergy were as free from family cares as even Plato could desire."

The Catholic Church's peak of authority over all European Christians and their common endeavours of the Christian community - for example, the Crusades, the fight against the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula and against the Ottomans in the Balkans - helped to develop a sense of communal identity against the obstacle of Europe's deep political divisions. This authority was also used by local Inquisitions to root out divergent elements and create a religiously uniform community.

The conflict between Church and state was in many ways a uniquely Western phenomenon originating in Late Antiquity (see Saint

Augustine's masterpiece *City of God* (417)). Contrary to Augustinian theology, the Papal States in Italy, today downsized to the State of Vatican, were ruled directly by the Holy See. Moreover, throughout the Middle Ages the Pope claimed the right to depose the Catholic kings of Western Europe, and tried to exercise it, sometimes successfully (see the investiture controversy, below), sometimes not, as with Henry VIII of England and Henry III of Navarre.[5] However, in the Eastern Roman Empire, also known as the Byzantine Empire, Church and state were closely linked and collaborated in a "symphony", with some exceptions. This was unlike the Islamic world, where there is no central authority over religion. The concept of Church and state at odds would have been very foreign in Islamic society.

Before the Age of Absolutism, institutions, such as the Church, legislatures, or social elites, restrained monarchical power. Absolutism was characterized by the ending of feudal partitioning, consolidation of power with the monarch, rise of state, rise of professional standing armies, professional bureaucracies, the codification of state laws, and the rise of ideologies that justify the absolutist monarchy. Hence, Absolutism was made possible by new innovations and characterized as a phenomenon of Early Modern Europe, rather than that of the Middle Ages, where the clergy and nobility counterbalanced as a result of mutual rivalry.

Historical events

Magna Carta

In England, the principle of separation of church and state can be found in the Magna Carta. The first clause declared that the Church in England would be free from interference by the Crown. This reflected an ongoing dispute King John was having with the Pope over Stephen Langton's election as archbishop of Canterbury, the result of which England had been under interdict for 7 years. The barons, who forced King John to sign the Magna Carta, wanted to create a separation between church and state powers to keep the Crown from using the Church as a political weapon and from arbitrarily seizing its lands and property. However, the Pope annulled the "shameful and demeaning agreement, forced upon the king by violence

and fear" one month after it was signed. The Magna Carta was reissued, albeit with alterations, in 1216 and 1225 but continued to be a subject of contention for several centuries as it was either seen as providing legal precedence or by later monarchs as restricting their authority.

Philip the Fair

Pope Boniface VIII put forward some of the strongest claims to temporal as well as spiritual supremacy of any Pope and intervened incessantly in foreign affairs. He proclaimed that it "is necessary for salvation that every living creature be under submission to the Roman pontiff", pushing Papal Supremacy to its historical extreme. Boniface's quarrel with Philip the Fair became so resentful that he excommunicated him in 1303. However, before the Pope could lay France under an interdict, Boniface was seized by Philip. Although he was released from captivity after four days, he died of shock 6 months later. No subsequent popes were to repeat Boniface VIII's claims.

Thomas Becket

Although initially close to King Henry II, as Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Becket became an independent figure. King Henry devoted his reign to the restoration of the royal customs of his grandfather King Henry I, as part of this he wanted to extend his authority over the Church and limit it's freedoms. The Becket dispute revolved around the Constitutions of Clarendon, a document which Becket and the Pope largely condemned. Becket eventually fled England and went into exile in France; during these six years there were a number of attempts at restoring peace. The fourth meeting at Fréteval ended in an agreement and Becket decided to return to Canterbury. However the King reneged on his promises made at Fréteval and in response Becket produced a number of censures on royal officials and clergymen. Four barons of the King sought to gain the King's favour and therefore proceeded to Canterbury Cathedral to confront Becket; some claim that they intended to scare and possible arrest Becket than to kill him. Nonetheless after a heated argument the four barons murdered Becket on the steps of the altar in Canterbury Cathedral. The King publicly

expressed remorse for this killing, but took no action to arrest Becket's killers. He attended Canterbury in sackcloth and ashes as an act of public penance. Later in 1174 he submitted himself before the tomb of Thomas Becket, thus recognizing St. Thomas's sanctity.

Guelphs and Ghibellines

The conflict between the Guelphs and Ghibellines began as part of the secular-papal struggle. Guelf (also spelled Guelph) and Ghibelline, were members of two opposing factions in German and Italian politics during the Middle Ages. The split between the Guelfs, who were sympathetic to the papacy, and the Ghibellines, who were sympathetic to the German (Holy Roman) emperors, contributed to chronic strife within the cities of northern Italy in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Chapter 8

Crusades

Misconceptions about the Crusades are all too common. The Crusades are generally portrayed as a series of holy wars against Islam led by power-mad popes and fought by religious fanatics. They are supposed to have been the epitome of self-righteousness and intolerance, a black stain on the history of the Catholic Church in particular and Western civilization in general. A breed of proto-imperialists, the Crusaders introduced Western aggression to the peaceful Middle East and then deformed the enlightened Muslim culture, leaving it in ruins. For variations on this theme, one need not look far. See, for example, Steven Runciman's famous three-volume epic, *History of the Crusades*, or the BBC/A&E documentary, *The Crusades*, hosted by Terry Jones. Both are terribly misleading.

So what is the truth about the Crusades? Scholars are still working some of that out. But much can already be said with certainty. For starters, the Crusades to the East were in every way defensive wars. They were a direct response to Muslim aggression-an attempt to turn back or defend against Muslim conquests of Christian lands.

When Mohammed was waging war against Mecca in the seventh century, Christianity was the dominant religion of power and wealth. As the faith of the Roman Empire, it spanned the entire Mediterranean, including the Middle East, where it was born. The Christian world, therefore, was a prime target for the earliest caliphs, and it would remain so for Muslim leaders for the next thousand years.

With enormous energy, the warriors of Islam struck out against the Christians shortly after Mohammed's death. They were extremely successful. Palestine, Syria, and Egypt-once the most heavily Christian areas in the world-quickly succumbed. By the eighth century, Muslim armies had conquered all of Christian North Africa and Spain. In the eleventh century, the Seljuk Turks conquered Asia Minor (modern Turkey), which had been Christian since the time of St. Paul. The old Roman Empire, known to modern historians as the Byzantine Empire, was reduced to little more than Greece. In desperation, the emperor in Constantinople sent word to the Christians of Western Europe asking them to aid their brothers and sisters in the East.

Understand the crusaders

Crusades were not the brainchild of an ambitious pope or rapacious knights but a response to more than four centuries of conquests in which Muslims had already captured two-thirds of the old Christian world. At some point, Christianity as a faith and a culture had to defend itself or be subsumed by Islam. The Crusades were that defense.

Pope Urban II called upon the knights of Christendom to push back the conquests of Islam at the Council of Clermont in 1095. The response was tremendous. Many thousands of warriors took the vow of the cross and prepared for war. Why did they do it? The answer to that question has been badly misunderstood. In the wake of the Enlightenment, it was usually asserted that Crusaders were merely lack lands and ne'er-do-wells who took advantage of an opportunity to rob and pillage in a faraway land. The Crusaders' expressed sentiments of piety, self-sacrifice, and love for God were obviously not to be taken seriously. They were only a front for darker designs.

During the past two decades, computer-assisted charter studies have demolished that contrivance. Scholars have discovered that crusading knights were generally wealthy men with plenty of their

own land in Europe. Nevertheless, they willingly gave up everything to undertake the holy mission. Crusading was not cheap. Even wealthy lords could easily impoverish themselves and their families by joining a Crusade. They did so not because they expected material wealth (which many of them had already) but because they hoped to store up treasure where rust and moth could not corrupt. They were keenly aware of their sinfulness and eager to undertake the hardships of the Crusade as a penitential act of charity and love. Europe is littered with thousands of medieval charters attesting to these sentiments, charters in which these men still speak to us today if we will listen. Of course, they were not opposed to capturing booty if it could be had. But the truth is that the Crusades were notoriously bad for plunder. A few people got rich, but the vast majority returned with nothing.

What *Really* Happened?

Urban II gave the Crusaders two goals, both of which would remain central to the eastern Crusades for centuries. The first was to rescue the Christians of the East. As his successor, Pope Innocent III, later wrote:

How does a man love according to divine precept his neighbor as himself when, knowing that his Christian brothers in faith and in name are held by the perfidious Muslims in strict confinement and weighed down by the yoke of heaviest servitude, he does not devote himself to the task of freeing them? … Is it by chance that you do not know that many thousands of Christians are bound in slavery and imprisoned by the Muslims, tortured with innumerable torments?

"Crusading," Professor Jonathan Riley-Smith has rightly argued, was understood as an "an act of love"-in this case, the love of one's neighbor. The Crusade was seen as an errand of mercy to right a terrible wrong. As Pope Innocent III wrote to the Knights Templar, "You carry out in deeds the words of the Gospel, 'Greater love than this hath no man that he lay down his life for his friends.'"

The second goal was the liberation of Jerusalem and the other places made holy by the life of Christ. The word crusade is modern. Medieval Crusaders saw themselves as pilgrims, performing acts of righteousness on their way to the Holy Sepulcher. The Crusade indulgence they received was canonically related to the pilgrimage indulgence. This goal was frequently described in feudal terms. When

calling the Fifth Crusade in 1215, Innocent III wrote: "Consider most dear sons, consider carefully that if any temporal king was thrown out of his domain and perhaps captured, would he not, when he was restored to his pristine liberty and the time had come for dispensing justice look on his vassals as unfaithful and traitors … unless they had committed not only their property but also their persons to the task of freeing him? … And similarly will not Jesus Christ, the king of kings and lord of lords, whose servant you cannot deny being, who joined your soul to your body, who redeemed you with the Precious Blood … condemn you for the vice of ingratitude and the crime of infidelity if you neglect to help Him?"

The re-conquest of Jerusalem, therefore, was not colonialism but an act of restoration and an open declaration of one's love of God. Medieval men knew, of course, that God had the power to restore Jerusalem Himself-indeed; he had the power to restore the whole world to his rule. Yet as St. Bernard of Clairvaux preached, His refusal to do so was a blessing to His people: "Again I say, consider the Almighty's goodness and pay heed to His plans of mercy. He puts Himself under obligation to you, or rather feigns to do so, that He can help you to satisfy your obligations toward Himself. … I call blessed the generation that can seize an opportunity of such rich indulgence as this."

It is often assumed that the central goal of the Crusades was forced conversion of the Muslim world. Nothing could be further from the truth. From the perspective of medieval Christians, Muslims were the enemies of Christ and his Church. It was the Crusaders' task to defeat and defend against them. That was all. Muslims who lived in Crusader-won territories were generally allowed to retain their property and livelihood, and always their religion. Indeed, throughout the history of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, Muslim inhabitants far outnumbered the Catholics. It was not until the 13th century that the Franciscans began conversion efforts among Muslims. But these were mostly unsuccessful and finally abandoned. In any case, such efforts were by peaceful persuasion, not the threat of violence.

All Apologies

The Crusades were wars, so it would be a mistake to characterize them as nothing but piety and good intentions. Like all warfare, the

violence was brutal (although not as brutal as modern wars). There were mishaps, blunders, and crimes. These are usually well-remembered today. During the early days of the First Crusade in 1095, a ragtag band of Crusaders led by Count Emicho of Leiningen made its way down the Rhine, robbing and murdering all the Jews they could find. Without success, the local bishops attempted to stop the carnage. In the eyes of these warriors, the Jews, like the Muslims, were the enemies of Christ. Plundering and killing them, then, was no vice. Indeed, they believed it was a righteous deed, since the Jews' money could be used to fund the Crusade to Jerusalem. But they were wrong, and the Church strongly condemned the anti-Jewish attacks.

Fifty years later, when the Second Crusade was gearing up, St. Bernard frequently preached that the Jews were not to be persecuted: Ask anyone who knows the Sacred Scriptures what he finds foretold of the Jews in the Psalm. "Not for their destruction do I pray," it says. The Jews are for us the living words of Scripture, for they remind us always of what our Lord suffered … Under Christian princes they endure a hard captivity, but "they only wait for the time of their deliverance."

Nevertheless, a fellow Cistercian monk named Radulf stirred up people against the Rhineland Jews, despite numerous letters from Bernard demanding that he stop. At last Bernard was forced to travel to Germany himself, where he caught up with Radulf, sent him back to his convent, and ended the massacres. It is often said that the roots of the Holocaust can be seen in these medieval pogroms. That may be. But if so, those roots are far deeper and more widespread than the Crusades. Jews perished during the Crusades, but the purpose of the Crusades was not to kill Jews. Quite the contrary: Popes, bishops, and preachers made it clear that the Jews of Europe were to be left unmolested. In a modern war, we call tragic deaths like these "collateral damage." Even with smart technologies, the United States has killed far more innocents in our wars than the Crusaders ever could. But no one would seriously argue that the purpose of American wars is to kill women and children.

The Failure of the Crusades

By any reckoning, the First Crusade was a long shot. There was no leader, no chain of command, no supply lines, no detailed strategy.

It was simply thousands of warriors marching deep into enemy territory, committed to a common cause. Many of them died, either in battle or through disease or starvation. It was a rough campaign, one that seemed always on the brink of disaster. Yet it was miraculously successful. By 1098, the Crusaders had restored Nicaea and Antioch to Christian rule. In July 1099, they conquered Jerusalem and began to build a Christian state in Palestine. The joy in Europe was unbridled. It seemed that the tide of history, which had lifted the Muslims to such heights, was now turning.

But it was not. When we think about the Middle Ages, it is easy to view Europe in light of what it became rather than what it was. The colossus of the medieval world was Islam, not Christendom. The Crusades are interesting largely because they were an attempt to counter that trend. But in five centuries of crusading, it was only the First Crusade that significantly rolled back the military progress of Islam. It was downhill from there.

When the Crusader County of Edessa fell to the Turks and Kurds in 1144, there was an enormous groundswell of support for a new Crusade in Europe. It was led by two kings, Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany, and preached by St. Bernard himself. It failed miserably. Most of the Crusaders were killed along the way. Those who made it to Jerusalem only made things worse by attacking Muslim Damascus, which formerly had been a strong ally of the Christians. In the wake of such a disaster, Christians across Europe were forced to accept not only the continued growth of Muslim power but the certainty that God was punishing the West for its sins. Lay piety movements sprouted up throughout Europe, all rooted in the desire to purify Christian society so that it might be worthy of victory in the East.

Crusading in the late twelfth century, therefore, became a total war effort. Every person, no matter how weak or poor, was called to help. Warriors were asked to sacrifice their wealth and, if need be, their lives for the defense of the Christian East. On the home front, all Christians were called to support the Crusades through prayer, fasting, and alms. Yet still the Muslims grew in strength. Saladin, the great unifier, had forged the Muslim Near East into a single entity, all the while preaching jihad against the Christians. In 1187 at the Battle of Hattin, his forces wiped out the combined armies of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem and captured the precious relic of the True

Cross. Defenseless, the Christian cities began surrendering one by one, culminating in the surrender of Jerusalem on October 2. Only a tiny handful of ports held out.

The response was the Third Crusade. It was led by Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa of the German Empire, King Philip II Augustus of France, and King Richard I Lionheart of England. By any measure it was a grand affair, although not quite as grand as the Christians had hoped. The aged Frederick drowned while crossing a river on horseback, so his army returned home before reaching the Holy Land. Philip and Richard came by boat, but their incessant bickering only added to an already divisive situation on the ground in Palestine. After recapturing Acre, the king of France went home, where he busied himself carving up Richard's French holdings. The Crusade, therefore, fell into Richard's lap. A skilled warrior, gifted leader, and superb tactician, Richard led the Christian forces to victory after victory, eventually reconquering the entire coast. But Jerusalem was not on the coast, and after two abortive attempts to secure supply lines to the Holy City, Richard at last gave up. Promising to return one day, he struck a truce with Saladin that ensured peace in the region and free access to Jerusalem for unarmed pilgrims. But it was a bitter pill to swallow. The desire to restore Jerusalem to Christian rule and regain the True Cross remained intense throughout Europe.

Fourth and Fifth Crusades

The Crusades of the 13th century were larger, better funded, and better organized. But they too failed. The Fourth Crusade (1201-1204) ran aground when it was seduced into a web of Byzantine politics, which the Westerners never fully understood. They had made a detour to Constantinople to support an imperial claimant who promised great rewards and support for the Holy Land. Yet once he was on the throne of the Caesars, their benefactor found that he could not pay what he had promised. Thus betrayed by their Greek friends, in 1204 the Crusaders attacked, captured, and brutally sacked Constantinople, the greatest Christian city in the world. Pope Innocent III, who had previously excommunicated the entire Crusade, strongly denounced the Crusaders. But there was little else he could do. The tragic events of 1204 closed an iron door between Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox, a door that even today Pope John Paul II has been unable to reopen. It is a terrible irony that the Crusades, which were a direct

result of the Catholic desire to rescue the Orthodox people, drove the two further-and perhaps irrevocably-apart.

The remainder of the 13th century's Crusades did little better. The Fifth Crusade (1217-1221) managed briefly to capture Damietta in Egypt, but the Muslims eventually defeated the army and reoccupied the city. St. Louis IX of France led two Crusades in his life. The first also captured Damietta, but Louis was quickly outwitted by the Egyptians and forced to abandon the city. Although Louis was in the Holy Land for several years, spending freely on defensive works, he never achieved his fondest wish: to free Jerusalem. He was a much older man in 1270 when he led another Crusade to Tunis, where he died of a disease that ravaged the camp. After St. Louis's death, the ruthless Muslim leaders, Baybars and Kalavun, waged a brutal jihad against the Christians in Palestine. By 1291, the Muslim forces had succeeded in killing or ejecting the last of the Crusaders, thus erasing the Crusader kingdom from the map. Despite numerous attempts and many more plans, Christian forces were never again able to gain a foothold in the region until the 19th century.

Europe's Fight for Its Life

One might think that three centuries of Christian defeats would have soured Europeans on the idea of Crusade. Not at all. In one sense, they had little alternative. Muslim kingdoms were becoming more, not less, powerful in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. The Ottoman Turks conquered not only their fellow Muslims, thus further unifying Islam, but also continued to press westward, capturing Constantinople and plunging deep into Europe itself. By the 15th century, the Crusades were no longer errands of mercy for a distant people but desperate attempts of one of the last remnants of Christendom to survive. Europeans began to ponder the real possibility that Islam would finally achieve its aim of conquering the entire Christian world. One of the great best-sellers of the time, Sebastian Brant's *The Ship of Fools*, gave voice to this sentiment in a chapter titled "Of the Decline of the Faith":

In 1480, Sultan Mehmed II captured Otranto as a beachhead for his invasion of Italy. Rome was evacuated. Yet the sultan died shortly thereafter, and his plan died with him. In 1529, Suleiman the Magnificent laid siege to Vienna. If not for a run of freak rainstorms

that delayed his progress and forced him to leave behind much of his artillery, it is virtually certain that the Turks would have taken the city. Germany, then, would have been at their mercy.

Yet, even while these close shaves were taking place, something else was brewing in Europe-something unprecedented in human history. The Renaissance, born from a strange mixture of Roman values, medieval piety, and a unique respect for commerce and entrepreneurialism, had led to other movements like humanism, the Scientific Revolution, and the Age of Exploration. Even while fighting for its life, Europe was preparing to expand on a global scale. The Protestant Reformation, which rejected the papacy and the doctrine of indulgence, made Crusades unthinkable for many Europeans, thus leaving the fighting to the Catholics. In 1571, a Holy League, which was itself a Crusade, defeated the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto. Yet military victories like that remained rare. The Muslim threat was neutralized economically. As Europe grew in wealth and power, the once awesome and sophisticated Turks began to seem backward and pathetic-no longer worth a Crusade. The "Sick Man of Europe" limped along until the 20th century, when he finally expired, leaving behind the present mess of the modern Middle East.

From the safe distance of many centuries, it is easy enough to scowl in disgust at the Crusades. Religion, after all, is nothing to fight wars over. But we should be mindful that our medieval ancestors would have been equally disgusted by our infinitely more destructive wars fought in the name of political ideologies. And yet, both the medieval and the modern soldier fight ultimately for their own world and all that makes it up. Both are willing to suffer enormous sacrifice, provided that it is in the service of something they hold dear, something greater than themselves. Whether we admire the Crusaders or not, it is a fact that the world we know today would not exist without their efforts. The ancient faith of Christianity, with its respect for women and antipathy toward slavery, not only survived but flourished. Without the Crusades, it might well have followed Zoroastrianism, another of Islam's rivals, into extinction.

Thomas F. Madden

Chapter 9

Inquisitions

After the Roman Church had consolidated its power in the early Middle Ages, heretics came to be regarded as enemies of society. The crime of heresy was defined as a deliberate denial of an article of truth of the Catholic faith, and a public and obstinate persistence in that alleged error. At this time, there was a sense of Christian unity among townspeople and rulers alike, and most of them agreed with the Church that heretics seemed to threated society itself.

Confronting Heresies

However, the repression of heresy remained unorganized, and with the large scale heresies in the 11th and 12th centuries, Pope Gregory IX instituted the papal inquisition in 1231 for the apprehension and trial of heretics. The name Inquisition is derived from the Latin verb inquiro (inquire into). The Inquisitiors did not wait for complaints, but sought out persons accused of heresy. Although the Inquisition was created to combat the heretical Cathari and Waldenses, the Inquisition later extended its activity to include witches, diviners, blasphemers, and other sacrilegious persons.

Another reason for Pope Gregory IX's creation of the Inquisition was to bring order and legality to the process of dealing with heresy, since there had been tendencies in the mobs of townspeople to burn alleged heretics without much of a trial. Pope Gregory's original intent for the Inquisition was a court of exception to inquire into and glean the beliefs of those differing from Catholic teaching, and to instruct them in the orthodox doctrine. It was hoped that heretics would see the falsity of the ir opinion and would return to the Roman Catholic Church. If they persisted in their heresy, however, Pope Gregory, finding it necessary to protect the Catholic community from infection would have suspects handed over to civil authorities since these heretics had violated not only Church law but civil law as well. The secular authorities would apply their own brands of punishment for civil disobedience which, at the time, included burning at the stake.

The inquisitiors, or judges of this medieval Inquisition were recruited almost exclusively from the Franscian and Dominican orders. In the early period of the institution, the Inquisitiors rode the circut in search of heretics, but this practice was short lived. The Inquisitors soon acquired the right to summon the suspects from their homes to the Inquisition center. The medieval Inquisition functioned only in a limited way in northern Europe. It was employed most in the south of France and in northern Italy.

Various Inquisitions

Throughout the Inquisition's history, it was rivaled by local ecclesiastical and secular jurisdictions. No matter how determined, no pope succeeded in establishing complete control of the institution. Medieval kings, princes, bishops, and civil authorities wavered between acceptance and resistance of the Inquisition. The institution reached its apex in the second half of the 13th century. During this period, the tribunals were almost entirely free from any authority, including that of the pope. Therefore, it was almost impossible to eradicate abuse.

A second variety of the Inquisition was the infamous Spanish Inquisition, authorized by Pope Sixtus IV in 1478. Pope Sixtus tried to establish harmony between the inquisitors and the ordinaries, but was unable to maintain control of the desires of King Ferdinand V and Queen Isablella. Sixtus agreed to recognize the independence of the Spanish Inquisition. This institution survived to the beginning of the

19th century, and was permanently suppressed by a decree on July 15, 1834.

A third variety of the Inquisition was the Roman Inquisition. Alarmed by the spread of Protestantism and especially by its penetration into Italy, Pope Paul III in 1542 established in Rome the Congregation of the Inquisition. This institution was al so known as the Roman Inquisition and the Holy Office. Six cardinals including Carafa constituted the original inquisition whose powers extended to the whole Church. The "Holy Office" was really a new institution related to the Medieval Inquisition only by vague precedents. More free from Episcopal control than its predecessor, it also conceived of its function differently. Some saw its establishment as an attempt to counter-balance the severe Spanish Inquisition at a time when much of Italy was under Spanish rule. Whereas the medieval Inquisition had focused on popular misconceptions which resulted in the disturbance of public order, the Holy Office was concerned with orthodoxy of a more academic nature, especially as it appeared in the writings of theologians. In its first twelve years, the activities of the Roman Inquisition were relatively modest and were restricted almost exclusively to Italy. Cardinal Carafa became Pope Paul IV in 1555 and immediately urged a vigorous pursuit of "suspects." His snare did not exclude bishops or even cardinals of the Church. Pope Paul IV charged the congregation to draw up a list of books which he felt offended faith or morals. This resulted in the first Index of Forbidden Books (1559). Although succeeding popes tempered the zeal of the Roman Inquisition, many viewed the institution as the customary instrument of papal government used in the regulation of Church order. This was the institution that would later put Galileo on trial.

Procedures and organization

When instituting an inquiry in a district, an inquisitor would normally declare a period of grace during which those who voluntarily confessed their own involvement in heresy and that of others would be given only light penances. The inquisitor used these confessions to compile a list of suspects whom he summoned to his tribunal. Failure to appear was considered evidence of guilt. The trial was often a battle of wits between the inquisitor and the accused. The only other people present were a notary, who kept a record of the proceedings, and sworn witnesses, who attested the record's accuracy. No lawyer would

defend a suspect for fear of being accused of abetting heresy, and suspects were not normally told what charges had been made against them or by whom. The accused might appeal to the pope before proceedings began, but this involved considerable expense.

After consulting with canon lawyers, the inquisitor would sentence those found guilty at a *sermo generalis*, or public homily. Judicial penances were imposed on those who had been convicted of heresy and had recanted. The most common punishments were penitential pilgrimages, the wearing of yellow crosses on clothing (which was feared because it led to ostracism), and imprisonment.

The inquisition employed two kinds of prisons, both staffed by laymen. One type was the *murus largus*, or open prison, which consisted of cells built around a courtyard in which the inmates enjoyed considerable freedom. The other type was the *murus strictus*, a high-security prison, where inmates were kept in solitary confinement, often in chains. Heretics who admitted their errors but refused to recant were handed over to the secular authorities and burned at the stake. There were usually not many cases of this kind, because the chief aim of the inquisitors was to reconcile heretics to the church. On rare occasions, however, large public executions did take place, as at Verona in 1278, when some 200 Cathars were burned.

Although heresy was a capital offense in virtually all the states of Western Europe, some rulers-for example, the kings of Castile and England-refused to license the inquisition. Even where it did operate-in much of Italy and in kingdoms such as France and Aragon-the inquisition relied entirely on the secular authorities to arrest and execute those whom it named and to defray all its expenses. The money came partly from the sale of the confiscated property of convicted heretics.

Although some scholars have denied that the medieval inquisition was an institution, others maintain that it is the best way to describe a group of men who enjoyed the same powers, were directly responsible to the pope, employed servants and officials, and had absolute control over a number of large prisons and their inmates. Nevertheless, its power was very limited, and, arguably, it was important chiefly because it established a tradition of religious coercion in the late medieval Western church that was inherited by both Catholics and Protestants in the 16th century.

Early Modern Europe

From the 15th to the 19th century, inquisitions were permanently established, bureaucratically organized, appointed, and supervised tribunals of clergy (and occasionally laymen). They were charged with the discovery and extirpation of heterodox religious opinion and practice in Christian Europe. The institutional inquisitions were similar to other institutions of government and discipline in early modern Europe. The earliest, largest, and best-known of these was the Spanish Inquisition, established by Pope Sixtus IV at the petition of Ferdinand and Isabella, the rulers of Aragon and Castile, in a papal bull of Nov. 1, 1478. It was eventually extended throughout the Spanish empire in Europe and the Americas through a system of subordinate regional tribunals. It was formally abolished by the Spanish government in 1834. Later institutional inquisitions were established in Portugal in 1540 (abolished in 1821) and in Rome (for the Papal States and some other parts of Italy) in 1542; the latter was erected into the Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, or Holy Office, one of the 15 secretariats into which the administrative reforms of Sixtus V (1585–90) divided papal government. (In 1965 the Holy Office was reorganized by Pope Paul VI and renamed the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.) In 1547 the government of Venice established a tribunal of laymen, which was converted into a tribunal of clergy by 1551 but closely monitored by the Venetian government. The Venetian inquisition lasted until 1797. Another institutional inquisition, that of the city of Lucca, established in 1545, was also originally staffed by laymen but then clericalized after a few years.

Galileo and the Church

Nicholas Copernicus and Galileo Galilee were two scientists who printed books that later became banned. Copernicus faced no persecution when he was alive because he died shortly after publishing his book. Galileo, on the other hand, was tried by the Inquisition after his book was published. Both scientists held the same theory that the Earth revolved around the sun, a theory now known to be true. However, the Church disapproved of this theory because the Holy Scriptures state that the Earth is at the center, not the Sun. As the contents of the Bible were taken literally, the publishing of these books

proved, to the Church, that Copernicus and Galileo were sinners; they preached, through their writing, that the Bible was wrong.

In 1616, Galileo was issued an injunction not to "hold, defend, or teach" heliocentrism.11.) When he began writing *Dialogues* in 1624, he intended to present both arguments equally. However, he wrote the arbitrator in such a way that he decided the Copernican speaker had the most points that made logical sense, thus supporting Copernicanism throughout his book.12.)

When Galileo originally tried to print *Dialogues* in 1630, he was ordered to have it printed in Rome. However, he left Rome because of the outbreak of plague and communicated with the Master of the Sacred Palace, the chief censor, through writing. The Master of the Sacred Palace ordered Galileo to have someone the Master chose review the manuscript to ensure it was fit for publishing.

Father Master Giancito Stefani was chosen to review the manuscript and the publisher followed all instructions from the Father Master.13.) Galileo said, during his trial in 1633, that he did not believe what he wrote, that he let his vanity influence his words and phrasing to make him appear more intelligent to his readers but this plan failed when his readers came to the conclusion that he believed the Copernican hypothesis to be true because of his powerful phrasing.14). Summoned to Rome for trial by the Inquisition one year later, Galileo defended himself by saying that scientific research and the Christian faith were not mutually exclusive and that study of the natural world would promote understanding and interpretation of the scriptures. But his views were judged "false and erroneous." Because of his advanced years, he was permitted house arrest in Siena. Before we pass judgments on the Galileo event we need to understand certain important realities:

1. The helio-centric theory that Galileo suggested not accepted in any of the scientific circle of his period. The real objection to the theory arose from among the contemporaneous scientists, rather than from the Church.

2. Church was sharing the main stream scientific view of that period.

3. It would be unwise to judge the failures of the past on the basis of the contemporary moral, historical and scientific standpoints.

4. Even the inquisitors gave permission to Galileo for publishing his controversial book. They suggested getting the book published from Rome. It means that the content of Galileo's findings was not altogether condemned by the church.

5. Since then, the Church has taken various steps to reverse its opposition to Galileo's conclusions. In 1757, Galileo's "Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems" was removed from the Index, a former list of publications banned by the Church. When the latest investigation, conducted by a panel of scientists, theologians and historians, made a preliminary report in 1984, it said that Galileo had been wrongfully condemned. More recently, Pope John Paul II himself has said that the scientist was "imprudently opposed."

With a formal statement at the Pontifical Academy of Sciences at 1992, Vatican officials said the Pope will formally close a 13-year investigation into the Church's condemnation of Galileo in 1633. The condemnation, which forced the astronomer and physicist to recant his discoveries, led to Galileo's house arrest for eight years before his death in 1642 at the age of 77. The dispute between the Church and Galileo has long stood as one of history's great emblems of conflict between reason and dogma, science and faith. The Vatican's formal acknowledgement of an error, moreover, is a rarity in an institution built over centuries on the belief that the Church is the final arbiter in matters of faith. The Vatican document says that, "We today know that Galileo was right in adopting the Copernican astronomical theory".

Chapter 10

Renaissance and the Church

Through the late 15th and early 16th centuries, European missionaries and explorers spread Catholicism to the Americas, Asia, Africa and Oceania. Pope Alexander VI, in the papal bull *Inter caetera*, awarded colonial rights over most of the newly discovered lands to Spain and Portugal. Under the *patronato* system, state authorities controlled clerical appointments and no direct contact was allowed with the Vatican. On December 1511, the Dominican friar Antonio de Montesinos openly rebuked the Spanish authorities governing Hispaniola for their mistreatment of the American natives, telling them "... you are in mortal sin ... for the cruelty and tyranny you use in dealing with these innocent people". King Ferdinand enacted the *Laws of Burgos* and *Valladolid* in response. Enforcement was lax, and while some blame the Church for not doing enough to liberate the Indians, others point to the Church as the only voice raised on behalf of indigenous peoples. The issue resulted in a crisis of conscience in 16th-century Spain. An outpouring of self-criticism and philosophical reflection among Catholic

theologians, most notably Francisco de Vitoria, led to debate on the nature of human rights and the birth of modern international law.

In 1521, through the leadership and preaching of the Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan, the first Catholics were baptized in what became the first Christian nation in Southeast Asia, the Philippines. The following year, Franciscan missionaries arrived in what is now Mexico, and sought to convert the Indians and to provide for their well-being by establishing schools and hospitals. They taught the Indians better farming methods, and easier ways of weaving and making pottery. Because some people questioned whether the Indians were truly human and deserved baptism, Pope Paul III in the papal bull *Veritas Ipsa* or *Sublimis Deus* (1537) confirmed that the Indians were deserving people. Afterward, the conversion effort gained momentum. Over the next 150 years, the missions expanded into southwestern North America. The native people were legally defined as children, and priests took on a paternalistic role, often enforced with corporal punishment. Elsewhere, in India, Portuguese missionaries and the Spanish Jesuit Francis Xavier evangelized among non-Christians.

Renaissance Church

In Europe, the Renaissance marked a period of renewed interest in ancient and classical learning. It also brought a re-examination of accepted beliefs. Cathedrals and churches had long served as picture books and art galleries for millions of the uneducated. The stained glass windows, frescoes, statues, paintings and panels retold the stories of the saints and of biblical characters. The Church sponsored great Renaissance artists like Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, who created some of the world's most famous artworks. The acceptance of humanism had its effects on the Church, which embraced it as well. In 1509, a well known scholar of the age, Erasmus, wrote *The Praise of Folly,* a work which captured a widely held unease about corruption in the Church. The Papacy itself was questioned by conciliarism expressed in the councils of Constance and the Basel. Real reforms during these ecumenical councils and the Fifth Lateran Council were attempted several times but thwarted. They were seen as necessary but did not succeed in large measure because of internal feuds within the Church, ongoing conflicts with the Ottoman Empire and Saracenes and the simony and nepotism practiced in the

Renaissance Church of the 15th and early 16th centuries. As a result, rich, powerful and worldly men like Roderigo Borgia (Pope Alexander VI) were able to win election to the papacy.

The esteem of the church was also hurt as some church leaders violated the biblical laws they were entrusted to uphold and lived no differently than the secular merchants and political figures. This was compounded by the realization by the new monarchs that, in order for them to maintain power, the support of the church was not as important as in the past.

Even though the churches influence in politics was weakening, as can be seen by the Babylonian Captivity and the Great Schism, the popularity of religion was actually growing. This growth continued through the 14th and 15th centuries and reached a climax during the 16th century, known as the Reformation.

Renaissance and the Decline of Ecclesiastical Power

The papal court was humiliated when, in the early 14th century, the French king forced them to Avignon. This forced move made the churches highest leaders appear to be pawns of France. The church, instead of providing spiritual leadership and direction for the rapidly changing society and class, became preoccupied with its administration staff and processes and with the collection of revenue. The problems grew worse during the Great Schism, when rival popes competed for control of the church. The final outcome further weakened the political influence of the church.

There were worthy leaders of the Catholic Church during these times. Nicholas V (mid 15th century) and Pius II, who followed his papacy, were learned, pious and noble leaders of the church. There were also other leaders, like Alexander VI (pope in 1492), Julius II and Leo X, who were chiefly concerned with politics, the promotion of their families and the patronage of the arts. These popes further weakened the ability of the Catholic Church to influence society and politics.

With its weakened influence, the church found its papal authority increasingly challenged, both locally and nationally. These challenges to the papal authority, known as heresy, flourished, and critics became more outspoken and numerous.

Religious Growth

The concern of the churches condition was a result of the strength of the church, not the weakness. The influence of the Catholic Church was weakening but there was ever increasing popularity of religion throughout all parts of Europe. Religion began to change. Preachers, like Savonarola of Florence, called on sinners to repent. One movement, that grew in part from the German mystic, Echhart, grew in western Germany in the Rhineland area. This movement believed in direct revelations from God without the church as an intermediary.

The communal and metaphysical faith of the Catholic Church was challenged in Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands by a movement known as the "devotion moderna". This group emphasized individual and practical faith as opposed to the communal and metaphysical faith of the Catholic Church.

These movements, along with their differing beliefs, posed a threat to traditional religion. Popular heretical movements continued to grow and continued to challenge papal authority. Some of these movements even proposed doing away with the Catholic Church as an institution. During the 14 century, British philosopher John Wycliffe began formalizing his attacks in his teachings and writings. A Bohemian, Jan Hus, also wrote of these things.

These heretics became popular because of their attacks, but they remained as a small minority. The majority of the reformers hoped to change the Catholic Church, not remove it. A particularly influential theologian, Jean de Gerson, at the University of Paris in the early 1500's supported the conciliar theory. This theory aimed at reforming the Catholic Church by removing the supreme authority of the pope and placing it in a general council.

The call for reform was not just from outsiders, Nicholas of Cusa (the "papal legate" or official representative of the pope) pursued church reform policies directly aimed at monks who had violated the monastic vows. The most successful reformer of all was Cardinal Ximenes of Spain. He set standards for training, discipline and qualifications for the Spanish clergy. None of these reforms spread throughout all of Europe. There were a lot of people who were unhappy with the church but there were also lots of people who thought the church could be improved with basic reforms.

Papacy in Renaissance

A period of renewed power for the papacy began in the year 1420, when Pope Martin V (r. 1417-31) moved the papal seat back to Rome, following its long "Babylonian Captivity," when it was based at Avignon, France (1309-77), and after the Great Schism (1378-1417), when several "popes" simultaneously claimed the office. This resurgence continued until 1527, when Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1519-56) sacked Rome, driving away many artists and disrupting papal power.

Though Rome had agricultural strength, it was not a commercial or banking center. The prosperity of the papacy depended, therefore, on its home markets, which comprised of thousands of church bureaucrats and visiting pilgrims. More than 100,000 pilgrims flooded the city in some Jubilee years. (These special years, when one could receive a full pardon for sins during a visit to Rome, occurred once every twenty-five years, starting with the reign of Pope Paul II [r. 1464-71].) To secure Rome and its Papal States-the territories that the papacy controlled in central and northern Italy and southern France-popes became heavily involved in temporal matters, even leading armies, as was the case with the very worldly Pope Julius II (r. 1503-13).

During these years, popes strove to make Rome the capital of Christendom while projecting it, through art, architecture, and literature, as the center of a Golden Age of unity, order, and peace. Papal officials came from many nations to promote a united Church. Humanists in Rome, many of them foreign clerics involved with theology and some of them popes (25.30.17), studied all aspects of antiquity, edited its texts (62.93.1), and, under the influence of classical models, produced poems, plays, and new rhetorical genres such as the panegyric. Since many antiquities were unearthed in or near Rome, popes were well situated to become serious collectors of ancient art; Julius II, for instance, took charge of both the Apollo Belvedere and Laocoön sculptures after they came to light. After Nicholas V (r. 1447-55) moved the papacy from the Lateran Palace to the Vatican Palace, he and his successors constructed or rebuilt fortifications, streets, bridges, and piazzas to ensure safe access to the Vatican area for pilgrims and processions. Looking to imperial Rome as a model, they conceived building and art projects to be political

statements, and the best architects and artists congregated in Rome to achieve them, such as Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472). "Not for ambition," Nicholas V said on his deathbed, "nor pomp, nor vainglory, nor fame, nor the eternal perpetuation of my name, but for the greater authority of the Roman church and the greater dignity of the Apostolic See… we conceived such buildings in mind and spirit."

Notwithstanding, popes frequently made the glorification of themselves and their families a high priority. Rather than extend the work of their predecessors, they often sponsored personal projects, including lavish palaces and tombs for themselves and their relatives. Pope Pius II (r. 1458-64) even had his birthplace, the Tuscan hamlet of Corsignano, rebuilt under the direction of the famous Florentine architect Bernardo Rossellino (1407/10-ca. 1464). (Pius renamed the town Pienza around 1462.) In such an environment, corruption became rampant. For instance, Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471-84), a Franciscan who came from a poor family, led a blameless personal life and was a great supporter of scholarship and the arts, but he was also guilty of the worst sort of nepotism, which spurred political unrest in Italy, financial confusion in the papacy, and a neglect of the spiritual interests of the Church.

Along with this, other aspects of papal worldliness fueled a long-standing discontent with the Church that culminated in the Reformation. The military exploits of Julius II have already been mentioned. But it was the granting of indulgences-the temporal remission of punishment in Purgatory-by Julius II and Leo X (r. 1513-21) to those who would give money to help rebuild Saint Peter's in Rome that spurred Martin Luther to post his *95 Theses* on the door of the Schlosskirche in Wittenberg in 1517. The ensuing controversy, in which Luther denied the authority of Rome and asserted that salvation came through faith in Christ alone, brought about a permanent rupture in Western Christendom.

Chapter 11

Reformation and Counter Reformation

The usual term for the religious movement which made its appearance in Western Europe in the sixteenth century, and which, while ostensibly aiming at an internal renewal of the Church, really led to a great revolt against it, and an abandonment of the principal Christian beliefs.

Causes of the Reformation

The causes of the great religious revolt of the sixteenth century must be sought as far back as the fourteenth. The doctrine of the Church, it is true, had remained pure; saintly lives were yet frequent in all parts of Europe. Whatever unhappy conditions existed were largely due to civil and profane influences or to the exercise of authority by ecclesiastics in civil spheres Gradually, however, and largely owing to the variously hostile spirit of the civil powers, fostered and heightened by several elements of the new order, there grew up in many parts of Europe political and social conditions which questioned the unity and faith of the church. The following are the reasons of reformation:

1. Since the Muslim invasions the Church had effected a complete transformation and revival of the races of Western Europe, and a glorious development of religious and intellectual life. With the ecclesiastical organization fully developed, it came to pass that the activities of the governing ecclesiastical bodies were no longer confined to the ecclesiastical domain, but affected almost every sphere of popular life. Gradually a regrettable worldliness manifested itself in many high ecclesiastics. Their chief object - to guide man to his eternal goal - claimed too seldom their attention, and worldly activities became in too many cases the chief interest.

2. Closely connected with the above were various abuses in the lives of the clergy and the people. In the Papal Curia political interests and a worldly life were often prominent. Many bishops and abbots bore themselves as secular rulers rather than as servants of the Church. The moral standard of many clergy being very low, and the practice of celibacy not everywhere observed.

3. The authority of the Holy See had also been seriously impaired, partly through the fault of some of its occupants and partly through that of the secular princes. The pope's removal to Avignon in the fourteenth century was a grievous error, since the universal character of the papacy was thus obscured in the minds of the Christian people.

4. In princes and governments had meanwhile developed a national consciousness, purely temporal and to a great extent hostile to the Church; the civil powers interfered more frequently in ecclesiastical matters, and the direct influence exercised by laymen on the domestic administration of the Church rapidly increased. With the growing self-consciousness of the State, the secular governments sought to control all matters that fell within their competence, and thus led to frequent collisions between Church and State.

5. The social awakenings like Renaissance and Humanism partly introduced and greatly fostered these conditions. The Christian religious ideal was to a great extent lost sight of; higher intellectual culture, previously confined in great measure to the clergy, but now common among the laity, assumed a secular character. Only a faint interest in the supernatural life survived.

The soil was thus ready for the growth of revolutionary movements in the religious sphere. Many grave warnings were indeed uttered, indicating the approaching danger and urging a fundamental reform of the actual evil conditions. Much had been effected in this direction by the reform movement in various religious orders and by the apostolic efforts of zealous individuals. But a general renewal of ecclesiastical life and a uniform improvement of evil conditions, beginning with Rome itself, the centre of the Church, were not promptly undertaken, and soon it needed only an external impulse to precipitate a revolution, which was to cut off from the unity of the Church great territories of Central and almost all Northern Europe.

Original ideas and purposes of the reformers

The first impulse to outbreak was supplied by the opposition of Luther in Germany and of Zwingli in German Switzerland to the promulgation by Leo X of an indulgence for contributions towards the building of the new St. Peter's at Rome. For a long time it had been customary for the Popes to grant indulgences for buildings of public utility (e.g. bridges). But the almsgiving for a good object, prescribed only as a good work supplementary to the chief conditions for the gaining of the indulgence, was often prominently emphasized. The indulgence commissaries sought to collect as much money as possible in connexion with the indulgence. Vainly did earnest men raise their voices against this abuse, which aroused no little bitterness against the ecclesiastical order and particularly the Papal Curia. The promulgation of indulgences for the new St. Peter's furnished Luther with an opportunity to attack indulgences in general, and this attack was the immediate occasion of the Reformation in Germany.

The great applause which Luther received on his first appearance, both in humanistic circles and among some theologians and some of the earnest-minded laity, was due to the dissatisfaction with the existing abuses. His own erroneous views and the influence of a portion of his followers very soon drove Luther into rebellion against ecclesiastical authority as such, and eventually led him into open apostasy and schism. His chief original supporters were among the Humanists, the immoral clergy, and the lower grades of the landed nobility imbued with revolutionary tendencies. It was soon evident that he meant to subvert all the fundamental institutions of the Church.

Beginning by proclaiming the doctrine of "justification by faith alone", he later rejected all supernatural remedies (especially the sacraments and the Mass), denied the meritoriousness of goodworks (thus condemning monastic vows and Christian asceticism in general), and finally rejected the institution of a genuine hierarchical priesthood (especially the papacy) in the Church. His doctrine of the Bible as the sole rule of faith, with rejection of all ecclesiastical authority, established subjectivism in matters of faith.

A second centre of the Reformation was established by Zwingli at Zurich. Though he differed in many particulars from Luther, and was much more radical than the latter in his transformation of the ceremonial of the Mass, the aims of his followers were identical with those of the Lutherans. Political considerations played a great role in the development of Zwinglianism

French Switzerland developed later its own peculiar Reformation; this was organized at Geneva by Calvin. Calvinism is distinguished from Lutheranism and Zwinglianism by a more rigid and consistent form of doctrine and by the strictness of its moral precepts, which regulate the whole domestic and public life of the citizen. The ecclesiastical organization of Calvin was declared a fundamental law of the Republic of Geneva, and the authorities gave their entire support to the reformer in the establishment of his new court of morals. Calvin's word was the highest authority, and he tolerated no contradiction of his views or regulations. Calvinism was introduced into Geneva and the surrounding country by violence. Catholic priests were banished, and the people oppressed and compelled to attend Calvinistic sermons.

In England the origin of the Reformation was entirely different. Here the sensual and tyrannical Henry VIII, with the support of Thomas Cranmer, whom the king made the Archbishop of Canterbury, severed his country from ecclesiastical unity because the pope, as the true guardian of the Divine law, refused to recognize the invalid marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn during the lifetime of his lawful wife. Renouncing obedience to the pope, the despotic monarch constituted himself supreme judge even in ecclesiastical affairs; the opposition of such good men as Thomas More and John Fisher was overcome in blood. The king wished, however, to retain unchanged both the doctrines of the Church and the ecclesiastical

hierarchy, and caused a series of doctrines and institutions rejected by Luther and his followers to be strictly proscribed by Act of Parliament (Six Articles) under the pain of death. In England also the civil power constituted itself supreme judge in matters of faith, and laid the foundation for further arbitrary religious innovations which led to Anglicanism.

The following are the eight basic principles that are common among various branches of protestentism

1. **Man is totally corrupt:** Hence there arises the tendency to limit religion to matters of sin and justification: repentance, conversion, making a decision for Christ, bewailing one's sins, condemning as evil what common experience and Catholic doctrine teach to be good; self condemnation easily translates into seeing evil in one's own society and governmental policies when such condemnation is not justified.

2. **Grace is totally extrinsic:** This follows from No. 1, for if man is totally corrupt then grace cannot be intrinsic to him, for then he would be transformed into something good and no longer corrupt. The Blood of Christ covers over the sins of man, hiding them from the sight of God, but man remains as corrupt as before. Thus is undermined any motivation to strive to overcome vices and imperfections in one's self or in society. Indeed, the notion that man is totally corrupt and its corollary that grace is only extrinsic stem historically from Martin Luther's despair in trying to be chaste.

3. **Man is saved by faith alone:** The way you get the Blood of Christ to cover your sins it by believing that it does. Hence comes Luther's adage, Sin strongly but believe more strongly. When one breaks through to the conviction that, despite his inability to change, one is absolved from all responsibility, the ensuing exhilaration is the conversion experience, and the tendency is to teach that one is not saved unless one has this emotional high. Some go so far as to deem one's salvation lost if this state of excitement cannot be regularly repeated. That man is saved by faith alone also means that good works are unnecessary and merit is non-existent.

4. **The Church is solely an invisible society:** The Church consists only of those saved by the Blood of Christ. But these are only those who believe that they are so saved. But belief or faith is

invisible. Therefore the Church is purely and only invisible. Therefore a visible hierarchy and also sacred images are contrary to the true faith, and the tendency is to see them as coming from the devil, with the visible (i.e. Catholic) Church being the Whore of Babylon and sacred images being idols.

5. **The only priesthood that exists is that common to all the faithful:** Hence both the ministerial priesthood and the sacrifice of the Mass are denied. Since everyone in the community is hierarchically equal, the faithful have the right and indeed only they have the authority to select and ordain their ministers; ordination is merely the community's commission and does not in any way impart a new character or status on to the recipient.

6. **Rule of faith is Scripture alone:** Hence both tradition and the authority of the Church to interpret are denied.

7. **Scripture is subject only to the private interpretation of each individual:** Hence man is seen as in immediate contact with revealed truth without any mediating agent other than the words of Scripture themselves. Hence both reason and the Church are rejected as proper channels of true interpretation.

8. **No Mediators:** The view that man is not in need of mediation regarding the interpretation of Scripture leads to the position that man needs no mediation in any aspect of religion. Hence not only the priesthood is seen as an intrusive interference but also the role of the angels, saints and Mary - even though Luther himself retained devotion to the Mother of Christ.

Different forms of the Reformation

The Reformation was inaugurated in Germany when Luther affixed his celebrated theses to the doors of the church at Wittenberg, 31 October, 1517. From the consequences of papal excommunication and the imperial ban Luther was protected by Elector Frederick of Saxony, his territorial sovereign. While outwardly adopting a neutral attitude, the latter encouraged the formation of Lutheran communities within his domains, after Luther had returned to Wittenberg and resumed there the leadership of the reform movement.

The fundamental forms of the Reformation were Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, Calvinism, and Anglicanism. Within each of these

branches, however, conflicts arose in consequence of the diverse views of individual representatives. By negotiations, compromises, and formulae of union it was sought, usually without lasting success, to establish unity. The whole Reformation, resting on human authority, presented from the beginning, in the face of Catholic unity of faith, an aspect of dreary dissension. Besides these chief branches appeared numerous other forms, which deviated from them in essential points, and gradually rise to the countless divisions of Protestantism. The chief of these forms may be shortly reviewed.

- The Anabaptists, who appeared in Germany and German Switzerland shortly after the appearance of Luther and Zwingli, wished to trace back their conception of the Church to Apostolic times. They denied the validity of the baptism of children, saw in the Blessed Eucharist merely a memorial ceremony, and wished to restore the Kingdom of God according to their own heretical and mystical views. Though attacked by the other Reformers, they won supporters in many lands.

- Sebastian Franck (1499-1542), a pure spiritualist, rejected every external form of ecclesiastical organization, and favoured a spiritual, invisible Church. He thus abstained from founding a separate community, and sought only to disseminate his ideas.

- The Socinians and other Anti-Trinitarians. Some individual members of the early Reformers attacked the fundamental doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, especially the Spaniards Miguel Servede (Servetus), whose writing, "*De Trinitatis erroribus*", printed in 1531, was burned by Calvin in Geneva in 1553.

- Valentine Weigel (1533-1588) and Jacob Böhme (d. 1624), a shoemaker from Gorlitz, represented a mystical pantheism, teaching that the external revelation of God in the Bible could be recognized only through an internal light. Both found numerous disciples. Böhme's followers later received the name of *Rosenkreuzer*, because it was widely supposed that they stood under the direction of a hidden guide named Rozenkreuz.

- The Pietists in Germany had as their leader Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705).Pietism was primarily a reaction against the barren Lutheran orthodoxy, and regarded religion mainly a thing of the heart.

- The Quakers were founded by John George Fox of Drayton in Leicestershire (1624-1691). He favoured a visionary spiritualism, and found in the soul of each man a portion of the Divine intelligence. All are allowed to preach, according as the spirit incites them. The moral precepts of this sect were very strict.

- The Methodists were founded by John Wesley. In 1729 Wesley instituted, with his brother Charles and his friends Morgan and Kirkham, an association at Oxford for the cultivation of the religious and ascetic life, and from this society Methodism developed.

- The Baptists originated in England in 1608. They maintained that baptism was necessary only for adults, upheld Calvinism in its essentials, and observed the Sabbath on Saturday instead of Sunday.

- The Swedenborgians are named after their founder Emmanuel Swedenborg (d. 1772), son of a Swedish Protestant bishop. Believing in his power to communicate with the spirit-world and that he had Divine revelations, he proceeded on the basis of the latter to found a community with a special liturgy, the "New Jerusalem". He won numerous followers, and his community spread in many lands.

Besides these best-known secondary branches of the Reformation movement, there are many different denominations; for from the Reformation the evolution of new forms has always proceeded, and must always proceed, inasmuch as subjective arbitrariness was made a principle by the heretical teaching of the sixteenth century.

Results and consequences of the Reformation

The Reformation destroyed the unity of faith and ecclesiastical organization of the Christian peoples of Europe, cut many millions off from the true Catholic Church, and robbed them of the greatest portion of the salutary means for the cultivation and maintenance of the supernatural life. Incalculable harm was thereby wrought from the religious standpoint.

- The fundamental doctrine of justification by faith alone, taught by the Reformers, produced a lamentable shallowness in religious life. Zeal for good works disappeared, the asceticism which the Church had practised from her foundation was despised,

charitable and ecclesiastical objects were no longer properly cultivated, supernatural interests fell into the background, and naturalistic aspirations aiming at the purely mundane, became widespread.

- The denial of the Divinely instituted authority of the Church, both as regards doctrine and ecclesiastical government, opened wide the door to every eccentricity, gave rise to the endless division into sects and the never-ending disputes characteristic of Protestantism

- Reformation recognized the secular authorities as supreme also in religious matters. Thus arose from the very beginning the various Protestant "national Churches", which are entirely discordant with the Christian universalism of the Catholic Church, and depend, alike for their faith and organization, on the will of the secular ruler.

- Germany in particular, the original home of the Reformation, was reduced to a state of piteous distress by the Thirty Years' War, and the German Empire was thereby dislodged from the leading position which it had for centuries occupied in Europe.

The Counter-Reformation

The term *Counter-Reformation* denotes the period of Catholic revival from the pontificate of Pope Pius IV in 1560 to the close of the Thirty Years' War, 1648. Luther was a Catholic Reformer before he became a Protestant. By becoming a Protestant Reformer, he did indeed hinder the progress of the Catholic reformation. Moreover, it will be seen that the Catholic reform was not even originally due to reaction from Protestantism. It started even before Protestantism.

Another point to be noticed is that, though we assign certain dates for the beginning and end of the period under consideration. In this sense the Counter-Reformation began in the time of Luther and is not even yet closed. The span of time during which this enthusiasm lasted may be justly considered as an historical period, and it is that which we call the period of the Counter-Reformation. It may also be well to note at the outset that this period is the harder to follow, not only because of its continuity with previous and succeeding periods, but also because it did not

commence or end at the same time in any two countries, and in each land began, grew strong, and died away, through different causes, in different ways and degrees, and at different times. Broadly considered, however, the dates assigned above will be shown to be perfectly accurate.

"From the time of St. Peter there has not been a pontificate so unfortunate as mine. How I regret the past! Pray for me." Such were the sad words of Pope Paul IV, as he lay dying in August, 1559. In many countries, obedience to the pope has almost ceased.

St. Ignatius and the Jesuits

The number of great men among the cardinals, and the foundation of the Capuchins, Theatines, and other orders, have already been mentioned as symptomatic of the improvement. Then there appeared Ignatius and the Jesuits, so conspicuous in the new movement. And here it may be well to notice how very different the evolution of the Protestant Reformers (even of those who were most conscientious) was from that of the vocation of this Catholic leader. The monk Luther and many like him began by denouncing abuses. The abuses were serious, no doubt, but from the nature of the case abuses in matters or of matters themselves holy and laudable.

The soldier, Ignatius, in the enforced leisure after his wound at Pampeluna (1521) bethought himself of serving Christ as a captain. The idea slowly took possession of him and aroused a lofty spiritual ambition. The imitation and service of Christ were to be most thorough. He would first educate himself as well as his age would allow, become a priest, induce the best of his companions to join him, and then go to the Holy Land and imitate the Saviour's life as literally and exactly as possible. This was a humble but sublime ideal, capable of appealing to and satisfying the most earnest souls, and sure to lead to great efforts. There was no preoccupation here about the reform of abuses, nor indeed any temporal concern whatever, even the most praiseworthy. He instituted the Society of Jesus for the sake of safeguarding the Catholic faith.

The Council of Trent

The Council had been originally summoned in the year 1537, and sixteen sessions were held during the next fourteen years. In 1552 it

was prorogued for the third or fourth time, and so serious were the quarrels throughout Europe that its conclusion was almost despaired of. "The only remedy", said Mocenigo, "is a council summoned by the common consent of all princes." Yet there was small chance that the factious, overbearing princes of those days would give up their own views and interests. Still, for the common good, it had to be attempted, and when the bishops met again in 1561 they came with hearts resolved to do their utmost. But "the consent of all the princes" was not easy to obtain. If they had known of Elizabeth's secret dealings with the French Court, they might have put a very sinister interpretation on the proposals with which the Cardinal of Lorraine and other Gallicans were constantly interrupting the progress of business. At last Cardinal Morone and the Cardinal of Lorraine paid personal visits to the emperor and the pope. A better understanding between the clerical and the state parties ensued, and so the council was concluded, with much more expedition and satisfaction than had seemed possible.

While the politicians had been squabbling, the theologians had been doing their work well, and when the decrees came to be promulgated, there was general admiration at the amount of definition that had been accomplished. Though there had been so many rumours of quarrels and divisions, the points on which all were agreed were surprisingly numerous and formed a striking contrast to the contradictions and feuds among the Protestant sects, which were becoming ever more conspicuous and bitter. No council that had ever been held had pronounced so clearly or on so many useful points.

Moreover, the Catholic bishops and representatives of various countries had come to know one another as never before, and when they separated they returned to their flocks with a new perception of the unity of the Church, and edified by the sincere holiness of her hierarchy. From this time we find that a certain readiness for compromise, and apprehension of change, which was once widespread, has passed away.

The decrees, at least those which regarded doctrine, were everywhere received with approval. The disciplinary decrees, on the other hand, were not accepted without serious qualifications by the Catholic sovereigns. Spain withheld "the privileges of the Spanish

Crown"; France at first refused them altogether as inconsistent with the Gallican Liberties, a refusal significant of the danger of Regalism which was to beset the Church of France for generations to come. [Cf. besides the decrees of the council (Rome, 1564, *et soep.*), the valuable publication of the Görres Society, "*Concilium Tridentinum, Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, Tractatuum nova collectio*", I, "*Diariorum pars prima*", ed. S. Merkle (Freiburg, 1901), and "*Actorum pars prima*", ed. S Ehses(Freiburg, 1904).]

Three great reforming popes

The popes are as a rule, and from the nature of their position, extremely conservative, but it was characteristic of the Counter-Reformation that after the Council of Trent three popes of great reforming energy should be elected in close succession.

St. Pius V

The great achievement of this pope was the example which he gave of heroic virtue. In the language of the day, "he made his palace into a monastery, and was himself a model of penance, asceticism, and prayer". He inspired all about him with his own high views, and new life and strength were soon seen in all parts of the papal administration. Many and notorious had been the corruptions which had crept in during the reigns of the easy-going humanistic popes who had preceded him. They had indeed passed severe laws after the fashion of the time, hoping to maintain good order by occasional severities and the constant dread of heavy penalties, but with lax administration such a method of government produced deplorable results. Pius V applied the laws with an unflinching regularity to rich and noble, as well as to mean and poor. His rigour and vigour were sometimes excessive, no doubt, but this would not have seemed very reprehensible in those days. There had been a popular outcry for "reform in the head as well as in the members", but it had seemed hopeless to expect it, considering the strong conservative traditions of the Roman Court.

Now that the seemingly unattainable had been accomplished, occasional excesses in the manner of its attainment were easily forgiven, if they were not actually relished, as signs of the thoroughness with which the desired change had been made. Esteem

for the papacy rose, papal nuncios and legates faced with firmness the powerful sovereigns to whom they were sent, and strove with dignity for the correction of abuses. Reforms were more easily accepted by inferiors when superiors had already embraced them. Even Protestants mentioned Pope Pius with respect. Bacon spoke of "that excellent Pope *Pius Quintus*, whom I wonder his successors have not declared a saint" ("Of a Holy War", in his Works.

Gregory XIII

Gregory XIII became a leader of the reform movement by virtue of qualities very different from those of his predecessor. He was a kindly, sociable man, who had risen to fame as a lecturer on canon law, and his successes were due to his zeal for education, piety, and the machinery of government, rather than to anything magnetic or inspiring in his personal influence. He was bountiful in his support of the Jesuit missions, and in his grants to seminaries and colleges. The German, English, and Greek colleges, and many others owe him their foundation Bulls, and much of their funds. He sent out missionaries at his own expense to all parts of the world. Though he had no great genius for politics, he had an admirable secretary, Ptolomeo Galli, Cardinal of Como, whose papers remain to this day models of perspicacity and order.

Sixtus V

Like Pius V, Gregory XIII was too much of an enthusiast for abstract theories and medieval practices to be an ideal ruler; he was also a poor financier, and, like many other good lawyers, was somewhat deficient in practical judgment. It was exactly on these points that his successor, Sixtus V, was strong. Where Gregory, at the end of his reign, was crippled by debts and unable to restrain the bandits, who dominated the country up to the gates of Rome, Sixtus, by dint of good management, was soon one of the richest of popes, whose word was law in every corner of his States. He finished St. Peter's, and erected the obelisk of Nero before it. He built the Vatican Library and that wing of the palace, which the popes have inhabited ever since, while he practically rebuilt the Quirinal and Lateran Palaces. He constructed the aqueduct known as the *Aqua Felice*, the Via Sistina, the hospital of San Girolamo and other buildings, though

his reign only lasted five and a half years. Sixtus was large-minded, strong, and practical, a man who did not fear to grapple with the greatest problems, and under him the delays (reputed to be perpetual) of the Eternal City seemed to be changing to briskness, almost precipitation.

As the Council of Trent had given Catholics, just when they most needed it, an irrefragable testimony to the unity and catholicity of their Faith, so these three pontiffs, with their varying excellences, showed that the papacy possessed all the qualifications which the faithful expected in their leaders, virtues which afterwards repeated themselves (though not quite so often or so frequently) in succeeding popes, especially in Clement VIII, Paul V, and Urban VIII. Now at all events, the tide of the Counter-Reformation was running in full flood, and nowhere can its course and strength be better studied than in the missions.

The Ecumenical Councils

In the Church history, an **ecumenical council** was a meeting of the bishops of the whole church convened to discuss and settle matters of Church doctrine and practice. Church councils were, from the beginning, official exercises. Written documents were circulated, speeches made and responded to, votes taken, and final documents published and distributed. A large part of what we know about the beliefs of heresies comes from the documents quoted in councils in order to be refuted, or indeed only from the deductions based on the refutations. For all councils, Canons (or rulings) were published and survive. In some cases other documentation survives as well. Study of the canons of church councils is the foundation of the development of canon law, especially the reconciling of seemingly contradictory canons or the determination of priority between them. Canons consist of doctrinal statements and disciplinary measures - most Church councils and local synods dealt with immediate disciplinary concerns as well as major difficulties of doctrine. Eastern Orthodoxy typically views the purely doctrinal canons as dogmatic and applicable to the entire

church at all times, while the disciplinary canons are the application of those dogmas in a particular time and place; these canons may or may not be applicable in other situations.

The twenty one General Councils are presented here in their chronological order. Several General Councils were held in the same places at different times and so are named first, second, etc., after the particular place where they were held. Of necessity only a very general statement can here be made of the various actions of the Councils and we limit this to the more important doctrinal questions.

1. **The First Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325)** This Council, the first Ecumenical Council of the Catholic Church, was held in order to bring out the true teaching of the Church as opposed by the heresy of Arius. It formally presented the teaching of the Church declaring the divinity of God the Son to be one substance and one nature with that of God the Father. There were twenty canons drawn up, in which the time of celebrating Easter was clarified and a denunciation of the Meletian heresy made, also various matters of discipline or law were dealt with and several decisions advanced. From this Council we have the Nicene Creed.

❖ **Second Council of Ephesus (449)** declared Eutyches orthodox and attacked his opponents. Though originally convened as an ecumenical council, this council is not recognized as ecumenical and denounced as a Robber Council by the Chalcedonians (Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Protestants).

2. **The First Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381)** Again the true faith was maintained against the Arians. Answer was also given against the Apollinarian and Macedonian heresies. In answering the latter which denied the Godhead of the Holy Spirit, the dogma of the Church was again stated and the words inserted into the Nicene Creed declaring the truth that the Holy Spirit proceeded from both the Father and the Son.

3. **The Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431)** the third General Council of the Church defined the Catholic dogma that the Blessed Virgin is the Mother of God and presented the teaching of the truth of one divine person in Christ. The Council was convened against the heresy of Nestorius.

4. **The Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451)** Held twenty years after the third General Council, this was to answer the Eutychian or Monophysite heresy and affirm the doctrine of two natures in Christ. This followed as a result of the growing controversy among the early theologians who were being led into error by a confused idea of the one divine person being both God and man or that there are two natures, human and divine, in the one person of the Word.

5. **The Second Council of Constantinople (A.D. 553)** This Council is sometimes referred to as the Council of the Three Chapters because its chief work was to condemn the writings and teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the erroneous portions in the writings of Theodoret, and the letters of Ibas. It reaffirmed the dogmas stated by the third and forth General Councils.

6. **The Third Council of Constantinople (A.D. 680)** This Council gave the definition of two wills in Christ as the true teaching against the Monothelite heresy which claimed only one will.

❖ **Quinisext Council, also called Council in Trullo (692)** addressed matters of discipline (in amendment to the 5th and 6th councils). The Ecumenical status of this council was repudiated by the western churches.

7. **The Second Council of Nicaea (A.D. 757)** Here was defined the veneration due to holy images, that we give honor only to those they represent and not to the image itself as such; it presented the answer to the image breakers or iconoclasts. It also gave twenty-two canons regarding the clergy.

8. **The Forth Council of Constantinople (A.D. 869)** this was a disciplinary Council to heal the threat of schism which was separating the East and Rome. This was done by deposing the usurper, Photius, and restoring the patriarch, Ignatius. The Greeks finally refused acknowledgment of the Council.

9. **The First Council of the Lateran (A.D. 1123)** The Lateran is the Cathedral Basilica of Rome. This was the first General Council held in the West. It was convened to confirm the peace between the Church and State and to give final settlement to the problem of Investiture between Emperor Henry V and the Holy See. It was

agreed that the Church has all rights to choose and consecrate prelates and invest them, and Church goods were restored to the Church.

10. The Second Council of the Lateran (A.D. 1139) This Council took disciplinary action and excommunicated Roger of Sicily who championed the anti-pope. Anacletus II, and imposed silence on Arnold of Brescia. Canons against simony, incontinence, breaking the "Truce of God," dueling or group feuding were advanced, and regulations concerning clerical dress were given.

11. The Third Council of the Lateran (A.D. 1179) After forty years again the General Council took actions against simony and abuses of the clergy. Also defense of the true teaching was made in answer to the Albigenses and Waldenses.

12. The Forth Council of the Lateran (A.D. 1215) Besides disciplinary action the seventy decrees of this Council answered prevailing heresies, gave pronouncements in favor of the Crusades, prescribed the duty of annual confession and Easter Communion, offered additional definitions on the absolute unity of God, and presented definition of the doctrine of the Church regarding sacraments, and in particular that the bread and wine, by transubstantiation, become the Body and Blood of Christ.

13. The First Council of Lyons (A.D. 1245) This Council was called to bring disciplinary action against Emperor Frederick II and at the same time sentence of the solemn renewal of excommunication was passed on the emperor.

14. The Second Council of Lyons (A.D. 1274) Effort was made at this Council under Pope Gregory X to bring about union between the East and West. It also defined that the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son. The discipline governing the election of the pope was formulated.

15. The Council of Vienne (A.D. 1311 and 1312) The purpose of this Council was to settle the affair of the Templars, to advance the rescue of the Holy Land, and to reform abuses in the Church. The doctrinal decrees of the Council were: condemnation that the soul is not "in itself the essentially the form of the human body",;

that sanctifying grace is infused into the soul at baptism; and denial that a perfect man is not subject to ecclesiastical and civil law.

- ❖ **Council of Pisa (1409)** attempted to solve the Great Western Schism. The council is not numbered because it was not convened by a pope and its outcome was repudiated at Constance.

16. **The Council of Constance (A.D. 1414 - 1418)** This Council can be regarded as ecumenical only in so far as it was in union with the pope. The heretical teaching of John Huss and Wyclif were answered. It was here that communion to the laity under one species was prescribed as a cure to the make it understood that the entirety of Jesus Christ is present under both or either species. In transubstantiation all of the bread is changed into the body, blood, soul and Divinity of Christ and all of the wine is changed into the body, blood, soul and Divinity of Christ and reception of either species was reception of the total; body, blood, soul and Divinity of Jesus Christ.

- ❖ **Council of Siena (1423 - 1424)** addressed church reform. Not numbered as it was swiftly disbanded.

17. **The Council of Ferrara-Florence (A.D. 1438 - 1439)** this was convened to unite the Greeks and other oriental sects with the Latin Rite. It was defined that "the Holy Apostolic See and Roman Pontiff hold the primacy over all the world; that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of Peter, prince of the Apostles; that he is the true vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, the Father and teacher of all Christians."

18. **The Fifth Council of the Lateran (A.D. 1512 - 1517)** It defined the Pope's authority over all Councils and condemned errors regarding the human soul, namely, that the soul with its intellectual power is mortal.

19. **The Council of Trent (opened under Pope Paul III in 1545, continued under Pope Julius III, and concluded under Pope Pius IV (A.D. 1563)** The doctrine of original sin was defined; the decree on Justification was declared against the Lutheran errors that faith alone justifies and that the merits of Christ; the doctrine of the sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction was defined;

decrees relating to the censorship of books were adopted; the doctrine of Christian marriage was defined and decrees on Purgatory and indulgences adopted. Besides many refutations against the so called reformers were given and measures of true reform advanced.

20. **The First Vatican Council (opened under Pope Pius IX in 1869 and adjourned on October 20, 1870)** This General Council was never closed officially, but was suspended. Technically, it continued until it was closed by Pope John XXIII. Of this council the most important decree was that of the primacy of the pope and of papal infallibility.

21. **The Second Vatican Council (opened under Pope John XXIII in 1962, it continued under Pope Paul VI until the end in 1965)** Several important constitutions and decrees were promulgated, the most far reaching being the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy.

Chapter 13

The Popes

The title *Pope*, once used with far greater latitude (see below, section V), is at present employed solely to denote the Bishop of Rome, who, in virtue of his position as successor of St. Peter, is the chief pastor of the whole Church, the Vicar of Christ upon earth. The proof that Christ constituted St. Peter head of His Church is found in the two famous Petrine texts, Matthew 16:17-19, and John 21:15-17.

Primacy of honour: titles and insignia

Certain titles and distinctive marks of honour are assigned to the pope alone; these constitute what is termed his primacy of honour. These prerogatives are not, as are his jurisdictional rights, attached *jure divino* to his office. They have grown up in the course of history, and are consecrated by the usage of centuries; yet they are not incapable of modification.

Pope: The most noteworthy of the titles are *Papa*, *Summus Pontifex*, *Pontifex Maximus*, *Servus servorum Dei*. The title *pope* (*papa*) was, as has been stated, at one timeemployed with far more latitude. In

the East it has always been used to designate simple priests. In the Western Church, however, it seems from the beginning to have been restricted to bishops (Tertullian, *On Modesty* 13). It was apparently in the fourth century that it began to become a distinctive title of the Roman Pontiff. Pope Siricius (d. 398) seems so to use it (Ep. vi in P.L., XIII, 1164), and Ennodius of Pavia (d. 473) employs it still more clearly in this sense in a letter to Pope Symmachus (P.L., LXIII, 69). Yet as late as the seventh century St. Gall (d. 640) addresses Desiderius of Cahors as *papa* (P.L., LXXXVII, 265). Gregory VII finally prescribed that it should be confined to the successors of Peter.

Pontiff: The terms *Pontifex Maximus, Summus Pontifex*, were doubtless originally employed with reference to the Jewish high-priest, whose place the Christian bishops were regarded as holding each in his own diocese (*Epistle of Clement* 40). As regards the title *Pontifex Maximus*, especially in its application to the pope, there was further a reminiscence of the dignity attached to that title in pagan Rome. Tertullian, as has already been said, uses the phrase of Pope Callistus. Though his words are ironical, they probably indicate that Catholics already applied it to the pope. But here too the terms were once less narrowly restricted in their use. *Pontifex summus* was used of the bishop of some notable see in relation to those of less importance. Hilary of Arles (d. 449) is so styled by Eucherius of Lyons (P.L., L, 773), and Lanfranc is termed "primas et pontifex summus" by his biographer, Milo Crispin (P.L., CL, 10). Pope Nicholas I is termed "*summus pontifex et universalis papa*" by his legate Arsenius (Hardouin "Conc.", V, 280), and subsequent examples are common. After the eleventh century it appears to be only used of the popes.

Servant of the Servants of God: The phrase *Servus servorum Dei* is now so entirely a papal title that a Bull in which it should be wanting would be reckoned unauthentic. Yet this designation also was once applied to others. Augustine (Ep. 217 a. d. Vitalem) entitles himself "*servus Christi et per Ipsum servus servorum Ipsius*". Desiderius of Cahors made use of it (Thomassin, "Ecclesiae nov. et vet. disc.", pt. I, I. I, c. iv, n. 4): so also did St. Boniface (740), the apostle of Germany (P.L., LXXIX, 700). The first of the popes to adopt it was seemingly Gregory I; he appears to have done so in

contrast to the claim put forward by the Patriarch of Constantinople to the title of universal bishop(P.L., LXXV, 87). The restriction of the term to the pope alone began in the ninth century.

Insignia and marks of honour

Tiara: The pope is distinguished by the use of the tiara or Triple Crown. At what date the custom of crowning the pope was introduced is unknown. It was certainly previous to the forged donation of Constantine, which dates from the commencement of the ninth century, for mention is there made of the pope's coronation. The triple crown is of much later origin.

Cross: The pope moreover does not, like ordinary bishops, use the bent pastoral staff, but only the erect cross. This custom was introduced before the reign of Innocent III (1198-1216) (cap. un. X de sacra unctione, I, 15).

Pallium: He further uses the pallium at all ecclesiastical functions, and not under the same restrictions as do the archbishops on whom he has conferred it.

Kiss: The kissing of the pope's foot - the characteristic act of reverence by which all the faithful do honour to him as the Vicar of Christ - is found as early as the eighth century. We read that Emperor Justinian II paid this respect to Pope Constantine (708-16) (Anastasius Bibl. in P.L., CXXVIII 949). Even at an earlier date Emperor Justin had prostrated himself before Pope John I (523-6; op. cit., 515), and Justinian I before Agapetus (535-6; op. cit., 551). The pope, it may be added, ranks as the first of Christian princes, and in Catholic countries his ambassadors have precedence over other members of the diplomatic body.

List of Popes

1 St. Peter (32-67)
2 St. Linus (67-76)
3 St. Anacletus (Cletus) (76-88)
4 St. Clement I (88-97)
5 St. Evaristus (97-105)
6 St. Alexander I (105-115)
7 St. Sixtus I(Xystus I) (115-125)
8 St. Telesphorus (125-136)
9 St. Hyginus (136-140)
10 St. Pius I (140-155)
11 St. Anicetus (155-166)

12 St. Soter (166-175)

13 St. Eleutherius (175-189)

14 St. Victor I (189-199)

15 St. Zephyrinus (199-217)

16 St. Callistus I (217-22)
Callistus and the
following three popes
were opposed by St.
Hippolytus, antipope
(217-236)

17 St. Urban I (222-30)

18 St. Pontain (230-35)

19 St. Anterus (235-36)

20 St. Fabian (236-50)

21 St.Cornelius (251-
53) Opposed by Novatian,
antipope (251)

22 St. Lucius I (253-54)

23 St. Stephen I (254-257)

24 St. Sixtus II (257-258)

25 St. Dionysius (260-268)

26 St. Felix I (269-274)

27 St. Eutychian (275-283)

28 St. Caius (Gaius) (283-
296)

29 St. Marcellinus (296-304)

30 St. Marcellus I (308-309)

31 St. Eusebius (309 or 310)

32 St. Miltiades (311-14)

33 St. Sylvester I (314-35)

34 St. Marcus (336)

35 St. Julius I (337-52)

36 Liberius (352-66)
Opposed by Felix II,
antipope (355-365)

37 St. Damasus I (366-84)
Opposed by Ursicinus,
antipope (366-367)

38 St. Siricius (384-99)

39 St. Anastasius I (399-401)

40 St. Innocent I (401-17)

41 St. Zosimus (417-18)

42 St. Boniface I (418-22)
Opposed by Eulalius,
antipope (418-419)

43 St. Celestine I (422-32)

44 St. Sixtus III (432-40)

45 St. Leo I (the Great)
(440-61)

46 St. Hilarius (461-68)

47 St. Simplicius (468-83)

48 St. Felix III (II) (483-92)

49 St. Gelasius I (492-96)

50 Anastasius II (496-98)

51 St. Symmachus (498-514)
Opposed by Laurentius,
antipope (498-501)

52 St. Hormisdas (514-23)

53 St. John I (523-26)

54 St. Felix IV (III) (526-30)

55 Boniface II (530-32)
Opposed by Dioscorus,
antipope (530)

56 John II (533-35)

57 St. Agapetus I (Agapitus I) (535-36)

58 St. Silverius (536-37)

59 Vigilius (537-55)

60 Pelagius I (556-61)

61 John III (561-74)

62 Benedict I (575-79)

63 Pelagius II (579-90)

64 St. Gregory I (the Great) (590-604)

65 Sabinian (604-606)

66 Boniface III (607)

67 St. Boniface IV (608-15)

68 St. Deusdedit (Adeodatus I) (615-18)

69 Boniface V (619-25)

70 Honorius I (625-38)

71 Severinus (640)

72 John IV (640-42)

73 Theodore I (642-49)

74 St. Martin I (649-55)

75 St. Eugene I (655-57)

76 St. Vitalian (657-72)

77 Adeodatus (II) (672-76)

78 Donus (676-78)

79 St. Agatho (678-81)

80 St. Leo II (682-83)

81 St. Benedict II (684-85)

82 John V (685-86)

83 Conon (686-87)

84 St. Sergius I (687-701) Opposed by Theodore and Paschal, antipopes (687)

85 John VI (701-05)

86 John VII (705-07)

87 Sisinnius (708)

88 Constantine (708-15)

89 St. Gregory II (715-31)

90 St. Gregory III (731-41)

91 St. Zachary (741-52) Stephen II followed Zachary, but because he died before being consecrated, modern lists omit him

92 Stephen II (III) (752-57)

93 St. Paul I (757-67)

94 Stephen III (IV) (767- 72) Opposed by Constantine II (767) and Philip (768), antipopes(767)

95 Adrian I (772-95)

96 St. Leo III (795-816)

97 Stephen IV (V) (816-17)

98 St. Paschal I (817-24)

99 Eugene II (824-27)

100 Valentine (827)

101 Gregory IV (827-44)

102 Sergius II (844-47) Opposed by John, antipope

103 St. Leo IV (847-55)

104 Benedict III (855-58) Opposed by Anastasius, antipope (855)

105 St. Nicholas I (the Great) (858-67)

106 Adrian II (867-72)

107 John VIII (872-82)

108 Marinus I (882-84)

109 St. Adrian III (884-85)

110 Stephen V (VI) (885-91)

111 Formosus (891-96)

112 Boniface VI (896)

113 Stephen VI (VII) (896-97)

114 Romanus (897)

115 Theodore II (897)

116 John IX (898-900)

117 Benedict IV (900-03)

118 Leo V (903) Opposed by Christopher, antipope (903-904)

119 Sergius III (904-11)

120 Anastasius III (911-13)

121 Lando (913-14)

122 John X (914-28)

123 Leo VI (928)

124 Stephen VIII (929-31)

125 John XI (931-35)

126 Leo VII (936-39)

127 Stephen IX (939-42)

128 Marinus II (942-46)

129 Agapetus II (946-55)

130 John XII (955-63)

131 Leo VIII (963-64)

132 Benedict V (964)

133 John XIII (965-72)

134 Benedict VI (973-74)

135 Benedict VII (974-83) Benedict and John XIV were opposed by Boniface VII, antipope (974; 984-985)

136 John XIV (983-84)

137 John XV (985-96)

138 Gregory V (996-99) Opposed by John XVI, antipope (997-998)

139 Sylvester II (999-1003)

140 John XVII (1003)

141 John XVIII (1003-09)

142 Sergius IV (1009-12)

143 Benedict VIII (1012-24) Opposed by Gregory, antipope (1012)

144 John XIX (1024-32)

145 Benedict IX (1032-45) He appears on this list three separate times, because he was twice deposed and restored

146 Sylvester III (1045) Considered by some to be an antipope

147 Benedict IX (1045)

148 Gregory VI (1045-46)

149 Clement II (1046-47)

150 Benedict IX (1047-48)

151 Damasus II (1048)

152 St. Leo IX (1049-54)

153 Victor II (1055-57)

154 Stephen X (1057-58)

155 Nicholas II (1058-61) Opposed by Benedict X, antipope (1058)

156 Alexander II (1061-73) Opposed by Honorius II, antipope (1061-1072)

157 St. Gregory VII (1073-85) Gregory and the following three popes were opposed by Guibert ("Clement III"), antipope (1080-1100)

158 Blessed Victor III (1086-87)

159 Blessed Urban II (1088-99)

160 Paschal II (1099-1118) Opposed by Theodoric (1100), Aleric (1102) and Maginulf ("Sylvester IV", 1105-1111), antipopes (1100)

161 Gelasius II (1118-19) Opposed by Burdin ("Gregory VIII"), antipope (1118)

162 Callistus II (1119-24)

163 Honorius II (1124-30) Opposed by Celestine II, antipope (1124)

164 Innocent II (1130-43) Opposed by Anacletus II (1130-1138) and Gregory Conti ("Victor IV") (1138), antipopes (1138)

165 Celestine II (1143-44)

166 Lucius II (1144-45)

167 Blessed Eugene III (1145-53)

168 Anastasius IV (1153-54)

169 Adrian IV (1154-59)

170 Alexander III (1159-81) Opposed by Octavius ("Victor IV") (1159-1164), Pascal III (1165-1168), Callistus III (1168-1177) and Innocent III (1178-1180), antipopes

171 Lucius III (1181-85)

172 Urban III (1185-87)

173 Gregory VIII (1187)

174 Clement III (1187-91)

175 Celestine III (1191-98)

176 Innocent III (1198-1216)

177 Honorius III (1216-27)

178 Gregory IX (1227-41)

179 Celestine IV (1241)

180 Innocent IV (1243-54)

181 Alexander IV (1254-61)

182 Urban IV (1261-64)

183 Clement IV (1265-68)

184 Blessed Gregory X (1271-76)

185 Blessed Innocent V (1276)

186 Adrian V (1276)

187 John XXI (1276-77)

188 Nicholas III (1277-80)

189 Martin IV (1281-85)

190 Honorius IV (1285-87)

191 Nicholas IV (1288-92)

192 St. Celestine V (1294)

193 Boniface VIII (1294-1303)

194 Blessed Benedict XI (1303-04)

195 Clement V (1305-14)

196 John XXII (1316-34) Opposed by Nicholas V, antipope (1328-1330)

197 Benedict XII (1334-42)

198 Clement VI (1342-52)

199 Innocent VI (1352-62)

200 Blessed Urban V (1362-70)

201 Gregory XI (1370-78)

202 Urban VI (1378-89) Opposed by Robert of Geneva ("Clement VII"), antipope (1378-1394

203 Boniface IX (1389-1404) Opposed by Robert of Geneva ("Clement VII") (1378-1394),Pedro de Luna ("Benedict XIII") (1394-1417) and Baldassare Cossa ("John XXIII") (1400-1415), antipopes

204 Innocent VII (1404-06) Opposed by Pedro de Luna ("Benedict XIII") (1394-1417) and Baldassare Cossa ("John XXIII") (1400-1415), antipopes

205 Gregory XII (1406-15) Opposed by Pedro de Luna ("Benedict XIII") (1394-1417),Baldassare Cossa ("John XXIII") (1400-1415), and Pietro Philarghi ("Alexander V") (1409-1410),antipopes

206 Martin V (1417-31)

207 Eugene IV (1431-47) Opposed by Amadeus of Savoy ("Felix V"), antipope (1439-1449)

208 Nicholas V (1447-55)

209 Callistus III (1455-58)

210 Pius II (1458-64)

211 Paul II (1464-71)

212 Sixtus IV (1471-84)

213 Innocent VIII (1484-92)

214 Alexander VI (1492-1503)

215 Pius III (1503)

216 Julius II (1503-13)

217 Leo X (1513-21)

218 Adrian VI (1522-23)

219 Clement VII (1523-34)

220 Paul III (1534-49)

221 Julius III (1550-55)

222 Marcellus II (1555)

223 Paul IV (1555-59)

224 Pius IV (1559-65)

225 St. Pius V (1566-72)

226 Gregory XIII (1572-85)

227 Sixtus V (1585-90)

228 Urban VII (1590)

229 Gregory XIV (1590-91)

230 Innocent IX (1591)

231 Clement VIII (1592-1605)

232 Leo XI (1605)

233 Paul V (1605-21)

234 Gregory XV (1621-23)

235 Urban VIII (1623-44)

236 Innocent X (1644-55)

237 Alexander VII (1655-67)

238 Clement IX (1667-69)

239 Clement X (1670-76)

240 Blessed Innocent XI (1676-89)

241 Alexander VIII (1689-91)

242 Innocent XII (1691-1700)

243 Clement XI (1700-21)

244 Innocent XIII (1721-24)

245 Benedict XIII (1724-30)

246 Clement XII (1730-40)

247 Benedict XIV (1740-58)

248 Clement XIII (1758-69)

249 Clement XIV (1769-74)

250 Pius VI (1775-99)

251 Pius VII (1800-23)

252 Leo XII (1823-29)

253 Pius VIII (1829-30)

254 Gregory XVI (1831-46)

255 Blessed Pius IX (1846-78)

256 Leo XIII (1878-1903)

257 St. Pius X (1903-14)

258 Benedict XV (1914-22)
Biographies of Benedict XV and his successors will be added at a later date

259 Pius XI (1922-39)

260 Pius XII (1939-58)

261 St. John XXIII (1958-63)

262 Paul VI (1963-78)

263 John Paul I (1978)

264 St. John Paul II (1978-2005)

265 Benedict XVI (2005-2013)

266 Francis (2013—)

Papal Documents

- **Decretal letter** (Litteras decretals) - Once a common papal document, decretals are now restricted to dogmatic definitions and (more commonly) proclamation of canonizations and beatifications.

- **Apostolic Constitution** (Constitutio apostolic) - Apostolic constitutions are considered the most solemn kind of document issued by a pope in his own name. Constitutions can define dogmas but also alter canon law or erect new ecclesiastical structures. An example is John Paul II's apostolic constitution *Ex Corde Ecclesiae*, defining the role and responsibility of Catholic institutions of higher education.

- **Encyclical Letter** (Litterae encyclicae) - Encyclicals are the second most important papal documents, exhorting the faithful on a doctrinal issue. Its title taken from its first few words in Latin, an encyclical is typically addressed to the bishops but intended for instruction of Catholics at large. Most of the best known social teaching documents have been encyclicals. Examples include Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*, first introducing Catholic social teaching, and John Paul II's *Centesimus Annus*, expanding on the application of the social teaching of *Rerum Novarum* in the post-Cold War world.

- **Apostolic Letter** (Litterae apostolicae) - Apostolic letters are issued by popes to address administrative questions, such as approving religious institutes, but have also been used exhort the faithful on doctrinal issues. Apostolic letters do not typically establish laws, but rather should be thought of an exercise of the Pope's office as ruler and head of the Church. Paul VI issued *Octogemisa adveniens* in 1971 as an apostolic letter because it was addressed to one person, Cardinal Maurice Roy.

- **Declaration** (*declamatio*) - A declaration is a papal document that can take one of three forms: 1) a simple statement of the law interpreted according to existing Church law; 2) an authoritative declaration that requires no additional promulgation; or 3) an extensive declaration, which modifies the law and requires additional promulgation. Declarations are less common now as papal documents, but were resorted to several times by the Vatican II Council. An example is *Dignitatis Humanae*, the Declaration on Religious Liberty.

- **Motu Proprio -** A Motu Proprio is a decree issued by the Pope on his own initiative. A motu proprio can enact administrative decisions, or alter Church law (but not doctrine). An example is Benedict XVI's *Summorum Pontificum*, which relaxed restrictions on celebration of the traditional mass.

- **Apostolic Exhortation** (Adhortatio apostolica) - An apostolic exhortation is a formal instruction issued by a pope to a community, urging some specific activity. Lower in import than an encyclical or apostolic letter, an exhortation does not define doctrine. An example is John Paul II's *Familiaris Consortio*, affirming the meaning and role of marriage and the family.

- **Allocutions** (allocutions) - An allocution is an oral pronouncement by a pope, with pastoral, not doctrine, import. Increasingly common in the modern age, allocutions are a way for popes to exhort the faithful both within and outside the context of homilies. An example is John Paul II's 2003 homily in Rijeka, *The Family Requires Special Consideration*.

Conciliar Documents

- Traditionally, Church councils have issued documents only in the form of decrees or constitutions. The Fathers of Vatican II, however, intended a pastoral rather than a strictly doctrinal council, and as a result issued a number of different kinds of documents, all promulgated under the Pope's name and therefore taking the same name and form as papal documents. The highest form of document was the **constitution**, of which there were four (Ex: *Gaudium et Spes*, the Pastoral Constitution on the Modern World). Ten other documents were issued as **decrees**, addressing specific issues within Church life (Ex: *Unitatis Redintegratio*, the Decree on Ecumenism). Finally, three documents were issued as **declarations**, fairly brief documents (Ex: *Dignitatis Humanae*, the Declaration on Religious Liberty).

Curial Documents

- **Instruction** - Instructions are statements issued by a Congregation, always with the approval of the pope. Instructions are usually intended to explain or clarify documents issued by a Council or decrees by a Pope. An example of an instruction is *Donum Vitae*,

an instruction issued by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, clarifying Church teaching on the respect due in law for human life in its earliest stages.

- **Recognitio** - A recognitio supplies the acceptance by the relevant office of the Holy See of a document submitted to it for review by a local conference of bishops. Such acceptance is required for such conference documents to modify universal law. A recognitio thus gives conference documents legislative effect.

- **Replies to Dubia -** Dubia are official responses to questions (*dubia*) of bishops addressed to the Holy See seeking clarification on statements of doctrine or discipline. Dubia are addressed to congregations having jurisdictions. An example is the Letter Concerning the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) Regarding *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*, confirming that the latter document's affirmation that the Church doesnot have the authority to ordain women to the priesthood belongs to the deposit of the faith.