

GHI 221
WESTERN
CIVILIZATION II
(Early Christian Centuries)



St. Augustine

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Content and purpose:

GHI 221 is a study of the history of Christianity from the late first century to the beginnings of the Protestant Reformation. Careful attention is given to the cultural, religious, and social history of Europe as the larger context. This course begins with the apostolic Church in the Roman Empire and carries through the Renaissance, particularly that of northern Italy. You will become acquainted with the process of doctrinal evolution experienced by the Church as it struggled with the state, with critics, and with rival religions. You will learn to trace the organizational expansion of the Church through the early centuries, and to recognize the Medieval Roman Catholic Church in terms of this hierarchical evolution. Those groups traditionally recognized as heretical will be identified and examined. When you have finished this course, you will be able to discuss the developments in the history of the Church that were the result of the christological controversies, including the east-west division of historic Christianity. You will also gain an appreciation of the nature of European society in the middle period as it constituted "Christendom." You will learn to recognize and define such trends in the history of the Church as monasticism and scholasticism. When you have finished GHI 221, you will understand the background and character of the Renaissance as it represents the context of a revival of learning in the western world and an important part of the background of the Protestant Reformation.

All of the above will be presented with an emphasis that will enable you to teach this part of the history of Western Civilization on many levels in the local church or church-school setting.

Text: Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity, vol. 1: Beginning to A.D. 1500. New York: Harper and Row, 1975, 724 pp.

Structure of the course:

GHI 221 consists of thirty-six (36) topical discussions with a reading assignment for each discussion. After each major section, the student will be given an essay examination.

Grading standard:

The final grade will be the average of the essay examinations over each major section of the syllabus. After the final grade has been computed, it is subject to adjustment at the discretion of the teacher. This adjustment of the final grade may reflect such considerations as classroom participation, attendance, attitude, degree of progress, completion of reading assignments on schedule, extra study projects, and written grammatical expertise.

Teacher: Roger Chambers, Ph.D.

Syllabus revised 1986

Reading Assignments for GHI 221 WC II (Early Christian Centuries)

The reading is to be reported completed in preparation for each discussion as it comes up in the class schedule.

Discussion	1:	No assignment	
	2:	Latourette (course text)	3-19; 20-30
	3:	"	74-91
		Addendum One: The Sources	
	4:	Latourette	Review 81-86
	5:	"	112-120
	6:	"	continued 112-120
	7:	"	193-208
		Stevenson, <u>A New Eusebius</u> , pp. 65-68--Document 42, "Christian Baptism and Christian Worship" (reserve)	
	8:	Stevenson, <u>A New Eusebius</u> , Documents 14, 28, 42, 100, 103, 156.	
	9:	Latourette	122-125
		Yamauchi, "The Word from Nag Hammadi" CT (Jan. 13, 1978):19-22 (reserve)	
	10:	Latourette	125-146
	11:	"	146-151; review 137-139, "The Novation and Donatist Division"
	12:	Latourette	212-218
	13:	"	252-264; 278-284
	14:	"	91-108
	15:	"	151-164
	16:	"	164-172
	17:	"	172-179
	18:	"	179-188
	19:	"	193-210
	20:	"	210-218
	21:	"	221-264
	22:	"	269-306
	23:	"	327-345
	24:	"	345-371
		Addendum Five: The Donation of Constantine	
	25:	Latourette	374-377; 459-475
	26:	"	381-406 This material is not preparatory to Disc. 26, but is supplementary only.
	27:	Latourette	408-414
	28:	"	477-490
	29:	"	624-642
	30:	"	495-519
	31:	"	528-533
	32:	"	534-539
	33:	"	608-623; review 400-406
	34:	"	416-444; 539-544; 643-652
	35:	"	447-458; 662-666
	36:	"	661-662; 666-678

Supplementary Reading

General works available to the student in the FCC library

Blackburn, W. M. History of the Christian Church

Cairns, E. E. Christianity through the Centuries

Fisher, G. P. History of the Christian Church

Gonzalez, Justo L. The Story of Christianity, 2 vols.

Mosheim, J. L. Ecclesiastical History, 3 vols.

Meyer, C. S. The Church from Pentecost to Present

Qualben, L. P. A History of Christianity, 8 vols

Primary documents are available in the following:

The Ante-Nicene Fathers (to A.D. 325). Reserve.

Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Reserve.

Documents of the Christian Church, Bettenson.

A Treasury of Early Christianity, Fremantle.

A New Eusebius, Stevenson.

This is the period of the church in the Roman Empire, the time of persecution. In A.D. 323 Constantine became the sole emperor of the Empire and installed Christianity as the de facto religion of the state. This ended persecution and put the church in a new climate.

The "Ancient Catholic ('universal, true' Church" was not the Roman Catholic Church that is to come later.

In this class the terms "Church" and "Christianity" are used in the historic sense. Their use does not necessarily imply that the organization under discussion is recognized as the apostolic or New Testament Church.

Discussion #1: The General Situation, part 1

The Big Picture

A. "The fulness of time" (Gal. 4:4)

1. Perhaps there was never a time when the Gospel could have spread so rapidly.
2. The mutual influence of the Church and the world.
 - a. Christianity did not develop in a vacuum.
 - b. The influence of the world: both positive and negative.
3. The necessity of distinguishing revelation from culture in identifying the apostolic Church.

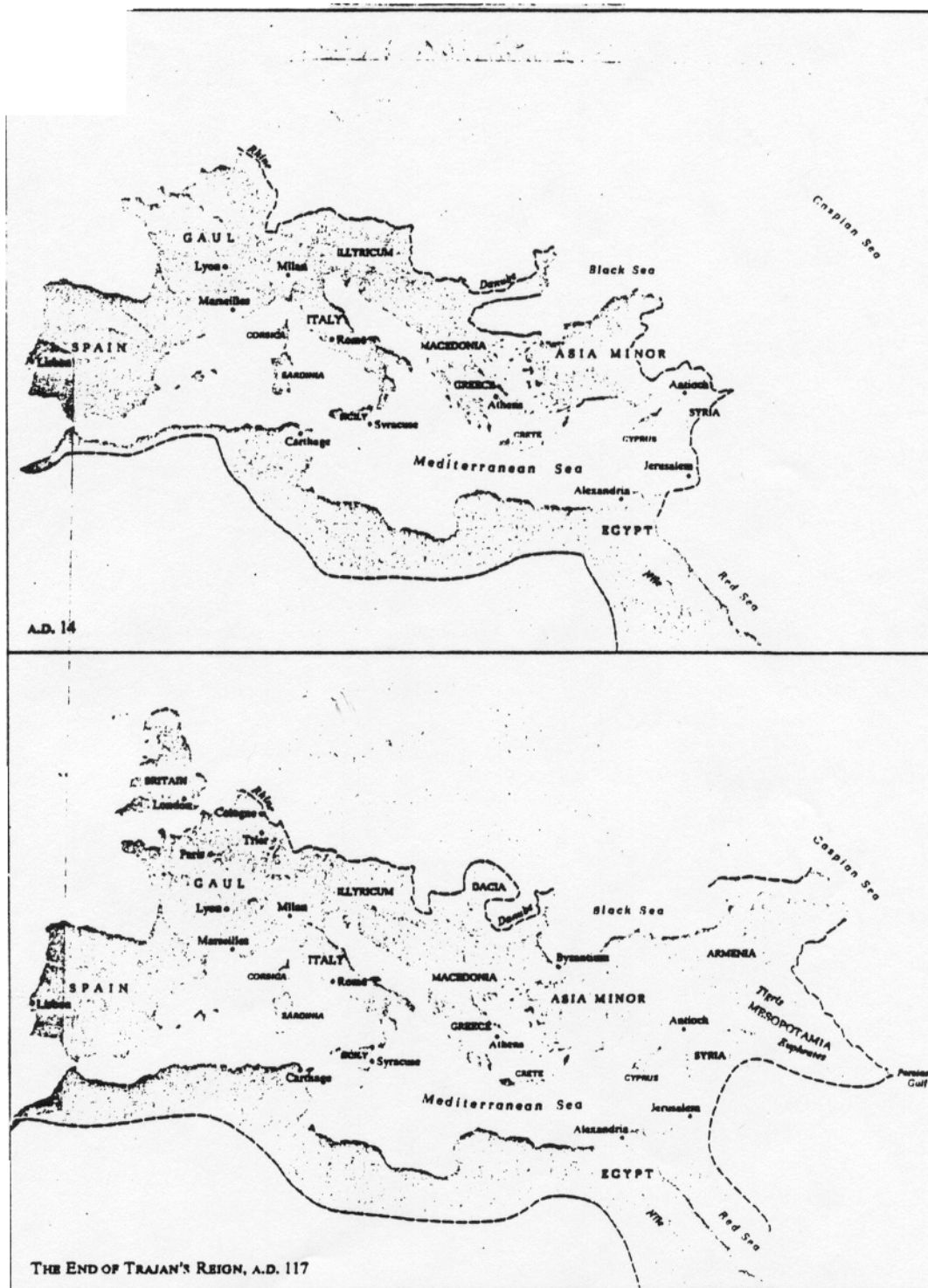
B. Civilization at the birth of Christ--old and tired.

1. Civilizations come and gone: Sumerian, Akkadian, Neo-Babylonian, Egyptian, Persian, Greco-Macedonian, Hittite.
2. Rome was in serious decline.
3. When Christ was born, there were five great civilizations on earth: Rome (1/2 of the civilized men at the time), Persia (Parthian), India, China, the Americas, Central and South

C. Rome, from Republic to Empire

1. Factors that led to the dissolution of the Republic:
 - a. Dilution of the power structure in the expansion
 - b. Economic chaos, caused primarily by wars
 - c. Unstable political situation; the rise of the military
 - d. moral corruption
2. Rule by law (Republic) gave way to rule by men (Empire).
 - a. The people looked to a dictator for salvation
 - b. Julius Caesar and the myth of the divinity of the emperor
 - c. Augustus (d. A.D. 14) and the new order; After the death of Caesar, a power struggle occurred. Augustus emerged as the new "Lord," bringing order at the price of freedom. After Augustus, a series of emperors: Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and Vespasian (d. 79), maintained their rule, for the most part, because the army was loyal to the descendants of Augustus.

3. The borders of the Empire by A.D. 14 (the death of Augustus) and A.D. 117:



D. The Political Situation

1. The East: the most people, wealth, & culture. The older empires were so massive that Rome could never control the lands east of Palestine.
2. Egypt: ancient culture; massive learning; breadbasket of the Mediterranean world; Rome always treated Egypt as an exception.
3. Northern Europe: barbarian; At its greatest extension, Rome ruled as far as the Rhine and Danube rivers.
Just as Rome could not "latinize" the East because of its high civilization, it could not acculturate northern Europe because of its low civilization.
4. No political barriers, i.e., free travel.
5. Two hundred years of relative peace; relative freedom from the economic chaos and moral decline that accompanies war.
6. Rome was to eventually build 1/4 million miles of roads.
7. Roman justice under law; a gift of Roman civilization to the world.
8. Common language (koine Greek)
9. Common underlying culture; ideal preparation for a single, cross-cultural religion.

E. The Intellectual Situation

1. The crisis created when the Gospel moved from Jewish world to larger world (Acts 15).
Not a change on content, but a change in presentation and cultural expression.
2. General conceptions
 - a. Belief in deity--little outright skepticism.
 - b. Superstition
 - (1) Anxiety to see the "miraculous"
 - (2) Belief in magic
H. B. Workman:
In the second and third centuries superstition was a growing force. From the emperor on the throne to the meanest slave, men trembled at the awful powers of the unknown, and trembled the more because of their loss of religious faith. They peopled the heavens and earth with a host of demons, believed with all their hearts, with a reliance on magicians and sorcerers.
 - (3) The prevalence of superstition affected the church in at least 3 ways:
 - (a) Explains in part the persecution of the church. Natural calamities, such as floods, earthquakes, pestilence, were traced to the offended gods. Often Christians were blamed because they were guilty of sacrilege.

Tertullian, Apology 40:
If the Tiber rises as high as the city walls, if the Nile does not send its waters up over the fields, if the heavens give no rain, if there is an earthquake, if there is famine or pestilence, straightway the cry is, "Away with the Christians--to the lion!" What! Shall you give such a multitude to a single beast? Pray, tell me how many calamities befell the world and particular cities before Tiberius reigned--before the coming, that is, of Christ?
 - (b) Affected the thought of the church. As the period of apostolic miracles ceased, believers who had never been cured of their superstition were quick to accept any tale of the miraculous.
 - (c) Helps explain the rise of saint-worship (to be discussed later).
3. Particular conceptions contributed by Greek philosophy
 - a. The "physical philosophers"--the world explained in terms of a "single mind."
 - (1) Heraclitus: impersonal, indwelling Mind working through nature.
 - (2) Anaxagoras: a shaping mind from without.
 - (3) Importance: prepared people to think of a single mind back of the universe.
 - b. Socrates
 - (1) Turned thought from the physical universe to man himself.
 - (2) "The discoverer of conscience, that wife from whom there is no divorce." (McGregor & Purdy, Jew and Greek, Tutors unto Christ, p. 239).

- (3) S. held that moral righteousness was "written into the constitution of the of the universe," this morality could be discovered by reason, and that man can know the right, therefore, and do the right. (Christianity added conversion.)
- (4) The Socratic virtues: courage, self-control, prudence, justice; there are the marks of a true man. Christianity added the virtues of faith, hope, and love.

c. Plato (a disciple of Socrates)

- (1) "Every man, whether he knows it or not, is either a Platonist or an Aristotelean."
- (2) Platonism nearer the Christian belief; had a tremendous impact on Christianity.
- (3) Plato's dualism--not one world, but two: IDEAS/PHENOMENA.
- (4) "Aristotle had a world without a meaning, Plato had a meaning without a world."
- (5) In the realm of IDEAS: The good, the true, the beautiful.
- (6) Plato's idea of God: God the source of all good, cannot be the source of evil.
- (7) Plato's idea of Man: The soul of man is preexistent; in the pure world of IDEAS it committed transgression, united with a body for expiation and purification in the world of PHENOMENA. When the soul has learned its lesson, it will drop the garbage of the body and return to the pure world of spirit.
- (8) Plato's idea of salvation: Theocentric contemplation; focus on the realities of the good, the true, and the beautiful; treat all else as evil illusion, i.e., asceticism. This is to profoundly affect Christian thought.
- (9) Plato's eschatology:
 - the immortality of the soul (his arguments used by Christians)
 - the good soul will eternally behold the good, true, and beautiful. the bad must suffer punishment until it is purged. Man beyond redemption to be plunged into Tartarus forever; they will never come out.

d. Aristotle

- (1) Concerned with the physical world; laid the foundations for modern science; developed the art of logic.
- (2) A. had little influence on the early church; he becomes important to Christian theology in the middle ages (Scholasticism).

Discussion #2: The General Situation, part 2

e. Epicureanism

- (1) Acts 17:18
- (2) Question: "How does one get the most out of life?"
Epicurus said that the summum bonum is happiness.
Traditional Epicurean answer: Happiness to be found in the quieter pleasures of life.
Do not be concerned about the gods or such things as eternal judgment. If there are gods, they are not concerned about men or the affairs of men.
- (3) Later followers corrupted the philosophy and pursued the more "fleshly" pleasures.
- (4) Because it was so antithetical to Christianity, Epicureanism had little or no effect upon it.

Stoicism

- (1) Rivals Platonism in its effect on early Christianity.
- (2) Popularly accepted among the Romans.
Emperor Marcus Aurelius (d. A.D. 192)
Epictetus (d. A.D. 140)
- (3) Basic beliefs of Stoicism
Belief in God, but to be identified with the natural universe and impersonally manifested in natural law and reason.
Whatever happens is preordained and intrinsically good; wisdom, therefore, dictates that one accept, adapt--"go with the flow."
High morality and sense of responsibility.
The brotherhood of man (vs. slavery)
- (4) The limitations of Stoicism
Explains too much; evil is equally rational as good.
Fatalistic--logically leads to suicide.
Proud in virtue, impatient with weakness. Stoicism would have killed the fatted calf for the elder brother and sent the Prodigal back to the far country.
Stoicism marked by a lack of compassion.

g. Conclusions:

- (1) Some philosophical systems helped prepare the way for Christianity.
- (2) Some had an impact on the focus of doctrinal teaching in the early Church.
- (3) Explains, in part, the categories in which the Gospel was presented to the Graeco-Roman world; e.g., "Logos."
- (4) Could provide no such person as Jesus, and was empty of love and forgiveness.

F. The Religious Situation

"Those who labored and were heavy-laden were to welcome a different hope from any which Hellenism offered."

1. The old pagan religions

- a. Belief in the gods was fading when Christ came. Christianity eventually destroyed formal pagan worship.
- b. Question: Did they, in their going, leave their imprint on Christianity?

Gordon J. Laing, Survivals of Roman Religion (University of Chicago):

Religions do not die, they only pass, leaving innumerable traces of their doctrines and ceremonies in the religious systems that succeeded them. The old religion of the Latins yielded, in large degree, to the Greek and Oriental beliefs, but nonetheless it persisted in many ways, and was a powerful element in religious thought until the end of the empire . . .

. . . in some of its phases, it survived in the religious practices, customs, and beliefs of the early Christians, and traces of it are extant today.

2. Traces of the old Roman religions

- a. Marriage, a religious vs. civil ceremony. It was a religious ceremony in ancient Rome. Betrothal (engagement), involving a ring on the third finger of the left hand. Veil, presents, garlands, assuming the name of the husband, the auspicious wedding day, carrying the bride over the threshold, and the sacred cake.
- b. Christmas: Date--Sol Invictus, Dec. 25, the day of the "Unconquerable Sun." Prior to the third century, the Church used Jan. 6 as the birthdate of Christ. The Eastern Church still uses that date. Evergreens, presents, eggnog, candles, and other elements were retained from the celebration of Sol Invictus.
- d. Easter: The Easter bunny has, of course, nothing to do with Christianity; it has much to do with the old spring festivals of pagan religions. The rabbit was the symbol of fertility.
- e. Saint-worship. An enormous number of deities sprang from the Latin habit of attaching some divine entity to every aspect of life. The old gods disappeared, but their functions were assumed by the saints, and believers began to pray to the saints for the same reasons that they had prayed to the old pagan gods. See Conway, Ancient Italy and Modern Religion, and R. M. Ogilvie, The Romans and Their Gods in the Age of Augustus, pp. 10ff.

Roman concept of gods in terms of function:

Vesta, the hearth
 Ceres, the cornfield
 Sylvanus, the forest
 Mercury, business transactions
 Apollo, healing
 Janus, the opening and closing of the door
 Limentius, the threshold
 Cardea, the hinges
 Jupiter Lucetius, daylight
 Jupiter Fulgur, lightning
 Jupiter Elicius, rainfall
 Hermes, messages
 Terminus, stopped trespassers
 etc.

Roman Catholic patron saints:

Peregrinus, cancer patients
 Dymphna, mental illness
 Anne, women in labour
 Ottilia, the blind
 Roche, invalids
 George, farmers
 Florian, firemen
 Andrew, fishermen
 Apollonia, dentists
 Ferdinand III, engineers
 Francis de Sales, journalists
 Thomas More, lawyers
 Barbara, miners
 Michael, policemen
 Christopher, safe journeys
 etc.

3. State religion

- a. Required of everyone in the Empire, except for the Jews. The worship of the

emperor as divine was added to the old religions; it did not replace them.

- b. A patriotic religion. Many (most?) did not believe it; they knew the emperors too well for that. The Lordship of Caesar was the unifying political myth. It will be studied again in connection with the examination of the persecution of the Church by the Roman state.

4. The mystery religions

- a. Partial list: Mithras, Isis, Eleusynian cult, Cabeirian cult, Dionysus, Dea Syra, Sol Invictus, Hermetica (Hermes Trismegistos in Egypt)
- b. The mysteries were "imported" ('the Orontes has flowed into the Tiber') from the East and from Egypt.
- c. The mysteries were popular; they filled the vacuum, in part, created by the loss of confidence in the old gods. They were called 'mystery' because their rites were secret.
- d. In the beginning, the Church was identified by many as simply another mystery. What of the charge that Christianity adapted ideas from the mysteries? Possibly the presence of the mysteries influenced the language of Paul (this is far from certain). It is certain that the mysteries did not influence the content of the Gospel.

- e. Elements common to the mysteries and, in some cases, superficially similar to Christianity:

Representing a turn from objective to subjective.

Offering salvation and immortality (not a physical resurrection).

Warning of torture of the uninitiated in the underworld.

Allowing the believer to participate in the death/resurrection process achieved by the founder of the cult.

Offering ecstatic rites--emotional release.

Offering unity with deity.

Offering personal inner-power with a view to success in life.

Sacramental meals and washings.

- f. Elements in strong contrast to Christianity:

Nothing to compare with the character of Jesus of Nazareth.

No founder who could be identified in recent history.

Based on the apotheosis of the founder; no incarnation and voluntary death.

No concept of worldwide brotherhood.

Expensive.

Absence of moral earnestness.

Secret.

Tolerance of other religions, i.e., "A Way."

Cyclical cosmology--offering neither ultimate victory nor cosmic redemption.

- g. Influence on the Old Catholic Church

- (1) Caused some to listen to the Gospel because Christ can provide in full what the mysteries could only promise in part. Christianity satisfies the profound aspirations of man.
- (2) Influenced the rise of the cult of the Virgin Mary. Isis lingered on in the mother-goddess concept. Isis and Horus--mother and child; their statues in Egypt were used later to depict the Madonna.
- (4) Influenced emerging sacramentalism. The magical value attributed to the ritual apart from spiritual apprehension or moral transformation.

5. The influence of Judaism. Many scholars are anxious to discover nonsupernatural sources for Christian ideas; they look to Judaism.

- a. The canonical Old Testament--the Bible of Judaism became that of the Church.

- b. Jewish apocalyptic literature (200 B.C.-A.D. 100). Many new apocalyptic works appeared, patterned after the Book of Daniel and Ezeiel, some of which came to be taken seriously by the Church. Examples: Enoch, Baruch, The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs,

Fourth Esdras. These works were generally characterized by their eschatological extravagance and fantasy.

c. Jewish institutions

- (1) The architecture of the synagogue was a model for many early church buildings. The oldest extant church building is at Dura-Europas (Syria)--third century.
- (2) Sacerdotalism. The Jewish priesthood became the model for the evolving clerical priesthood of the Church.
- (3) The eldership, in some ways, perpetuated the simple arrangement of leadership in the synagogue.

d. The Diaspora. Harnack estimates that of the 55 million people in the Roman Empire, 8-10% were Jews. More Jews lived in Alexandria, Egypt, than lived in Palestine in the first century. Many were "God-fearers," i.e., Gentiles who accepted the one God of the Old Testament without committing to the Jewish way of life totally (Luke 7:1ff; Acts 10:22). These quasi-proselytes were prepared intellectually for the Gospel.

e. Jewish persecution. Because of the persecution of the Church by the Synagogue, much animosity developed toward Judaism in the early Church.

Just as early Jewish Christians often held that Gentile converts were not acceptable unless they converted to Judaism, so later Gentile Christians held that Jews who did not abandon Judaism entirely could not be Christians.

G. The moral situation.

1. Degeneration. (Romans 1) Divorce, moral laxity, abortion, exposure, debasement of women, slavery, the theater, the spectacles in the arena.
2. Aspiration. Virgil, the Stoics, et al. called for a return to the old virtues. Many were ready to listen to an argument for the higher life.

Discussion #3: The Growth of the Church, part 1: Expansion, Struggle with the State

II. The Growth of the Church

A. Decline of the Jewish Church

1. The "high-water mark" of Jewish Christianity--Acts 21:20
2. Factors in the decline of the Jewish Church:
 - a. Jewish persecution (e.g., the martyrdoms of James and Stephen) created an anti-Jewish sentiment in the Church.
 - b. Many leaders of the Jewish community defected to the Church (e.g., Paul), creating antagonism and jealousy.
 - c. The destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 66-70.
 - (1) The "Mother Church" destroyed, allowing Rome to become the Christian center.
 - (2) Christians "sat out" the Jewish war, widening the gap between Jews and the Church.
 - d. Many Christian Jews began to be systematically excluded from the synagogue where, before, many Jews had been converted to Christianity.
 - e. After the revolt of Bar Kochba (132-135), the last gasp of Jewish nationalism, Jerusalem was plowed over and all Jews forbidden to reside in the city.
 - f. The rise of the Judaistic sects, such as the Ebionites (denied the authority of Paul and rejected the Virgin Birth), created anti-Jewish sentiment in the Church.
3. Conclusion: These and other factors led to an ever-widening gap between Christian and Jew. While the Church was growing, nationalistic Judaism was in decline. The Jewish Christian movement drops from history. Justyn Martyr speaks of people who are accepted by neither Jews nor Christians, although they are believers in Jesus.

B. The expansion of Gentile Christianity

1. Growth accelerated in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, especially in Asia Minor and Syria, i.e., the East.
2. Christianity was more vibrant in urban than rural areas, among the middle classes than upper or lower.
3. Numerical strength: Estimates run from 5-50%; in other words, no one knows.
4. The Church enjoyed influence out of proportion to its numbers. It was the strongest in urban centers where the policies of the Empire were determined.
5. Never before, or since, has an idea spread so rapidly BY PERSUASION. This is impressive when it is remembered that this phenomenal growth took place in the face of bitter opposition at every level: The state, powerful critics, rival religions.

C. The struggle with the state

1. All religions had to be licensed. Other religions were also persecuted at various times for different reasons, usually because of practices thought to be detrimental to the state. All totalitarian states must control private religious thought; thus the Church was proscribed in many areas of the Empire.
2. Popular feeling against the Church. Three charges laid against it:
 - a. Practicing abominations
 - (1) The agape (love) feasts misinterpreted.
 - (2) The Lord's Supper interpreted as blood-drinking, especially that of children.
 - (3) Night meetings a source of popular suspicion.
 - (4) Example (Clement of Alexandria, Paedagogus III. 11. 81):

And if we are called to the kingdom of God, let us walk worthy of the kingdom, loving God and our neighbour. But love is not tested by a kiss, but by kindly feeling. But there are those that do nothing but make the churches resound with a kiss, not having love itself within. For this very thing, the shameless use of the kiss, which ought to be mystic, has occasioned foul suspicions and evil reports.

(This was the "kiss of peace" spoken of elsewhere in the writings of the

early church fathers. It was normally men/men, women/women. It seems to have gotten out of hand in some places.)

b. Hating the human race

This sprang from the separation of the Christians from much of Roman life. So much of public life was connected with idol worship and open immorality, Christians could not participate; they were charged with being arrogantly unsociable.

Examples

- (1) The games, theater, public spectacles, such as gladiator contests.
- (2) Military service (The soldier had to swear an oath to the state gods.)
- (3) Public feasts (often little more than orgies)
- (4) Public office (requiring an oath to the state gods)

c. Atheism

- (1) Christians could not worship the regional gods; thus, the pagans blamed the Christians when the gods didn't "come through" in their various functions.
- (2) Other religions were more tolerant. 'You worship my gods and I'll worship yours.'
- (3) The pagans could see no idols, so they often conceived of the Christians as having no god.

3. The policy of the State toward the Church

a. Christianity was regarded as treason. There may have been a revolutionary element in the Church. All the talk of another King and another Kingdom was suspect and misunderstood.

- (1) Explains why the Book of Revelation was delivered in a "cipher."--not a very difficult one. The Roman authorities were perhaps able to figure it out.
- (2) Explains the few references to the Church as 'Kingdom' in the epistles (compared to the Gospel narratives).
- (3) Explains the emphasis in the N.T. for the Church to "obey the powers that be" and on the state as the "minister of God."

b. The requirements were minimal. All the Christians were asked to do was swear public devotion to Caesar as Lord. No one cared about private belief. All other religionists cooperated (except for the Jews, who were a special case). The stubborn refusal of the Christians was proof of treason to a government already nervous about all the Kingdom-talk.

c. Rome feared all rival organizations. Christianity was well-organized and growing fast. Rome could not tolerate the Church's refusal to be a department of the government.

4. The first period of persecution: OCCASIONAL, A.D. 64-250

a. The state had protected the Church from the early persecution by the Jews.

b. Roman persecution began with Nero (A.D. 64).

Tacitus, Annals, 15. 44. 2-8:

But all human efforts, all the lavish gifts of the emperor, and the propitiations of the gods, did not banish the sinister belief that the conflagration was the result of an order. Consequently, to get rid of the report, Nero fastened the guilt and inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their abominations, called Christians by the populace. Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilatus, and a deadly superstition, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judaea, the first source of the evil, but also in the City, where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world meet and become popular. Accordingly, an arrest was first made of all who confessed (i.e., under torture); then, upon their information, an immense multitude was convicted, not so much of the crime of arson, as of hatred of the human race. Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of

beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to the flames. These served to illuminate the night when daylight failed. Nero had thrown open his garden for the spectacle, and was exhibiting a show in the circus, while he mingled with the people in the dress of a charioteer or drove about in a chariot. Hence, even for criminals who deserved extreme and exemplary punishment, there arose a feeling of compassion; for it was not, as it seemed, for the public good, but to glut one man's cruelty, that they were being destroyed.

- c. According to other sources, Peter and Paul died in this persecution.
- d. Persecution was spasmodic, but the threat was always there. Christianity was illegal. If a Christian was reported, he was tried and punished, often put to death.
- e. Persecution under Domitian (A.D. 81-96). The background of the Book of Revelation. Especially severe in Asia Minor.
- f. Persecution under Trajan (A.D. 98-117). Sporadic. The occasion of Pliny's letter to Trajan (Epp. 10. 96). (Pliny was sent to Bithynia by Trajan--A.D. 112--to reorganize the affairs of the province.)

It is my custom, Lord Emperor, to refer to you all questions whereof I am in doubt. Who can better guide me when I am at a stand, or enlighten me if I am in ignorance? In investigations of Christians I have never taken part; hence, I do not know what is the crime usually punished or investigated, or what allowances are made. So I have had no little uncertainty whether there is any distinction of age, or whether the very weakest offenders are treated exactly like the stronger; whether pardon is given to those who repent, or whether a man who has once been a Christian gains nothing by having ceased to be such; whether punishment attaches to the mere name apart from secret crimes, or to the secret crimes connected with the name. Meantime, this is the course I have taken with those who were accused before me as Christians. I asked them whether they were Christians, and if they confessed, I asked them a second and a third time with threats of punishment. If they kept to it, I ordered them for execution; for I held no question to whatever it was that they admitted, in any case obstinacy and unbending perversity deserve to be punished. There were others of the like insanity; but as these were Roman citizens, I noted them down to be sent to Rome.

Before long, as if often the case, the mere fact that the charge was taken notice of made it commoner, and several distinct cases arose. An unsigned paper was presented, which gave names of many. As for those who said that they neither were nor ever had been Christians, I thought it right to let them go, since they recited a prayer to the gods at my dictation, made supplication with incense and wine to your statue, which I had ordered to be brought into court for the purpose together with the images of the gods, and moreover cursed Christ--things which (so it is said) those who are really Christians cannot be made to do.

- g. Persecution under Antoninus Pius (A.D. 155). The occasion of the martyrdom of Polycarp.
- h. Persecution under Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180).
- 5. The second period of persecution, FIRST SYSTEMATIC, A.D. 250-259. The sudden storm of persecution under Decius and Valerian.
- 6. A generation of peace for the Church, A.D. 259-303.
- 7. The third period of persecution, SECOND SYSTEMATIC, A.D. 303-323. Under Diocletian, the Church suffered the worst persecution to that time.
- 8. Conclusions:
 - a. Persecution was not good for the Church.

- b. Many Christians recanted under pressure of torture or imprisonment.
- c. Some sent pagan friends to sacrifice for them.
- d. Some wavered, and then surrendered to the authorities and took whatever punishment was forthcoming.
- e. Some sought martyrdom, a practice strongly condemned by both believers and pagans as fanaticism.
- f. The courage of a vast number of Christians had a lasting effect on sensitive and honorable people.

Discussion #4: The Growth of the Church, part 2: The Struggle with the Critics

D. The Struggle with the Critics

1. The pattern of outside references to Christianity

- a. First century: little reference
- b. Second century: ignorant and careless allusions
- c. End of second century: full-scale attack

2. First-century references in non-Christian sources

a. Archaeology

- (1) Before A.D. 70: A Christian sepulchre; ossuaries marked with the sign of the cross or bearing the name of Jesus.
- (2) An altar with an incised cross (?) at Herculanaeum.

b. Josephus (Preserved only from Christian sources.)

- (1) Josephus contains many passages that mention events also mentioned in the New Testament. Examples:

- (a) Herod Antipas and John the Baptist (AJ 18. 116-19)
- (b) James the brother of Jesus (AJ 20. 200)
- (c) Theudas and Judas--Acts 5:36 (AJ 20. 97, 98)

- (2) The controversial "Testimonium Flavianum" (AJ 18. 63, 64) The preserved text reads:

About this time there lived Jesus, a wise man, if indeed one ought to call him a man. For he was one who wrought surprising feats and was a teacher of such people as accept the truth gladly. He won over many Jews and many of the Greeks. He was the Messiah (Greek Christ). When Pilate, upon hearing him accused by men of the highest standing among us, had condemned him to be crucified, those who had in the first place come to love him did not give up their affection for him. On the third day he appeared to them restored to life, for the prophets of God had prophesied these and countless other marvelous things about him. And the tribe of the Christians, so called after him, has still to this day not disappeared.

- (a) Scholarly opinion on credibility of this reading can be divided into three camps:

Those who defend the essential authenticity of the passage: e.g., W. E. Barnes;

F. C. Burkitt; F. Dornseiff; A. von Harnack; R. Laqueur; L. Prechach; R. H. J. Shutt.

Those who reject the passage: e.g., W. Bauer; H. Conzelman; H. Ewald; F. Hahn;

J. Juster; E. Meyer; B. Niese; E. Norden; M. North; E. Shurer; S. Zeitlin.

Those who believe that there was an original passage by Josephus that has been interpolated by Christian copyists: e.g., C. K. Barrett; W. Bienart; S. G. F. Brandon;

P. Corssen; R. Eisler; L. H. Feldman; M. Coguel; J. Klausner; T. W. Manson;

C. Martin; C. Pharr; T. Reinach; F. Scheidweiler; H. St. J. Thackeray; P. Winter.

- (b) The primary argument in favor of accepting the passage at face value: Attestation by Eusebius (4th cent.) (EH 1. 11; DG 3. 5. 105; Theoph. Syr. 202)

- (c) The primary arguments against accepting the passage at face value: Origen (3rd cent.) commented that Josephus "did not admit our Jesus to be the Christ, he nonetheless gave his witness to so much righteousness in James." Josephus was clearly not a Christian and the passage would only have been written by a believer.

- (d) Manuscript evidence:

Only three extant mss of Josephus contain this passage, none earlier than the eleventh century.

A Slavonic or Old Russian version of Josephus, 7th - 11th centuries, contains an obviously expanded and quite unreliable witness to Jesus:

At that time there appeared a certain man--if it is proper to call him a man, for his nature and form were human, but his appearance was superhuman and his works were divine. It is therefore impossible for me to call him a mere man; but on the other hand, if I consider that his nature was shared by others, I will not call him an angel . . . It was his custom to stay outside the city on the Mount of Olives. There he wrought cures for the people. A hundred

and fifty assistants joined him, and a multitude of the populace. When they saw his power, and his ability to accomplish by a word whatever he desired, they communicated to him their will that he should enter the city, cut down the Roman troops and Pilate, and reign over them; but he would not listen to them.

In 1971 an Israeli scholar, S. Pines, published a monograph on an Arabic work by the 10th-century Melkite Bishop of Hierapolis in Syria (See Time, 2 28 72). This work contains the following rendering of the Testimonium:

At this time there was a wise man who was called Jesus. His conduct was good, and he was known to be virtuous. And many people from among the Jews and the other nations became his disciples . . . They reported that he had appeared to them three days after his crucifixion and that he was alive; accordingly he was perhaps the Messiah concerning whom the prophets have recounted wonders.

In considering the date and history of the manuscript, there is no better reason to accept this reading than the one in the standard manuscripts.

- (e) A suggested rendering of the passage without interpolations:

About this time appeared Jesus, a wise man, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. And he influenced many of the Jews and those of the Greek race. And when he was condemned to the cross by Pilate on the information of the leading men among us, those who had mocked him at first did not cease to do so. And even now the tribe of Christians who are named after him is not extinct.

c. References in the Mishna

- (1) It is difficult to date material in the Mishna because it is oral law consigned to writing in its final form only toward the end of the second century.

- (2) Summary of the view of Jesus in the Mishna:

Jesus was illegitimate.

He went down into Egypt where he learned magic.

He gave opinion on the Law and scoffed at the words of the wise.

He practiced magic and deceived the people.

He was hanged on the eve of the Passover.

(For a collection of these references, see J. Klausner, Jesus of Nazareth, pp. 18-54.)

- (3) The references to Jesus in the Mishna constitute hostile corroboration of the Jesus of the Gospels.

3. Second-century references (outside Christian sources)

- a. Tacitus (108-117) Annals 15. 44. 2-8. In his discussion of the Neronian persecution, Tacitus refers to Christianity as a "deadly superstition."

- b. Suetonius (d. 160) Life of Claudius 25. 4: "Since the Jews constantly made disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus, he expelled them from Rome . . ." (Acts 18:2)

Life of Nero 16. 2: Punishment was inflicted on the Christians, a class of men given to a new and wicked superstition."

- c. Pliny (wrote @111)--see earlier reference to Pliny's letter to Trajan.

- d. Celsus (A.D. 178), a Greek philosopher who made a full-scale attack on the Church.

- (1) By the time of Celsus, Christianity had grown spectacularly and was attracting notice, much of it unwanted.

- (2) Celsus is preserved in Origen; his writings were destroyed by the Christians.

- (3) Examples of Celsus' criticism:

Origen: Against Celsus 4. 2. 3:

The assertion made both by some of the Christians and by the Jews, the former saying that some God or son of God has come down to earth and is the judge of mankind, the latter saying that he will come, is most shameful, and no lengthy argument is required to refute it . . . What is the purpose of

such a descent on the part of God? . . . Was it in order to learn what was going on among men? . . . Does he not know everything? If, then, he does know, why does he not correct men, and why can he not do this by divine power? . . . Was he then unable to correct men merely by divine power, without sending some one specially endowed for the purpose?

1. 28. 32:

. . . he fabricated the story of his birth from a virgin. . . she was then driven out by her husband, who was a carpenter by trade, as she was convicted of adultery . . . after she had been driven out by her husband and while she was wandering about in a disgraceful way she secretly gave birth to Jesus.

2. 55:

Come now, let us believe you view that he actually said this (the Resurrection). How many others produce wonders like this to convince simple hearers whom they exploit by deceit? They say that Zamolxis, the slave of Pythagorus, also did this among the Scythians, and Pythagorus himself in Italy, and Rhampsinitus in Egypt. The last-named played dice with Demeter in Hades and returned bearing a gift from her, a golden napkin. Moreover, they say that Orpheus did this among the Odrysians, and Protesilaus in Thessaly, and Heracles at Taenarum, and Theseus. But we must examine this question whether anyone who really died ever rose again with the same body. Or do you think that the stories of these others really are the legends which they appear to be, and yet that the ending of your tragedy is to be regarded as noble and convincing--his cry from the cross when he expired, and the earthquake and the darkness? While he was alive he did not help himself, but after death he rose again and showed the marks of his punishment and how his hands had been pierced. But who saw this? A hysterical female, as you say, and perhaps some other one of those who were deluded by the same sorcery, who either dreamt in a certain state of mind and through wishful thinking had a hallucination due to some mistaken notion (an experience that has happened to thousands), or, which is more likely, wanted to impress the others by telling this fantastic tale, and so by this cock-and-bull story to provide a chance for other beggars.

(4) The importance of this early intellectual criticism

Christianity, early on, had to meet the attack of some very acute minds.

Every possible weakness in the Christian argument was pointed out and the Church forced to answer.

The overall effect was the maturation of the Church in its presentation of the Gospel.

- e. Marcus Aurelius, the Stoic emperor, made a passing reference to the stubbornness of Christians. This reflects their refusal to enter into the cosmopolitan religious spirit. Meditations 11. 3:

How admirable is the soul which is ready and resolved, if it must this moment be released from the body, to be either extinguished or scattered, or to persist. This resolve, too, must arise from a specific decision, not out of sheer opposition like the Christians, but after reflexion and with dignity, and so as to convince others, without histrionic display.

4. Minucius Felix, a Christian writer, records and responds to the standard pagan criticism of Christianity:

. . . who, having gathered together from the lowest dregs the more unskilled, and women, credulous and, by the facility of their sex, yielding, establish a herd of profane conspiracy, which is leagued together by nightly meetings, and solemn fasts, and inhuman meats--not by any sacred rite, but by

Discussion #5: The Growth of the Church, part 3: The Struggle with Rival Religions; The Organization of the Church, part 1

E. The Struggle with Rival Religions

1. Mithraism and the other mystery religions (previously discussed, p. 7)
2. Manichaeism
 - a. Founder: Mani of Persia (d. 277)
 - b. Importance: Manichaeism became the chief rival of Christianity in the fourth century.
 - c. Character: Persian dualism, i.e., two eternal principles, the material world identified with the evil principle.
 - d. Claims: Mani offered himself as the completion of the ministry of Jesus.
 - e. Plan of salvation: through asceticism and transcendental knowledge.
 - f. Influence on Christianity
 - (1) Augustine was a disciple of Mani.
 - (2) Contributed to the growth of asceticism in the Church (leading to celibacy).
 - (3) Contributed to the growth of mysticism in the Church, i.e., salvation through mystic contemplation vs. rational faith.
3. Neo-Platonism
 - a. Leading exponent: Poryphyr
 - b. Character: dualistic
 - c. Plan of salvation: the soul escapes the material world of evil and rises to ecstatic union with God through mystic contemplation.
 - d. Influence on Christianity
 - (1) Augustine was a disciple of the Neo-Platonist Plotinus.
 - (2) Contributed to the growth of asceticism in the Church.
 - (3) God as the transcendent, static, sole efficient Cause led to the Augustinian (Luther, Calvin, et al.) concept of predestination.
 - (4) Contributed to the growth of mysticism in the Church, i.e., knowing God through sensual experience.

III. The Organization of the Church

Parentetical Study:

The fundamental forms of church polity:

1. congregational
2. presbyterian (rule by ascending courts)
3. Episcopal (control by bishops)
 - a. administrative bishops, e.g., Methodism
 - b. sacerdotal bishops, sometimes representing apostolic succession, e.g., the Episcopal (Anglican) Church
4. Papal--Roman Catholicism

A. First Century

1. Apostles (Eph. 4:11)
2. Gifted men, by apostolic appointment and election (Eph. 4:11, 12)
3. Officers
 - a. collegiate elders/bishops (Titus 1:5)
 - b. deacons (I Tim. 3:8ff.)
4. The late first-century transition from gifted leadership to the non-gifted.
5. There is little question among scholars that apostolic, first-century polity was based on a collegiate eldership, i.e., authority resting in a plurality of elders over a single congregation or over the church (thought of as a single unit) in a single city.

B. Second Century

1. In the transition from gifted to non-gifted leaders, there arose a problem of identifying the truly gifted from imposters.

- a. I John 4:1-6: "Try the spirits . . ."

- b. The Didache or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, a manual of worship dating to the first half of the second century:

. . . and concerning the apostles and prophets, according to the decree of the gospel, so do. But let every apostle (missionary, not the office) that comes to you be received as the Lord. And he shall stay one day, and, if need be, the next also, but if he stays three, he is a false prophet. And, when the apostle goes forth, let him take nothing save bread, till he reach his lodging, but if he asks money, he is a false prophet .

- (1) Many imposters were taking advantage of the Church's mercy.
 - (2) A reflection of the problem of identifying the gifted in the age of transition.

2. The appearance of the monarchical bishop (single elder over a single church)

- a. Bishops distinguished from elders.

- b. The Letter of Clement of Rome (A.D. 96) to the Church at Corinth from Rome on behalf of the Church at Rome:

- (1) The earliest noncanonical letter--of extreme importance.
 - (2) Written about order in the Church, i.e., whether certain elders should be put out of office.
 - (3) Clement's letter is a strong argument from silence because it contains no suggestion whatever of a monarchical bishop either at Rome or Corinth.

- c. The Letter of Ignatius to Smyrna (A.D. 112) first urges a monarchical bishop.

- (1) He urges an arrangement that is just making an appearance.
 - (2) He offers the monarchical bishop as a remedy for heresy:

Avoid divisions, as the beginning of evil. Follow, all of you, the bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father; and follow the presbytery as the Apostles. Moreover, reverence the deacons as the commandment of God. Let no man do aught pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that eucharist be considered valid which is under the bishop or him to whom he commits it. Wheresoever the bishop appears, there let the people be, even as wheresoever Christ Jesus is, there is the catholic (true) church. It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize, or to hold a love-feast. But whatsoever he approves, that also is well-pleasing to God, that everything which you do may be secure and valid (To the Smyrnaeans 8).

- d. The Church at Rome was the last to adopt the monarchical bishop.

- e. Why this change? It was a misguided response to the pressure of heretical groups emerging within the Church, the attempt to identify orthodoxy vs. heresy by the shortest route. An unwise extension of first-century apostolic authority. It avoided the difficult task of using Scripture as the measure of orthodoxy. Some suggested that James was the monarchical bishop at Jerusalem; they used him as a model.

C. The Idea of Apostolic Succession

1. The greatest single source of division in the Church. The Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Episcopal Churches do not recognize any Protestant group as a church because they do not claim apostolic succession. They do not recognize one another as churches because the others do not have the true succession.

2. The first suggestion of this concept is in the Letter of Clement of Rome to Corinth (A.D. 96)--previously discussed:

. . . the Apostles . . . appointed their firstfruits, having tested them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons of those who should believe . . . Our Apostles also knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. So for this reason, since they had

perfect foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons and subsequently gave them permanence, so that should they fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministry. Men, therefore, who were appointed by the Apostles, or subsequently by other eminent men, with the approval of the whole Church, and have ministered blamelessly to the flock of Christ in a humble, peaceable, and worthy way, and have testimony born to them by all for long periods--such men we consider are unjustly deposed from their ministry.

- a. Some of the older men were being forced out of office, creating strife.
 - b. Clement calls for a succession of the collegiate eldership, not of a monarchical bishop.
 - c. These elders were to be approved by the congregation--they could not automatically inherit the office.
 - d. Clement suggests only that men appointed by the Apostles would most likely be the proprietors of orthodoxy and were the logical ones to put forward their successors, subject to the approval of the congregation.
 - e. Clement does not suggest that those appointed by the Apostles inherited the office or authority of the Apostles. It was a call for a logical succession FROM the Apostles, NOT a succession OF the office of Apostle.
 - f. The idea of this kind of (limited) succession was not accepted elsewhere for nearly a century. It is absent in the Letter of Ignatius to Smyrna; early literature is silent on the matter.
3. Hegesippus (A.D. 178)--the next suggestion of apostolic succession.
- a. Recorded by Eusebius.
 - b. Hegesippus, concerned about heresy, argued that orthodoxy is most likely to be found in a church founded by an Apostle, had an eldership appointed by an Apostle, and whose subsequent leaders were nominated by those appointed by an Apostle:

And the church of the Corinthians continued in the true doctrine until Primus was bishop at Corinth . . . with them I associated on my voyage to Rome, and I abode with the Corinthians many days, during which we were refreshed together in the true doctrine. But when I came to Rome, I made for myself a succession list as far as Anicetus (see Addendum 3), whose deacon was Eleutherus. And from Anicetus Soter received the succession, after whom came Eleutherus. And in every succession and in every city that which the Law and the Prophets and the Lord preach is faithfully followed (HE 4. 22).

- (1) Hegesippus speaks of an appointive succession from the Apostles, not a succession to the office of Apostle.
- (2) Although Irenaeus (early second century) and Tertullian (A.d. 200) agreed with this method of protecting orthodoxy, it was not universally accepted.

Parenthetical summary:

The evolution of the monarchical bishop:

- First century: Collegiate eldership over one church.
- Second century: One "bishop" over one church.
- Third century: One bishop over a diocese or group of churches
- Fourth century: One bishop over other bishops.
- Fifth century: One bishop over the universal Church (the Papacy)

Discussion #6: The Organization of the Church, part 2

D. The Dogma of Apostolic Succession

1. What had been an IDEA in the second century became a DOCTRINE in the third, i.e., became more or less universally accepted in the Church.
2. Basic concept: The bishops as successors to the office of Apostle.
3. Although the idea circulated in the second century, it is first systematically set forth by Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (A.D. 250).
 - a. The bishops, as successors of the apostolic office, represent Christ.
 - b. The bishops mediate between God and man (sacerdotal office).
 - c. The bishops are channels of grace.
 - d. The Church, therefore, exists in the bishops; they are the Church; the Church is the bishops and those in fellowship with the bishops.
 - e. The concept was used to legitimize the monarchical bishop.
 - f. Cyprian assigned this authority to ALL the monarchical bishops. (The Roman Catholic Church teaches that Cyprian was on the way to the truth but had not yet seen the full light.)
 - g. This concept has a transforming impact on the Church from this time to the Reformation.
4. The elders
 - a. By the second century, the concept is accepted of the CLERGY upon whom the LAITY depends.
 - b. The evolution of the office of elder
 - (1) First century--elders and bishops the same office.
 - (2) Second century--"bishop" reserved for single leader; elders become an advisory board.
 - (3) Third century and following--elders become priests under the mediating monarchical bishop; priests mediate between God and man ON BEHALF of the bishop.
5. Deacons become assistants without mediating power; they come to occupy administrative positions.
6. Selection process: The bishops were nominated by the clergy, but elected or approved by the people.

The Growing Importance of Rome

1. Question: How did the idea develop that there is no salvation except in obedience, not simply to the bishop, but to the Bishop of Rome?
2. History of the Church at Rome:
 - a. Founded by an unknown disciple.
 - b. In existence by A.D. 50/51 (dated from Suetonius' account of the expulsion of the Jews by Claudius--Acts 18:1).
 - c. Indications in the Book of Romans that no Apostle had ministered in Rome.
 - d. According to tradition, Peter was martyred at Rome.
 - e. Was Peter ever in Rome? Probably (I Peter 5:13).
 - f. Was Peter the Bishop of Rome? No. The Roman Church had no monarchical bishop in the first century; it was one of the last to adopt that arrangement.
 - g. Did Peter found the Church at Rome? It is almost certain that he did not. The tradition claiming that he did dates from the late second century. The letter of Ignatius to Rome (A.D. 112) makes no mention of Peter.
3. Sources
 - a. The letter of Clement of Rome (see Addendum One) to the Church at Corinth. This was a letter giving brotherly advice. There is no suggestion that the correspondence was from one monarchical bishop to another, and no suggestion of one church "laying down the law" to a subordinate congregation. It followed the apostolic pattern in concern, not in authority.
 - b. The Letter of Ignatius (A.D. 112): Ignatius treats Rome as an important church,

but not as one having authority over other churches. The letter indicates, as a matter of fact, that no monarchical bishop existed in Rome at a time when other churches did have one.

- c. Irenaeus of Lyons (A.D. 185):
 - (1) Irenaeus was primarily concerned about heresy.
 - (2) He considers the church at Rome to be the most illustrious and oldest church, founded by the most illustrious of the apostles, Peter and Paul, and the canon for all Christianity.
 - (3) Irenaeus considered the Roman church to be the church IN THE WEST most likely to have the truth because it was the only one founded by apostles. (There were many in the East.)
 - (4) Irenaeus never appeals to the authority of the Bishop of Rome or suggests that other bishops should obey him.
 - (5) A part of the method of Irenaeus in identifying the true apostolic tradition: He appeals to HISTORY, SCRIPTURE, TRADITION, and REASON. In this way he "got at" the original teaching of the apostles. He appealed to an "apostolic succession" of DOCTRINE, not of the office.
4. The Easter dispute--disagreement over whether the Resurrection should be celebrated on any day of the week of the Jewish calendar so that it would correspond exactly to the Passover each year (a tradition in the East, traced to John at Ephesus), or on the first day of the week nearest the phase of the moon (the tradition followed in the West and elsewhere).
 - a. Phase 1: A.D. 154. Polycarp went to Rome to discuss this and other issues. Anicetus, Bishop of Rome, and Polycarp could not agree. They agreed to disagree and there was no attempt by the Roman bishop to impose his views on the churches of Asia Minor.
 - b. Phase 2: A.D. 189. Polycrates of Ephesus wrote a strong letter to Victor, Bishop of Rome, urging the Johanne tradition. Victor threatened to excommunicate Polycrates if he did not accept the western view of Easter. This indicates a profound change in policy between 154 and 189. Irenaeus was shocked by Victor's threat and he pointed out that it was unreasonable. (Irenaeus was in the West.) Eusebius says that the matter did not please the other bishops and Victor was rebuked.
5. Callistus, Bishop of Rome 217-222. Addressing the problem of what should be done with Christians who had been excommunicated and wanted to be restored, Callistus issued a claim based on Matt. 16 to the right to bar or loose in the matter of sin.
 - a. Callistus did not claim to be the ONLY bishop with this right.
 - b. Callistus was strongly opposed in this by Tertullian and others.
6. Stephen, Bishop of Rome 254-257. A controversy arose between Stephen and Cyprian of Carthage over the rebaptism of those who came into the catholic church from unorthodox or heretical groups; i.e., was heretical baptism valid?
 - a. Cyprian claimed that heretical baptism was not valid; Stephen disagreed.
 - b. Stephen threatened to excommunicate Cyprian, citing Matt. 16 for authority.
 - c. Cyprian argued that Matt. 16 applied to ALL the bishops.
 - d. Cyprian enjoyed strong support from the bishops in the East. Firmilian, the important Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, wrote a strong letter to Cyprian supporting the latter's position:

(Firmilian addresses Stephen in his letter to Cyprian.)

. . . and herein I am justly indignant at such open and manifest folly in Stephen, that he who so boasts of the seat of his episcopate, and contends that were laid, introduces many other rocks and builds anew many Churches, in that by his authority he maintains baptism among them. But whoso approves their baptism, must needs also maintain of those baptized, that the Church is

with them . . .

. . .What strifes and dissensions you have stirred up through the Churches of the whole world! And how great sin you have heaped up, when you cut yourself off from so many flocks. For you cut yourself off; do not deceive yourself; for he is truly the schismatic who has made himself an apostate from the communion of the unity of the Church. For while you think that all may be excommunicated by you, you have excommunicated yourself alone from all.

7. The growing importance of Rome: a summary
 - a. The attempt of the Bishop of Rome to claim universal authority can be explained, in part, by the first-century practice of claiming ascendancy corresponding to the relative importance of cities. Up to Constantine, Rome was the capital of the Empire.
 - b. The church at Rome saw itself as the only one in the West with an apostolic tradition.
 - c. The church at Rome felt a sense of responsibility for the other churches. The Roman church was strong and wealthy.
 - d. The churches in the East have NEVER recognized the expanding claims of Rome.

Discussion #7: The Congregational Life of the Church

IV. The Congregational Life of the Church

A. The Lord's Day

1. The Sabbatarian charge that the Roman church, without authority, "changed the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday.

Smith, Daniel and Revelation, p. 650:

Fathered by heathenism as "the wild solar holiday of all pagan times, Sunday was led to the font by the pope, and christened as an institution of the Church.

2. The charge that Sunday-observance is an adopted pagan day of worship.
 - a. The pagan Romans and Greeks did not have a regular weekly day of worship.
 - b. For both Romans and Greeks, the month was the unit, not the week. The month was divided into three periods of about ten days: the Kalends, beginning on the first of the month, the Nones, beginning on the fifth or seventh day, and the Ides, beginning on the thirteenth or fifteenth. This division had no religious significance.
 - c. The seven-day week came into common use among the Romans in the third century, and was adopted in response to the influence of the Church, not the other way around. The earliest Sunday legislation was enacted after Constantine I (A.D. 321). Thus the pagans were forced to conform to the Christian day.
3. Sunday did not take the place of the Sabbath in the first-century Church. Sunday did not become to the Christians what the Sabbath was to Judaism.
4. Sunday/the first day of the week was the assembly day for the Church.
 - a. Positive evidence: Acts 20:7; I Cor. 16:1, 2; Rev. 1:10.
 - b. The non-binding character of the Sabbath after Pentecost: Gal. 4:8-10; Col. 2:16-17; Ro. 14: 5, 6.
5. The evidence from the Patristics

The Epistle of Barnabas (ca. A.D. 120):

Wherefore, also, we keep on the eighth day with joyfulness, the day, also, on which Jesus rose again from the dead.

The Didache (caa. A.D. 80-120):

But every Lord's Day do ye gather yourselves together to break bread, and give thanks . . .

Justyn Martyr (A.D. 140):

And on the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things.

. But Sunday is the day on which we all hold our common assembly, because it is the first day on which God, having wrought a change in the darkness and matter, made the world; and Jesus Christ, our Savior, on the same day rose from the dead. He was crucified on the day before that of Saturn (Saturday); and on the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the sun, having appeared to His apostles and disciples, He taught them these things, which we have submitted to you also for your consideration.

Bardasanes of Edessa (A.D. 180):

For, lo, wherever we be, all of us are called by the one name of the Messiah, Christians, and upon one day, which is the first day of the week, we assemble ourselves together.

Tertullian (A.D. 200):

We solemnize the day after Saturday . . .

Origen (A.D. 225):

But if it be clear from the Holy Scriptures that God rained manna from Heaven on the Lord's Day, and rained none on the Sabbath Day, let the Jews understand that from that time our Lord's Day was set above the true Sabbath . . .

Cyprian (Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 253):

Because the eighth day, that is the first day after the Sabbath, was to be that on which the Lord should rise again, and should quicken us . . . the eighth day, that is, the first day after the Sabbath, and the Lord's Day . . .

Eusebius (A.D. 324; speaking of the Judaizers of his time):

With them the observance of the Law was altogether necessary . . . They also observe the Sabbath and other disciplines of the Jews just like them, but on the other hand they also celebrate the Lord's Day very much like us in the commemoration of His resurrection.

B. Days of fasting

1. Wednesday and Friday were observed as fast days in the early Church, i.e., abstinence until the evening meal.
2. Wednesday was dropped as a weekly day of fasting and Friday emphasized. The observance of Friday continued. In the middle ages fish was permitted.
3. In the second century, forty hours of fasting was observed leading up to Resurrection Day (Easter). This was to observe Jesus' forty days of fasting. In the third century this was extended to a week of fasting, and early in the fourth century it became forty days of fasting. This is the basis of the modern observance of Lent, a practice that developed in the middle ages and is burdened with Roman Catholic superstition.

C. Annual occasions

1. The great day of the early church was Resurrection Day (not Christmas, as in our day).
2. Pentecost was the second great day.
3. Epiphany as the third great day. Epiphany means "manifestation," and it commemorated the first manifestation of the deity of Jesus at Cana of Galilee and at His baptism, but especially the manifestation to the Magi. In observance of the latter, Epiphany fell on Jan. 6. The observance of the day began in the East, and is there remembered by its earlier name Theophany. To those who observe the church calendar, it marks the end of the Christmas season. It is the basis of the "Twelve days of Christmas."
4. Often the anniversary dates of the martyrdom of great leaders were remembered. At this early period it was not yet saint-worship.
5. By the middle ages, a complete church year was developed, and many churches, including Protestant groups, still use it.

D. Places of assembly

1. The early congregations seem to have met most often in the homes of wealthy Christians.
2. In times of persecution, a church building was out of the question.
3. Catacomb worship: Catacombs were underground graveyards and passageways cut out of a soft, porous stone called tufa. Professional diggers carved burial niches or loculi and chambers (cubicula) for burial. Romans practiced both cremation and inhumation. In the

former case they would bury the ashes. Roman law did not permit cemeteries within city walls, so the catacombs are found in a circle around ancient Rome, chiefly on the south, east, and north. The Roman catacombs have been estimated to contain as much as 600 miles of passageways and chambers, and no one knows if all have been found. Catacombs have also been discovered at Alexandria, Tuscany, and Naples.

In times of persecution Christians formed burial clubs and would use the catacombs for funeral services; sometimes they met there for regular worship.

4. Church buildings

- a. About 250, when the Church enjoyed a respite from persecution, some church buildings began to be built. The oldest discovered is at Dura-Europas in Syria and dates to the third century.
- b. The oldest buildings had baptistries.

E. Mode of worship

Earliest sources: Pliny, the Didache, & Justyn Martyr.

Pliny's Letter to Trajan, 10. 96:

They (Christians) maintained, however, that the extent of their error had been this, that it was their habit on a fixed day to assemble before daylight and recite by turns a form of words to Christ as god; and that they bound themselves with an oath, not for any crime, but not to commit theft or robbery or adultery, not to break their word, and not to deny a deposit when demanded.

Justyn Martyr:

And on the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and, as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings . . .

1. The reading of Scripture

- a. They read from the Old Testament, Gospels, and Epistles.
- b. The early Christians stood for the reading of the Gospels.
- c. The early Church spent much time in public reading; this reflects the limited access to written documents. (1 Tim. 4:13)

2. Prayer: Both formal and spontaneous. According to Tertullian, they regularly knelt in prayer except on Sunday, when they rose to pray. They did not sit for prayer.

3. The sermon (see Justyn Martyr above).

4. Hymns

- a. Although Latourette says that up to the end of the fourth century only Psalms or Scripture was sung, the evidence is insufficient to make clear what the early church sung.
- b. Col. 3:16 suggests variety, but this text does not speak specifically of a worship service.
- c. The oldest hymn to come down to us: Shepherd of Tender Youth, A.D. 200; words by Clement of Alexandria.

5. The Lord's Supper (the theology of the Lord's Supper to be discussed later).
 - a. In the beginning the Lord's Supper was held in connection with the agape (love feast). The regular meal was a good way too feed the poor brethren as well as edify the Church through the expression of fellowship. It was justified by the fact that Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper at the end of a meal. (See the abuse in Corinth--I Cor. 11; also Jude 12.)
 - b. In A.D. 150, at least in the West, the Lord's Supper was taken out of the love feast and made a part of a teaching-preaching service. It became the most important part. Why this change?
 - c. The Lord's Supper was put at the end of the preaching service in A.D. 250-350, and nonchristians and catechumens were dismissed and deacons guarded the doors. Why? Growing sacerdotalism?
The need to protect the service from pagan scoffers?
The need for secrecy in time of persecution? (Why should this part of the service be secret and not other parts?)
6. The liturgy
 - a. Set forms of prayers and responses were used from earliest times, which did not exclude free elements. Early liturgy was simple.
 - b. In A.D. 250, as far as evidence is concerned, liturgy goes into a tunnel. When it emerges in A.D. 350, it is a very elaborate liturgy. Why this change? After 350 worship became public; something, in fact, of a public spectacle. Now that persecution was past, the Church became very conscious of the public and Christians desired to attract the pagan public by structuring the worship service in ways that would find favor with the public. Many had backgrounds in the mystery religions with their elaborate ritual.

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Shepherd of Tender Youth

Clement of Alexandria*
Tr. Henry M. Denzer

(Kilby Bodin)

Edward Burnas

1. Shep-herd of ten-der youth, Guid-ing in love and truth,
 2. Thou art the great High Priest; Thou hast pre-pared the feast,
 3. Ev-er be Thou our guide, Our shep-herd and our pride,
 4. So now, and till we die, Sound we Thy prais-es high.

Thro' de-vi-ous ways; Christ, our tri-um-ph-ant King, We come Thy
 Of heav'n-a-ly love; While in our mor-tal pain None call on
 Our staff and song; Je-sus, Thou Christ of God, By Thy per-
 And joy-ful sing; Let all the ho-ly throng, Who to Thy

name to sing, Hith-er our chil-dren bring To shout Thy praise.
 Thee in vain; Help Thou dost not dis-dain, Help from a-bove.
 en-nial word, Lead us where Thou hast trod, Make our faith strong.
 church be-long, U-nite to swell the song To Christ, our King!

*Earliest known Christian hymn, written about A.D. 200

Discussion #8: The Doctrine of the Church, part 1

V. The Doctrine of the Church

A. Baptism

1. Origin: Scholars of the radical bent hold that baptism was taken over from the mystery religions. Others trace it to Jewish proselyte baptism. Baptism, however, was from Heaven, not from men.
2. Purpose--the remission of sins.
 - a. Scholars universally recognize that from the very beginning baptism was the rite of admission to the Church. Many, however, fail to recognize that the apostolic Church made no distinction between being in Christ and being in the local Church.
 - b. Acts 2:38
 - c. The Patristics connect baptism with the remission of sins and with the New Birth (Jo. 3:5). Examples:

Shepherd of Hermas, Mand. 4. 3. 1. 2-6.

'I have heard, Sir,' said I, 'from some teachers that there is no second repentance beyond the one given when we went down into the water and received the remission of sins.'

Justyn Martyr, Apology 1. 61-67.

. . . then they are brought by us where there is water, and are born again in the same manner in which we ourselves were born again. For in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing of water.

3. Subjects

- a. The New Testament knows only adult baptism.
 - b. Justyn Martyr is cited as the first to support infant baptism. He said that he knew "Christian persons of both sexes, some sixty, some seventy years old, who had been made disciples from their infancy (ἐκ παιδῶν).
 - (1) Four Greek words are used for children or infant:
 - βρέφος = brepheos = baby.
 - παιδίον = paidion = little child.
 - παῖς = pais = a youth, anyone under age.
 - τεκνίον = teknion = a little child, often figuratively.
 - (2) In the New Testament little children is always paidion or teknion.
 - (3) Pais is used for Jesus at age 12 (Luke 2:43).
 - (4) Pais is used for Eutychus (Acts 4:27) where it is obviously young man.
 - (5) The word Justyn Martyr used is a form of pais, i.e., ages 10-15.
 - c. The Apostolic Fathers Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp never suggest infant baptism. Their discussions of those baptized assume that the candidates had been systematically taught prior to baptism.
 - d. Irenaeus (A.D. 185) mentions infant baptism in passing. It seems to have appeared in the mid-second century, but it was not universally recognized or accepted. Tertullian, in fact, argues against it (@A.D. 200), saying that young people should be allowed to "sow their wild oats" (paraphrase) before being baptized.
 - e. Infant baptism is fully established by Augustine (fifth century). It is defended, however, neither from direct biblical command, nor from apostolic precedent; pedobaptism, rather, is put forward as a theological necessity arising from
 - (1) Original Sin, and,
 - (2) Baptismal Regeneration.
- #### 4. Method/mode of baptism
- a. The New Testament--clearly immersion.
 - (1) The meaning of the word βαπτίζω = bapto = to dip or plunge and object.

- (2) The description of the act: Acts 8:38, 39.
 - (3) The requirements of the metaphor: Romans 6:4.
 - b. The Apostolic Fathers (first century)
 - (1) Hermas, The Shepherd (above): ". . . when we went down into the water."
 - (2) Justyn Martyr (above): ". . . there is pronounced in the water over him"
 - c. Second century
 - Didache 7. 1-4:

And concerning baptism, baptize thus. Having first recited all these things, baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit in running water. But if thou has not running water, baptize in other water; and, if thou canst not in cold, in warm. But if thou has neither, pour water thrice upon the head in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

The date and validity of the Didache are uncertain; the passage, therefore, is doubtful. If it can be taken at face value, it suggests that pouring was introduced in the early second century as an alternative when immersion was inconvenient.
 - d. Third and fourth centuries
 - (1) The earliest church buildings (third century) had baptistries for immersion.
 - (2) Pouring was reserved for the infirm; those baptized in this way were somewhat despised, and the consensus was that if the candidate recovered his strength, he was to be immersed.
 - (3) The Eastern tradition preserves immersion, including of infants. In the East triune immersion is also preserved; triune immersion was practiced, at least in some places, from the first century.
 - (4) Early pictures of baptism often are of pouring, sometimes with the candidate standing in a stream or pool.
 - e. Summary: Early defection from the apostolic mode, encouraged, in part, by:
 - (1) the inconvenience of immersion, especially in times of persecution or in cases of extreme infirmity.
 - (2) the pressure of "Greek" thinking, which minimized the physical.
5. The administrator
- a. No indication of restriction in the New Testament.
 - b. By Tertullian (A.D. 200, a trend has emerged to reserve this privilege to the highest clergy.

* Tertullian, On Baptism, 17:

The highest priest (monarchical bishop), who is the bishop, has of course the right to confer it; then the presbyters and deacons, not, however, without the bishop's authority, out of respect to the Church. When this respect is maintained peace is secure. But besides, even laymen have the right to baptize; for that which is received alike by all, can be by all alike conferred; unless you argue that the name "disciples" belongs only to bishops or presbyters or deacons. The Word of the Lord ought not to be hidden by anyone. In like manner baptism also, which is equally a divine institution, can be practised by all. But how much more is the practice of modesty and obedience binding upon laymen, since those privileges are suited to their superiors, lest they should assume the duty that is assigned to bishops! Jealousy of the bishop's position begets schisms. The most holy Apostle said that all things were permissible, but that all things were not expedient. Let it suffice certainly to take advantage of the privilege in cases of necessity, if anywhere the circumstances either of the place or the time or the person compel it. For then is the boldness of the helper welcomed, when the situation of an endangered person is pressing, since he will be guilty of ruining a human being if he refrains from offering what he was freely able to confer. But the forwardness of a woman who has presumed to teach will not of course acquire for her the right of baptizing also . . .

B. The theology of the Lord's Supper

1. First century

- a. A meal commemorating the death of Jesus.
- b. A meal symbolizing fellowship with Jesus (I Cor. 10:16).
- c. A meal symbolizing fellowship between Christians (I Cor. 10:17).

2. Second century

(Moved from the agape feast to a preaching service.)

- a. Became the most important part of the assembly.
- b. In the second century the Lord's Supper became a ritual in which Christ is really present in the loaf and cup.

Ignatius, Ep. ad Smyrn. 6:

They (the Docetics) abstain from the Eucharist and prayer because they do not admit that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, which the Father in his goodness raised up.

Justyn Martyr, Apology 1. 66:

And this food is called among us "Eucharist," of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remissions of sins and unto a second birth, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food, which is blessed by the word of prayer transmitted from Him, and by which our blood and flesh by assimilation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus Who was made flesh.

- c. The sense in which Christ is present in the elements is not defined. It is not yet the Roman Catholic concept of Transubstantiation.
- d. With the evolution of the idea of Real Presence came the concept that the Lord's Supper bestows grace and immortality on those who partake--a vehicle rather than a symbol.

3. Third century

A sacrifice by a mediating priest in which the body of Christ is offered and is, therefore, a vehicle of grace extended to the living and the dead.

PARENTHETICAL STUDY

Present versions of the theory of the REAL PRESENCE:

1. Roman Catholic: The bread becomes the body that died on the cross, that and nothing else--Transubstantiation.
2. Lutheran: The communicant partakes of both bread and the physical body of Jesus.
3. Greek Orthodox: Christ is really present in the hosts in an undefined, unexplainable way; not Transubstantiation.
4. Anglo-Catholic: Same as Greek Orthodox.
5. Calvinism: The body of Jesus is spiritually, not physically present.

The Symbolic view:

Zwinglian: The body of Christ is symbolically present in the bread;
Christ is spiritually present in the assembly.

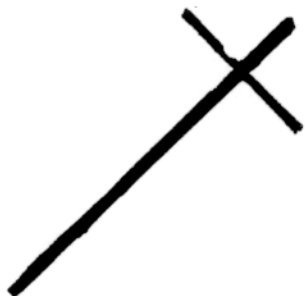
Discussion #9: The Doctrine of the Church, part 2; The Apocryphal Gospels; The Major Heresies, part 1

C. Education

1. The early Church considered nothing more important than teaching. Pagans were very "far from the Kingdom." No one was received into the Church without careful education. By the third century, a boy had to undergo a three-year program before he could be baptized.
2. A special class of teachers emerged within the Church.
3. The Church in larger cities developed schools that came to be college-level seminaries. These schools, such as at Alexandria, Caesarea, and Antioch, became centers of religious activity and controversy.
4. The Didache is an example of an early manual of instruction.

D. Christian art (a reflection of doctrine)

1. Up to AD 325, very little art available.
 - a. The persecuted Church had no church buildings to decorate.
 - b. Christians were poor; believers were concerned with more important matters.
2. Beginnings of Christian art (See Walter Lowry, Art in the Christian Church.)
 - a. Catacombs
 - b. Sarcophagi
3. Types of art
 - a. Symbols, some of which are still used. Symbols were more important to ancients than to moderns. Examples:
 - (1) The cross
 - (2) Alpha/omega (Jesus, Rev. 1:8)



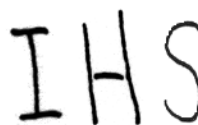
- (3) The anchor (Hope, Heb. 6:19)
- (4) Cock (Passion of Jesus, Jo. 13:38)



- (5) Palm (victory)



- (6)



IHS (Iho=Jesus)

- (7) Vine (Life in Christ, Jo. 15:1-8) (8) Phoenix (Resurrection)



- (9) Dove (Holy Spirit, Matt. 3:16) (10) Fish

- (a) Sometimes a secret symbol.
(b) An acrostic:



I	Ἰησοῦς	Jesus
X	Χριστός	Christ
Θ	θεός	God
Υ	Υἱός	Son
Σ	Σωτήρ	Savior



b. Pictures

- (1) Symbolic pictures of Mary, Peter, Paul, Christ, and certain Old Testament figures were attempted. There was no real attempt to present Christ as a historical figure. From the Jews the Church inherited a strong fear of idolatry. We have no idea of how Jesus looked (unless the Shroud of Turin is genuine).
- (2) The earliest attempts to portray Christ come after this period and reflect the ascetic as the ideal man.

VI. The Apocryphal Gospels

See Edwin Yamauchi, "The Word from Nag Hammadi" Christianity Today (Jan. 13, 1978): 19-22 (assigned reading from reserve shelf).

A. The more important examples

1. Second century

- a. The Gospel of Thomas
- b. Protevangelium of James
- c. The Gospel of Philip
- d. The Gospel of Truth
- e. The Gospel of the Nazarenes
- f. The Epistle of the Apostles
- g. The Gospel of the Twelve (date uncertain)
- h. The Apocryphon of John
- i. The Gospel of Mary (Magdalene)
- j. The Gospel according to the Hebrews (Egypt)
- k. The Acts of Andrew
- l. The Acts of Paul
- m. The Acts of Peter

2. Late fourth century: The Assumption of Mary

B. General content

1. They are classified roughly into three groups:
 - a. Gospels
 - b. Acts
 - c. Apocalypses
2. Some of the gospels were competitors of the canonical gospels, others were supplementary of the Gospels. The "silent years" are discussed, often giving accounts of unworthy and unlikely miracles.

C. Value

1. No historical value.
2. Some were written by pious authors as historical novels to entertain.
3. Some were written by heretics who claimed apostolic authority for their teaching.
4. They indicate the kind of literature early Christians liked to read. They were popular reading matter, not orthodox doctrine.

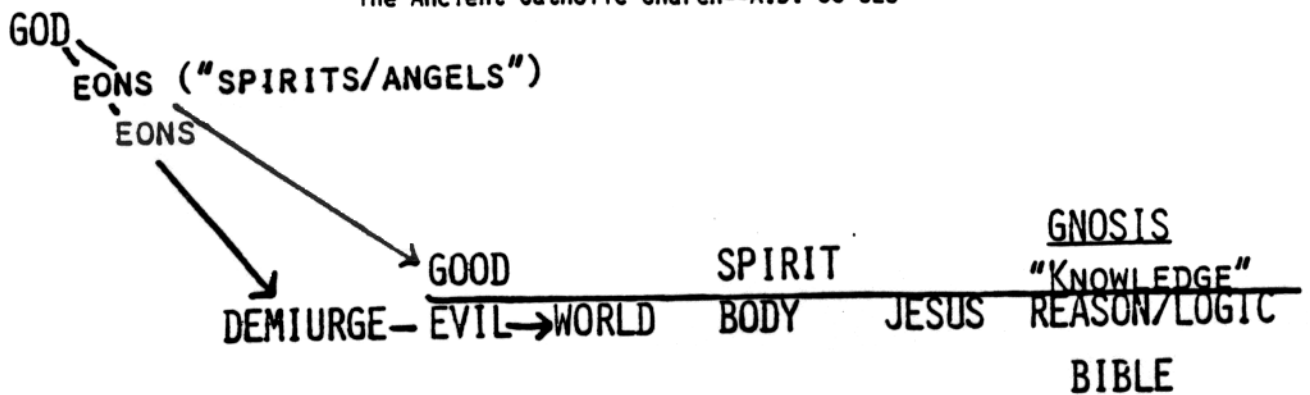
D. Emphases

1. Reflections of the intellectual culture: love of virginity, shamefulness of marriage; elevation of chastity and asceticism; tendency to Docetism.
2. Prayers offered to Jesus vs. the apostolic/standard practice of praying to God the Father.
3. Elevation of Mary vs. her place in the canonical Gospels.
4. Intense curiosity about the future life.

VII. The Major Heresies

The theologies of the early Church did not emerge from neutral scholarship so much as from the need to respond to heretical teaching.

- A. Judaizers (first century): Believers who insisted that Gentiles enter the Church through the synagogue.
- B. Ebionites (first century): A relatively unimportant faction that accepted Jesus as Messiah but rejected his virgin birth and deity. Ebionites also rejected the apostolic authority of Paul and, thus, his epistles.
- C. Docetics (first century)
 1. A dualism, holding that Jesus, being untainted by sin, could not have assumed human flesh. He, therefore, only seemed (*dokein* = *dokeo* = 'to seem, think, imagine') to have been a man among men.
 2. Docetism is the context and background of the Gospel and epistles of John.
- D. Gnostics (second century)
 1. An extension of first-century Docetism; the most dangerous heresy faced by the Church in the early period.
 2. Gnosticism was a syncretistic theology that sought to interpret the Gospel in terms of contemporary philosophy and science--to conform Christ to culture.
 3. The relationship of Christianity to Gnosticism
 - a. The radical/critical view: The Religionsgeschichtliche Schule ('History of Religions') school of theology, represented by leading spokesman Wilhelm Bousset (1865-1920) and Richard Reitzenstein (1861-1931), took the view that Gnosticism was prechristian and, therefore, a fundamental source of Christian doctrine.
 - b. The traditional/patristic view: The early Church fathers identified Gnosticism as a second-century heresy, and identified Simon Magus (Acts 8) as the founder of the cult. This view finds historical confirmation; NO EVIDENCE EXISTS OF A PRECHRISTIAN Gnosticism.
 4. The cosmology and theology of Gnosticism
 - a. Cosmology



b. Theology--The Gnostic Redeemer Myth as reconstructed by Bultmann:

In the cosmic drama a heavenly Primal Man of Light falls and is torn to pieces by demonic powers. These particles are encapsuled as the sparks of light in the 'pneumatics' of mankind. The demons try to stupefy the 'pneumatics' by sleep and forgetfulness so they will forget their divine origin. The transcendent Deity sends another Being of Light, the Redeemer, who descends the demonic spheres, assuming the deceptive garments of a human body escape the notice of the demons. The Redeemer is sent to awaken the 'pneumatics' to the truth of their heavenly origin and character. He is to give them the necessary 'gnosis' or knowledge to serve as passwords for their returning ascent to the heavens. The Redeemer himself reascends, defeating the demonic powers, and thereby makes a way for the spirits that will follow him. Cosmic redemption is achieved when the souls of men are collected and gathered upward. In this process the Redeemer is himself redeemed, i.e., the Primal Man who fell in the beginning is reconstituted.

5. The moral and spiritual effects of Gnosticism

- Salvation is transcendental knowledge, rather than rational faith and obedience.
- The physical world and what happens in it are unimportant. The gnostic "Christian," therefore, had no reason to refuse to pay homage to Caesar. He could attend the games and the theater. He did not make an issue of pagan idol worship. Religion had become completely internalized.
- Ethics are made subjective.
- Christianity becomes merely one vehicle of truth among many.
- Gnosticism overlapped Docetism. The New Testament (e.g., Col. 2:8-15; Eph. 1:20-23) reflects the presence of a syncretistic theology that may be identified as inceptive Gnosticism.

6. The apex of Gnostic influence--AD 135-160.

- Valentinus (d. 160), an Alexandrian who taught at Rome.
- Basileides (of Alexandria)

7. Jesus in the Gnostic system

- Some Gnostics held that Jesus' earthly body was a phantom (Docetism).
- Others held that His body was real and physical, but was ontologically distinct from the 'Christ' or spiritual identity and was in no way involved in redemption.

8. Long-term effects of Gnosticism on the Church

- Moved the Church toward asceticism and monasticism.
- " " " " elaborate and liturgical worship.
- Gnosticism's intermediate beings promoted worship of Mary and the saints.
- Led the Church to express dogma in contemporary philosophical jargon.
- Encouraged the creation of standards of orthodoxy, i.e., creeds, canon, episcopacy.

Discussion #10: The Major Heresies, part 2; Tertullian

E. Marcionites (second century)

1. Marcion. Although Gnosticism was the more important heresy, Marcion was the most interesting and important heretic of the second century. An exhaustive dialectician, brilliant, and therefore dangerous, he called forth a flood of apologetic activity from the Church.
 - a. A second-generation Christian. His father was a wealthy ship-builder in Asia Minor and a bishop. Marcion inherited this wealth and was an earnest Christian. (He gave the Church in Rome a gift of \$10,000; when he became a heretic, the Church excommunicated him and refunded the money.)
 - b. Marcion moved to Rome and evolved his heretical theology there. When he was put out of the Church, he organized his followers and there grew a family of Marcionite congregations all through the empire. Justyn Martyr (AD 150) wrote, "Assisted by the demons he has caused many men of every country to blaspheme."
2. Marcionite theology: Influenced somewhat by Gnostic thinking, Marcion did not accept the God of the Old Testament. He came to reject not only the Old Testament, but also the "Jewish" elements in the New Testament. Marcion accepted only Paul and Luke, and he edited the Jewish elements out of these.
3. The response of the Church
 - a. For the first time the Church gave careful attention to interpreting the Old Testament.
 - b. For the first time the Church gave careful attention to the canon.
 - c. Marcionism was opposed by Dionysius at Corinth, Irenaeus at Lyons, Theophilus at Antioch, Philip at Crete, Tertullian at Carthage, Hippolytus at Rome, and Bardaisan at Edessa (Syria).
 - d. The Church at Rome created the Apostles' Creed, a baptismal statement designed to screen out heretics. "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth . . ." (No Marcionite could say that.) This kind of creed antedates the heresies of the second century, but they had no fixed form in the early period. The creeds were amended as there arose various heresies that needed to be distinguished from orthodoxy.

F. Montanists (second century)

1. Montanus, of Phrygia, offered himself as a prophet. Two women, Maximilla and Priscilla joined him as prophetesses and they traveled together, creating a scandal. Montanism was the first so-called charismatic movement. The cult emphasized three doctrines:
 - a. The dispensation of the Spirit. Montanus claimed himself to be the special fulfillment of the promise of the Paraclete--the fulfillment and consummation of divine revelation. Eusebius, HE 5. 16. 6ff.:

Their opposition, then, and their recent schismatical heresy as regards the Church, arose thus. There is reported to be a certain village in that Mysia that borders on Phrygia, called by the name Ardabau. There it is said that a certain recent convert to the faith named Montanus (while Gratus was proconsul of Asia), in the immeasurable longing of his soul for the preeminence, first gave the adversary a passage into his heart; and that moved by the spirit he suddenly fell into a state of possession, as it were, and abnormal ecstasy, insomuch that he became frenzied and began to babble and utter strange sounds, that is to say, prophesying contrary to the manner which the Church had received from generation to generation by tradition from the beginning.

- b. The imminent coming of Jesus. Montanus set the time and the place (Pepuza in Phrygia) Maximilla (Epiphanius, Haer. 48. 2): "After me shall be no prophetesses any more, but the consummation . . ."
 - c. Strict asceticism: Strict morality; no postbaptismal repentance; second marriages prohibited; elevation of the celibate life. This was a reaction to the laxity of morals in the Church.

G. The Monarchian Heresy (third century)

1. The Monarchian heresy focused on the relationship of Jesus to the Father, and how the believer is to resolve the problem of the SINGLE RULE of God in the light of the doctrine of the deity of Jesus. A group of theologians charged that orthodox teaching was polytheism, i.e., it made Jesus a second God.
2. Two versions of Monarchianism emerged:
 - a. Dynamic Monarchianism--Jesus was a man upon whom the POWER of God descended at his baptism. The Holy Spirit at that occasion brought the Logos. Because of his moral unity with God, Jesus was rewarded with deity, i.e., he was absorbed into the Godhead.
 - (1) Leading exponent: Paul of Samosata, a brilliant and popular speaker.
 - (2) Since this concept attributed deity to Jesus, it didn't solve the problem.
 Dynamic Monarchianism never took root in the Church in a significant way.
 - b. Modalistic Monarchianism--The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three MODES of the one God. He presented Himself to man in three successive modes: first the Father, next the Son, now the Holy Spirit.
 - (1) Because Sabellius was a popular leader, this heresy is sometimes called Sabellianism.
 - (2) This version was more widely received than Dynamic Monarchianism.

H. Irenaeus and the Ancient Catholic Church (See Addendum One, p. 2 for an introduction to Irenaeus.)

1. Irenaeus--the second-century Bishop of Lyons (southern France) who became greatly concerned about the second-century heresies. His magnum opus: Against Heresies.
2. Irenaeus set up the tests that would distinguish between orthodox and heretical belief. He, with these tests, identified the true catholic Church. The term "catholic" was first used by Ignatius, who meant simply the UNIVERSAL Church; Irenaeus added to the word the idea of the TRUE or ORTHODOX Church. The tests of Irenaeus (each of which was designed to connect contemporary belief with the Apostles and the Apostles' doctrine):
 - a. SCRIPTURE--the writings of the Apostles.
 - b. TRADITION--orally transmitted apostolic doctrine, embracing the correct interpretation of Scripture, and embodied in local creeds.
 - c. HISTORY--bishops as successors of those nominated by the Apostles (from, not of, Apostles).
 - d. REASON--common-sense criticism of heresy and defense of orthodoxy.
 (For Irenaeus' own discussion, see New Eusebius, pp. 115-121).

VIII. Tertullian of Carthage

- A. Tertullian--founder of the Latin school of theology, the first important Church father to write in Latin rather than Greek and who had his roots in the West, not the East. From a wealthy family, Tertullian enjoyed an excellent education. He was a brilliant and witty thinker and writer, a lawyer who wrote accordingly. Tertullian was converted at Rome; he returned to Carthage where he became a presbyter. He later accepted a modified form of Montanism because of his concern to reclaim the enthusiasm of the primitive Church. He was declared a heretic from the Church at Rome (which would later accept many of his ideas).
- B. Important transitional theological concepts of Tertullian:
 1. Bishops as successors of the Apostles and having, therefore, sole authority to interpret Scripture--a reaction to heretical groups, especially Monarchianism.
 2. Grace as an infused moral power, i.e., ability to do the good, vs. the biblical concept of grace as the attitude of God. The Church, according to Tertullian, is the sole proprietor of the channels of infused grace--the sacraments.
 3. Satisfaction demanded for postbaptismal sin. (This led to the doctrines of penance and purgatory).
 4. Merit--doing more than required for salvation, man participating in a meritorious way with the merit of Jesus toward his own salvation.
 5. Trinity, his most important contribution. Tertullian introduced his explanation of the Godhead to do battle with the Sabellians. His formula: God is one SUBSTANTIUM (essential being) and three PERSONAE. The Church in the West settled for this and it became

- orthodoxy. Theologians have always debated what Tertullian meant by these terms.
6. Cyprian, a disciple of Tertullian, developed some of his doctrines and refined them, such as Apostolic Succession and the Eucharist as a reoffering of Christ by the priest.
 7. Tertullian gave the Church much of its theological vocabulary, introducing such terms as New Testament and Trinity.

Discussion #11: The Alexandrian School; The Major Schismatic Groups; Doctrines Universally Accepted by the Ancient Catholic Church

IX. The Alexandrian School

- A. The city: Alexandria was the second city of the empire, the intellectual center of the East. It was a strong Christian center until the Moslem revolution. Its scholars were known for their allegorical approach to literature.
 1. Greek philosophers used allegory to adapt mythology to contemporary intellectual taste.
 2. Jewish/Greek philosophers (e.g. Philo) used allegory to adapt the Old Testament to contemporary intellectual taste.
 3. Christian theologians used allegory to adapt the Gospel to contemporary intellectual taste.
- B. The school: The Christian school at Alexandria was founded as a school for catechumens (candidates for baptism), and evolved into an institution of advanced learning.
- C. The pivotal issue: the interface of Christianity and culture.
- D. The two most important teachers in the Alexandrian school:
 1. Clement (See Addendum One, p.2.) In opposition to the theology of Tertullian that rejected classical philosophical thinking, i.e., intellectual isolation, Clement held that all truth ultimately points to Christianity and therefore the contribution of the Greek classical thinkers is to be given full consideration.
 2. Origen (See Addendum One, p. 3) Origen's father died in a persecution and Origen, a teenager, would have died with his father had his mother not saved his life. He was a brilliant, and continued and intensified the process of allegorism to make Christianity acceptable to intelligent people of culture without throwing away the substance of Christianity. His zeal and his leaning toward Greek thought led him to emasculate himself so that he would not be tempted by the female catechumens. He was a stern ascetic (ate a minimal diet and slept on the floor). Origen was captured in a persecution and cruelly tortured; as a consequence he died two years later. Because he got into such unauthorized and unorthodox speculations as preexistence of the soul and universalism (repentance in hell), he was posthumously anathematized many years later by the Catholic Church.

X. The Major Schismatic Groups

Many think that the Ancient Catholic Church melted into the Roman Catholic Church as an essentially monolithic body, and that it remained so until the Protestant Reformation, at which time there began to be not one, but many churches. This is not true. From very early times many church bodies existed contemporaneously, as already witnessed in the rise of the heretical sects. The modified unity existing after Constantine was a matter, not of theological harmony, but of political oppression.

A. The Novation Schism (Rome, third century)

1. The division: Novation was one of the greatest scholars in the Church at Rome in the third century. The Church was divided when Cornelius was elected Bishop instead of the favored Novatian. A second election was held, and a second church with a second bishop was to exist for 400 years--until eradicated by the state.
2. The issues: The Bishop of Rome had presumed to readmit believers who had apostasized under persecution and later repented. Novation held that apostasy under threat of pain or death is unpardonable.
 - a. Does the Bishop have the authority to absolve from sin? (Novatian said no.)
 - b. Is a congregation that includes former apostates a true church? (Novatian said no.)

B. The Donatist Schism (North Africa, fourth century)

1. The division: A bishop was accused of surrendering copies of Scripture during a persecution. A section of the church elected an alternative bishop. Donatus succeeded this bishop and his name was given to the schismatic church by historians.
2. The issues:
 - a. Is a congregation that includes former apostates a true church?
 - b. There were racial overtones to this schism. The ruling group in the Church in North Africa was Italian. Those who followed Donatus' predecessor in the office

of Bishop were, for the most part, native Africans.

XI. Doctrines Universally Accepted by the Ancient Catholic Church

- A. A single, catholic, orthodox Church, identified in terms of the writings of the Apostles, the traditions of the Apostles transmitted orally, and bishops in the line of apostolic succession.
- B. A New Testament Canon. Three periods in the evolution of the canon:
 1. AD 30-150
 - a. The Old Testament, universally available in the LXX and including fourteen apocryphal books, was regarded as Scripture.
 - b. The writings of the Apostles and prophets.
 - (1) The homologoumena (Universally accepted from the beginning.): The four gospels, 13 epistles of Paul, 1 Peter, 1 John, Acts, The Revelation.
 - (2) The antilegomena (Opposed or questioned to one degree or another): Hebrews, 2 Peter, 2, 3 John, James, Jude, other books later proved to be noncanonical, such as Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Didache, and the Gospel of the Hebrews.
 - c. Important literature, such as the letter of Clement of Rome to Corinth, was being circulated and used in the churches.
 2. AD 150-200
 - a. The Church agrees on the need to tighten up its thinking in regard to the canon because of the threat of heretical groups.
 - b. The antilegomena are examined and debated by scholars; different books of the antilegomena are accepted in some areas and resisted in others.
 3. AD 200-400
 - a. Final agreement on the canon. The first canon extant that is exactly as we have it was published by Athanasius in 367. He was the first to use the word canon.
 - b. In 388 Jerome translated the Vulgate, following the canon accepted by Athanasius and almost everyone else. Once the Vulgate came into common use, the debate on canon was, for the most part, ended. The canon was fixed.
 4. The grounds of qualification for the canon:
 - a. Apostolicity--either written or sanctioned by an Apostle.
 - b. Content--the spiritual character of the book.
 - c. Universality--was the book universally accepted by the Church?
 - d. Inspiration--does the book evidence divine inspiration?
- C. The Apostles' Creed (See Addendum Two, p. 1.)
 1. In its original form and purpose a baptismal creed used at Rome.
 2. Earliest reference to the Creed--150; exact form unknown.
 3. The Creed in its present form dates from the 8th century.
- D. The Trinity (the Tertullian formula) agreed upon in the West only.
- E. Baptism and the Lord's Supper--see Discussion #8.
- F. The Second Coming
 1. The first-century Church expected the return of Jesus in that generation. As the period of the Ancient Catholic Church dragged on, the expectation of the immediate return of Christ progressively diminished.
 2. Of those who wrote on the subject, many of the early Church fathers believed that Jesus would, at His return, set up a thousand-year physical reign upon the earth. (This is historic vs. modern premillennialism.)

Discussion #12: Morals and Ethics in the Ancient Catholic Church

XII. Morals and Ethics in the Ancient Catholic Church

- A. The superior life of the Christians was an argument used again and again by the apologists.
- B. The Church and Roman public life
 1. Moral objections to Roman public life
 - a. Public amusements, such as the theater, circus, and gladiatorial shows because of cruelty and sexual immorality.
 - b. Pacifism; all the early Church fathers who wrote on the subject were pacifists. There is no record of Christians serving in the army until AD 175 (Marcus Aurelius). (After Constantine, when it fell to the Christians to defend the empire or let it fall to the barbarians, the Church evolved the doctrine of the "just war," i.e., one fights defensively and reluctantly.) Arguments for pacifism offered by the early Church:
 - (1) The love ethic.
 - (2) Optimism--the best way to stop war is to refrain from fighting. (Celsus pointed out that if all men felt this way, the empire would immediately fall to the barbarians.)
 2. Religious objections to Roman public life: Attendance at public events, holding public office, and serving in the army, involved swearing allegiance to one or more gods.
 3. The Church and slavery
 1. The Church did not condemn slavery as absolutely wrong. They realized that it was less than ideal, but few, if any, could imagine civilization operating without it.
 2. The Church stressed brotherhood within the Church, but did not wage a public campaign against the institution of slavery as such.
 3. The ethic of Christianity ultimately destroyed slavery.
 4. The early Church understood that the focus of the Gospel is spiritual liberation, not political emancipation.
- C. The Church and the family
 1. Chastity: Fidelity, chastity, and sexual control was simply not expected of men (they were, somewhat, of women) in Roman society. But were "one woman" men. The Church insisted on high standards in this area.
 2. The elevation of womanhood.
 3. Divorce was strictly opposed.
 4. The protection of children: The Church was the first to take a moral stand against exposure, abortion, and child abuse. Pagan society did not hold a high view of children and childhood.
- D. The Church and social service.
 1. Paganism held little or no moral concern for the sick and the poor.
 2. Benevolence was given great weight in the life of the early Church (cf. the place of benevolence in the New Testament.)
 - a. Alms-giving to Christians and to non-Christians
 - b. Care of orphans and widows
 - c. Care of prisoners and captives
 - d. Burial of paupers
 - e. Hospitality to travelers
 - f. Assistance to sister congregations
 3. Methods of finance
 - a. Collections taken at the Lord's Supper. The Communion was considered a great encouragement toward generosity.
 - b. Other free-will offerings taken at various services and administered by deacons.
- E. The dignity of work: The institution of slavery had destroyed the dignity of labor in Roman society. The Church did much to abolish beggary. The command "he who will not work, neither shall he eat" was followed; this had a powerful effect on

society, especially in Rome, which had been a welfare city for generations.

- F. The Church and the tendency to asceticism: The Greek idea that the physical world is inherently evil influenced, in a progressive way, the Ancient Catholic Church toward a theology of salvation through the mortification of the flesh. Result: emphases on fasting, voluntary poverty, celibacy, and the withdrawal from public life, the last anticipating monasticism.

By the end of this period some sections of the Church promoted the idea that it was preferable that the clergy not marry.

- G. The Church and the tendency to legalism

1. Too often the Gospel was spoken of as a "New Law."
2. There emerged the concept of the higher and lower morality.
 - a. The lower--that required of every Christian.
 - b. The higher--those things not required for salvation, but which confer extra merit. By the end of this period there had arisen a theology of works of supererogation (Tertullian).

- H. The Church and discipline

1. The problem: What was to be done with believers who fell below the standard of the lower morality, especially those who committed an unpardonable sin (idolatry, murder, and fornication)?
2. The solution: The Church in the West was more concerned with discipline than the Church in the East. In the West there evolved three stages of discipline:
 - a. Period 1--to AD 130: God forgives sin without human mediation, but some sins lead to excommunication, which is final. The excommunicate might attend services as a catechumen, but could never be accepted as a full member of the Church again.
 - b. Period 2--AD 130-217: Persecution created problems of discipline. The Church developed the concept that gross sins, such as apostasy, would be forgiven once by God. No third chance. Restoration was rigorous, involving public confession of sins, reeducation, penitence, fasting, marital abstinence, etc.
 - c. Period 3--AD 217 and following: Calixtus, Bishop of Rome, claimed the right as the successor of Peter to forgive sins, even the worse sins. (Tertullian objected that only the Church had this right, and the Church consisted in the believers who were truly and obviously spiritual.)

This idea, although later accepted, was a bombshell in this period. It raised a storm of objection, even in Rome. The Novationists, Montanists, Donatists, and others objected vehemently to this laxity in standards and to the claim of sacerdotal authority.

In the year 251, Bishop Cornelius took the second step in the evolution of the concept introduced by Calixtus. After the first systematic persecution broke out in 250 many denied Christ under threat of torture or death, but quickly repented. It began to be accepted that the Church can forgive sins through the bishops who are the Church.

Paranthesical summary of ideas in this regard that are accepted in the Church by AD 250:

- The Church is the bishops, and the Church/bishops alone
- a. can interpret Scripture.
 - b. can forgive sins.
 - c. can bestow grace.

Paranthesical discussion: Does the Church consist in all the saints, or only in those who demonstrate spiritual maturity. The dissenting bodies such as the Novationists and Donatists said the former, the Ancient Catholic Church the latter.

SECTION TWO: The Imperial State Church: A.D. 323-604

This section covers the history of the Church in the Roman Empire AFTER the period of persecution and BEFORE the complete destruction of the empire by barbarian invasions from the north.

Discussion #13: The Big Picture; The Relation of Church and State, part 1

I. The Big Picture

A. The decline of the empire

1. Economic regression

- a. Disruption caused by civil wars.
- b. Crushing taxes required for defense against northern barbarians.
- c. Decline in agricultural production brought on by decline in scientific farming on the great estates and the decreasing availability of slave labor.
- d. Overconcentration of the population

Tertullian, On the Soul, 30 (ca. 208-311):

(T. argues against the theory of the transmigration of souls; he says that if this theory is true, it must be assumed that the numbers of mankind are constant, a thing that history shows to be absurd.)

Surely it is obvious enough, if one looks at the whole world, that it is becoming daily better cultivated and more fully peopled than anciently. All places are now accessible, all are well known, all open to commerce; most pleasant farms have obliterated all traces of what were once dreary and dangerous wastes; cultivated fields have subdued forests; flocks and herds have expelled wild beasts; sandy deserts are sown; rocks are planted; marshes are drained; and where once were hardly solitary cottages, there are now large cities. No longer are islands dreaded, nor their rocky shores feared; everywhere are houses, and inhabitants, and settled government and civilized life. Our teeming population is the strongest evidence: our numbers are burdensome to the world, which can hardly supply us from its natural elements; our wants grow more and more keen, and our complaints more bitter in all mouths, while Nature fails in affording us her usual sustenance. In every deed, pestilence, and famine, and wars, and earthquakes have to be regarded as a remedy for nations, as the means of pruning the luxuriance of the human race.

- e. Decline of commerce and industry
2. Inefficiency, instability, and corruption of imperial government
3. Spiritual decline: loss of the old Roman spirit.
 - a. Decline in the old official religions
 - b. Paganism, which supported the theory of imperial government, was undermined by Christianity.
4. The Greek East and the Latin West were drifting apart.



- B. The emergence of the Germanic Peoples
 - 1. The northern and western reaches of the empire had never been Latinized.
 - 2. Roman armies had been resisting barbarian invaders since before the days of Julius Caesar.
- C. The rise of the Imperial State Church
 - 1. Christianity was the one vital force and the Church the one living organism in the Roman world during the last two centuries of the empire.
 - 2. The barbarian tribes were 'converted' in large numbers to the form of Christianity they confronted in the Roman world.
 - 3. By the end of the period, the Church is the state-religion.
- D. The founding and expansion of the Byzantine Empire, 527-565
 - 1. Constantine, in a series of wars, established himself as master of the Roman world and moved the capital from Rome in the declining West to Byzantium in the wealthy East. He renamed Byzantium Constantinople.
 - 2. A new era of wealth, expansion, and power opened in the East with accession of Justinian in 527. He reclaimed Italy and North Africa from Germanic invaders. He recodified Roman law in the attempt to solidify the empire.
 - 3. The Byzantine Empire became known for the beauty of its architecture, the splendor of the court, and for the development of high civilization.



II. The Relation of Church and State

A. Developments under Constantine and his three sons

- 1. The end of persecution.
- 2. Increasing favor for the Catholic churches, not to heretics or schismatics.
 - a. Sunday was made a legal holiday.
 - b. The state furnished money for the building of church buildings.
 - c. Exemptions for the clergy instituted (such as from military service).
 - d. Ecclesiastical courts given legal standing; people could choose between a church and a civil court.
 - e. The copying of Scripture financed by the state. From this period come the great codices; Sinaiticus and Vaticanus date from the fourth century.
 - f. Increased restriction of paganism (persecution in reverse).
 - g. Increasing disfavor shown to heretical and schismatic groups. The Donatists, for example, were suppressed in North Africa because they threatened the unity of the empire.
- 3. Increasing control of the Catholic Church by the state. In many ways, the state

was forced to control the Church.

- a. The Church appealed to the state for help against schismatic and heretical groups.
- b. Strife among competing bishops threatened the unity of the empire.
4. Tremendous influx of pagans. Before it had been a capital crime to be a Christian, now pagans converted in a flood, lowering the spiritual tone of the Church.
 - a. Secret believers went public.
 - b. Those who 'converted' because it was popular or politically expedient, who were baptized but retained their paganism.
5. The move of Constantine to Byzantium
 - a. Byzantium had long been known as a 'Christian city,' whereas Rome had always been a center of paganism.
 - b. When Constantine moved his capital from Rome, the most powerful man remaining in Rome was the Bishop. Power gravitated to the Church as civilization disintegrated in the West.
- B. The pagan reaction under Julian the Apostate
 1. Julian (nephew of Constantine), was a pagan who pretended to be a Christian. He ruled two years and died in a war with the Persians.
 2. Julian reinstituted the persecution of the Church.
 3. After Julian, formal paganism was dead. There is a tradition that on his deathbed he said, "O Galilean, Thou has conquered!"

Discussion #14: The Relation of Church and State, part 2; The Organization of the Church in the fourth century; The German Invasions

C. The final repression of paganism and heresy

1. Paganism

- a. For political and well as for religious reasons, under the emperors Theodosius and Justinian (strong 'Christian' emperors), paganism became illegal. A series of laws disenfranchised formal paganism.
 - (1) In 392 all pagan sacrifices or divination was made a crime punished by the confiscation of property.
 - (2) In 410 all pagans were excluded from the army or civil office.
- b. In 558 Justinian commanded baptism under threat of capital punishment.
- c. Paganism became a progressively weaker private religion; formal pagan worship was eradicated.
- d. Although the suppression of paganism was largely an act of government for reasons primarily political, the Church approved. In a short time the persecuted Church became a persecuting Church.

2. Heresy

- a. In 380 Theodosius made Christianity as interpreted by the Bishop of Rome the standard of catholicity. All others were declared non-churches and, therefore, illegal.

Cod. Theod. 16. 1. 2:

It is our desire that all the various nations which are subject to our clemency and moderation should continue in the profession of that religion which was delivered to the Romans by the divine Apostle Peter, as it hath been preserved by the Pontiff Damasus and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness . . . We authorize the followers of this law to assume the title of Catholic Christians; but as for the others, since, in our judgment, they are foolish madmen, we decree that they shall be branded with the ignominious name of heretics, and shall not presume to give to their conventicles the name of churches. They will suffer in the first place the chastisement of the divine condemnation, and in the second the punishment which our authority, in accordance with the will of Heaven, shall decide to inflict.

- b. In AD 385 six people were executed as heretics--the first death sentences.
- c. The attitude of the Church fathers toward the suppression of heresy.
 - (1) In the beginning, they approved of the repression, but not of persecution or execution. They sanctioned such actions as the confiscation of church buildings.
 - (2) The Church came to sanction violence against heretics. Augustine, the most influential of the western Church fathers, set the attitude. Concerning Donatism in North Africa, Augustine wrote (416) to Boniface, tribune in Africa:

For the Donatists met with the same fate as the accusers of the holy Daniel. For as the lions were turned against them, so the laws by which they had proposed to crush an innocent victim were turned against the Donatists; save that, by the mercy of Christ, the laws which seemed to be opposed to them are in reality their truest friends; for through their operation many of them have been, and are daily being reformed, and return God thanks that they are reformed, and delivered from their ruinous madness.

As then the apostles says, 'As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, not being weary in well-doing,' so let all be called to salvation, let all be recalled from the path of destruction,--those who may, by the sermons of Catholic preachers; those who may, by the edicts of the

Catholic princes; some through those who obey the warnings of God, some through those who obey the emperor's commands.

- d. The assumptions underlying the justification of persecution of heretics.
 - (1) All who are not baptized into the Catholic/state Church shall be tormented in hell for eternity.
 - (2) Repression, threats, and punishment bring about many true conversions and prevent the spread of damnable heresies to other people. Persecution, therefore, is an act of love toward heretics and an act of wisdom on behalf of the state in that it saves souls and preserves social order.

III. The Organization of the Church in the Fourth Century

A. The position of the emperor

- 1. In the West, the emperor is forced to assume more and more control of the Church. He neither claimed nor enjoyed absolute control.
- 2. In the East, the seat of rule, the emperor comes to be the absolute ruler of the Church. This is called Caesaropapism.

B. The position of the bishops

- 1. The Church is now episcopal in polity.
- 2. In the fourth century, in addition to diocesan bishops, there appear metropolitan bishops and patriarchs, i.e., bishops over other bishops.
 - a. Metropolitan bishops (later called archbishops in Europe) were bishops over the capital cities of the various provinces and were bishops over the other bishops in that province. This was patterned after the organization of the government. The Bishop of Rome, for example, was the Metropolitan Bishop over southern Italy.
 - b. Patriarchs were outstanding metropolitan bishops. They were bishops of the most important cities: Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem (for the sake of tradition). Patriarchs exercised authority over areas of the empire, i.e., over other metropolitan bishops. Example: The Bishop of Rome was, at once, the diocesan Bishop of Rome, the Metropolitan of southern Italy, and the Patriarch of the West. His actual power expanded until he actually did have complete authority in the West.

C. The Councils

- 1. It is through the councils that the bishops exercise their control in this period.
- 2. The first council on record was called in 160 to deal with Montanism.
- 3. By the fourth century, councils are established as a part of the machinery of the Church. The Council of Nicea ordained that councils were to be held in every province twice a year. The Metropolitan was the permanent moderator over the provincial council.
- 4. As needs arose, Ecumenical Councils, those representing the whole Church, were called, sometimes by the emperor. Many were held, but the Roman Catholic Church recognizes only seven as valid councils. Conciliar decisions were and are final and binding, divine revelation and, therefore, infallible.

D. The lesser clergy

- 1. The eldership evolved into a priesthood serving under a bishop. Individual priests were in charge of a single congregation, under the authority of the bishop.
- 2. The office of deacon declined in importance, becoming little more than a steppingstone to the priesthood.

E. Clerical legislation

- 1. Clerical exemptions
- 2. Later, secular occupations were forbidden.
- 3. Clerical celibacy:
 - a. In 325 the Council of Nicea refused to legislate celibacy.
 - b. In 390 Bishop Siricus, Patriarch of the West, issued a decretal that the clergy should remain unmarried.

- c. Leo the Great, sometimes called the first pope, issued a decree (@440) on celibacy in the form in which it ultimately becomes accepted in the West.
- d. Celibacy did not become universally practiced (in theory) until after the year 1000.
- e. In the Eastern Church celibacy is required only of bishops. Priests are permitted to marry, but one doing so can never become a bishop.
- f. Celibacy was a law of the Church, not a law of God.
- 4. Clerical garb came to be a custom, then a requirement. It grew out of the dress of the Roman gentleman in contrast to that of the barbarians. Originally clerical garb was nothing more than the desire for dignity in dress. Later it came to be an ecclesiastical uniform.

IV. The German Invasions

A. The Germanic tribes before the great invasions

- 1. Many tribes were converted, so to speak, to a form of Christianity before the migrations south to the Mediterranean world.
 - a. Ulfias, a Goth, was captured, converted, and released. He returned to his people and began to convert them. Ulfias translated the Bible, except for Samuel and Kings; he said there was a lot of fighting in these books and his people did not need encouragement in that direction.
 - b. From the Goths other tribes learned Christianity and were largely converted, but it was to Arian (discussed later), rather than to orthodox Christianity. Neither the Franks nor the Anglo-Saxons, two important peoples, were converted in the early period.
- 2. The 'christianized' invaders were neither orthodox believers nor mature in the gentler graces.

B. The German tribes during the great invasions

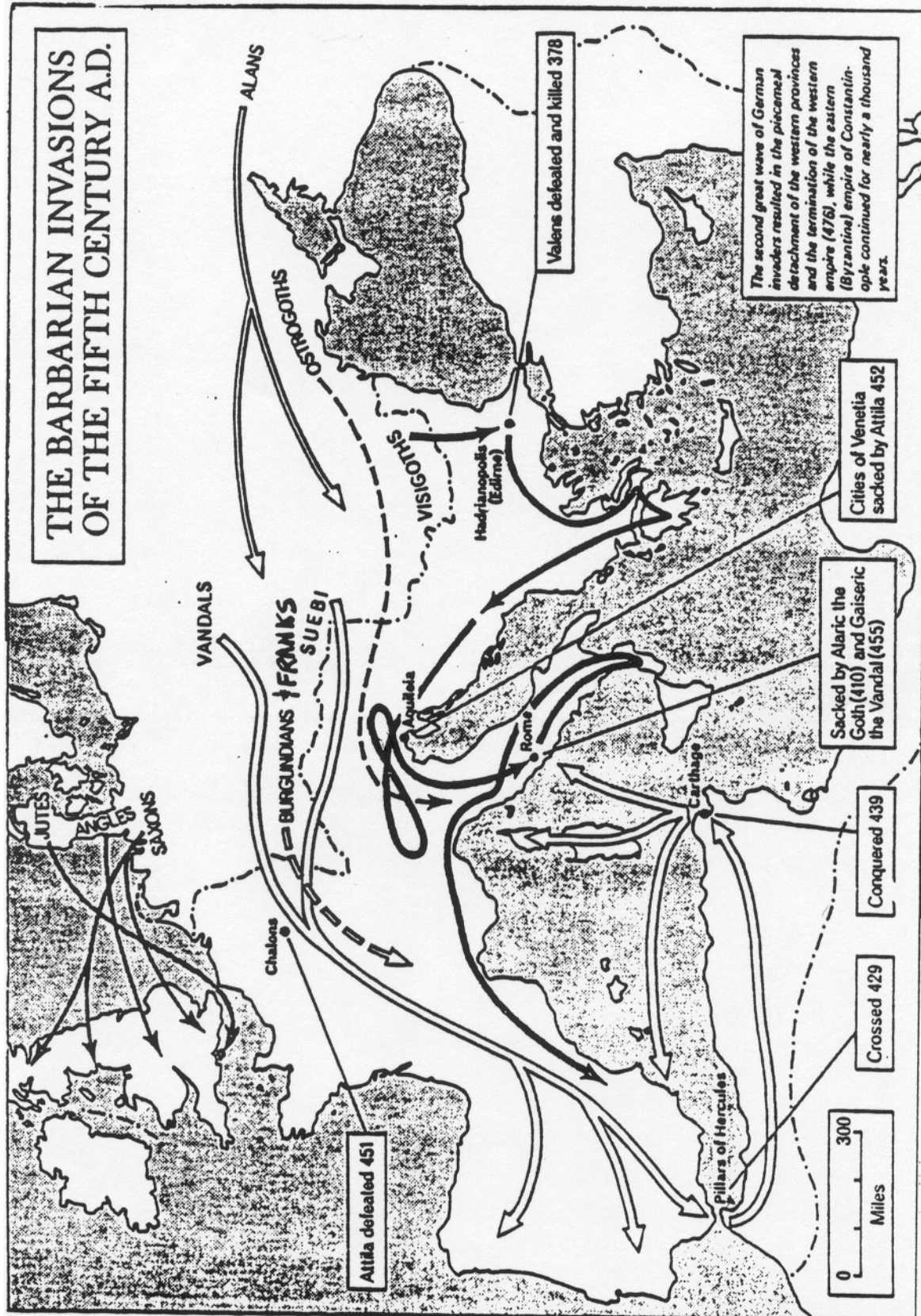
- 1. The Visigoths broke into the Balkans in 376, then into Italy. They moved slowly for many years, bringing their families, household goods, and domestic animals.
- 2. The Vandals moved through Spain, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and conquered sections of North Africa. They were exceedingly destructive and North Africa was very wealthy. Christian forces were divided between Catholic and Donatist factions. The Vandals did not intend to destroy civilization, but they were barbarians.
- 3. The Burgundians moved into southern France.
- 4. The Franks, strongest of the Germanic nations, moved into southern France. They did not come into southern Europe as Christians.
- 5. The Anglo-Saxons invaded England, driving out the aboriginal Celts. They did not enter England as Christians.
- 6. Italy suffered the most because of its wealth.
 - a. In 410 the Visigoth captured Rome.
 - b. Later the Vandals invaded and sacked Rome from the south.
 - c. In 452 the Huns came and the city was saved from them by Leo.
 - d. Various Germanic kingdoms were established, but none lasted very long.
 - e. After Justinian, the Lombards, a tall, blonde people, came into northern Italy.
- 7. Civilization was progressively destroyed, only the Church survived.

C. The Church and the German tribes

- 1. The conversion of the Franks to Catholic Christianity: In 496 Clovis, King of the Franks, won a battle by calling on Christ and was, thereby, 'converted.' He commanded the conversion of his people. (There remains a legend that his soldiers were baptized with their sword arms held out of the water.) Clovis "gave up not a single pagan vice and adopted not a single Christian virtue."
- 2. A crucial alliance was forged between the leaders of the Franks and the

Catholic Church.

3. Later the Franks defeated the Goths and 'persuaded' them to convert from Arian to Catholic Christianity. Subsequently all the tribes that had been Arian were forced by the Franks to convert to Catholic Christianity.



Discussion #15: The Growth of the Papacy; The Arian Controversy

V. The Growth of the Papacy--especially in the fifth century

- A. The Bishop of Rome begins to claim authority over the whole Church. He does not exercise this authority in the West for another 500 years; he never exercises this authority in the East.
- B. The important bishops in the evolution of the doctrine of papal supremacy
 1. Siricus. In 385 Siricus of Rome issued a decree to the churches in Spain in his own name, rather than that of a council, laying down the law for the Church in the West. He spoke as the Patriarch of the West and claimed the authority of Peter.
 2. Innocent I (402-417)--the first bishop to claim universal authority.
 3. Leo I (440-461; "The Great"; sometimes called the first pope)--the first Bishop of Rome to claim Matt. 16 as the ground of his universal authority in the form used by the Roman Catholic Church to make that claim today. Leo exercised more authority in the West than any of his predecessors.

When the Huns (452) stood before the gates of Rome and all civil authority had fled, Leo dressed in his robes of office and impressed the barbarians, thus saving the city from being sacked and burned. During his term of office, the Council of Chalcedon (451), an ecumenical council, recognized the authority of the Bishop of Rome in the West, but attributed equal authority to the Bishop of Constantinople in the East.

4. Gelasius--in 494 Gelasius discussed the idea that there are two powers in the world, temporal and spiritual. The Church and the State each has a sphere of authority. Where there is a dispute about which matters are spiritual, and therefore under the authority of the Church, the Church decides. This set the stage for a power struggle that would continue for centuries.
5. Gregory the Great (590-604)--considered by many Catholic historians to be the greatest of all the popes.
 - a. An excellent civil administrator. Gregory dealt successfully with the pressure of the Germanic tribes, especially the Lombards.
 - b. An excellent ecclesiastical administrator. Gregory was pious and brilliant. Under him the Bishop of Rome became the largest landowner in the West. He administered these estates efficiently and used the income to feed the poor and to redeem slaves and captives.
 - c. An effective missionary.
 - d. A musician; the Gregorian chant is named for him.
 - e. An outstanding writer and theologian.

VI. The Arian Controversy (318-381)

- A. Context: the struggle to understand the deity of Christ in light of the biblical monotheism.
- B. The beginning of the controversy: A debate arose between Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria and Arius, a presbyter in a suburban congregation at Alexandria.
 1. Alexander: Jesus was co-eternal with the Father--there was not when He was not--and of the same substance (ὁμοούσιον = homoousion) with the Father.
 2. Arius: If Alexander is correct, then we have two gods. In truth Jesus was a created Being--there was when He was not--and of similar (ὁμοιούσιον = homoiousion) with the Father. Jesus is less than God but more than man.
- C. The controversy spread throughout the empire about the time that Constantine became emperor. Because it threatened the unity of the empire, he called the First Ecumenical Council at Nicea in 325 to settle the debate.
 1. All the bishops in the empire were invited; about 300 came. There took place a roaring theological debate. The Council easily rejected the formula of Arius and accepted that of Alexander. In this and in other matters the Council set important standards of orthodoxy for the Church, Catholic and Protestant.

2. The Nicene Creed (See Addendum Two, p. 1.). The Creed as it appears in Addendum Two is a revised form of the Nicean creed that was adopted by the Council of Chalcedon in 451. The present form is essentially the Chalcedonian wording. It was not put exactly in this form until the eighth century. The Council of Constantinople revised it by striking the anathemas and adding paragraphs on the Holy Spirit and baptism. In its original wording it declared:

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten of his Father, of the substance (homoousion) of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father. By whom all things were made, both which be in heaven and in earth. Who for us men and for our salvation came down and was incarnate and was made man. He suffered and the third day he rose again, and ascended into heaven. And he shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Spirit. And whosoever shall say that there was a time when the Son of God was not, or that before he was begotten he was not, or that he was made of things that were not, or that he is of a different substance or essence (from the Father) or that he is a creature, or subject to change or conversion--all that so say, the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes them.

3. Arius and his followers were banned. For the first time the Church sought (and received) government enforcement of the decisions of a council.
4. Other decisions of the Council of Nicea
 - a. It was decreed that Easter must always be observed on Sunday.
 - b. The Council formalized the authority of the Metropolitan Bishop and the Patriarch.
 - c. It was recognized that Rome had superior authority in the West and that the Bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem had equal authority in their areas.
- C. The apparent overthrow of Nicean theology
 1. Out of Nicea emerged three parties:
 - a. The Nicean party upholding Nicean orthodoxy, led by Athanasius, a deacon of superior intellect and supporter of Alexander. He succeeded Alexander as Bishop of Alexandria. Athanasius thus becomes the leading exponent of Nicean orthodoxy.
 - b. A small Arian party led by Eusebius (not the historian), later to become Bishop of Constantinople--an unscrupulous man who had the ear of the emperor.
 - c. A semi-Arian party (really closer to Nicean theology than to Arian) that represented a significant grassroots sentiment that did not want to accept the word homoousion because it was not a biblical term and because it was felt that the word was tainted because it had been used in the Sabellian heresy.
 2. The Arian party made common front with the semi-Arians, pretending they were merely concerned about the 'heretical' word, concealing somewhat their real views.
 3. A complicating factor, the bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch were engaged in a power struggle. Theology became a weapon in this war among the patriarchs.
 4. The interference of the court: Constantine died shortly after Nicea, and his empire was divided among his three sons. Constantine II also died soon thereafter, leaving Constans emperor in the West and Constantius emperor in the East. Constantius tended to take the position of the semi-Arians and Constans the Nicean position. When Constantius emerged as the strong man, he used the semi-Arian view, which suggested that Christ was not quite equal with God, because it opened the door for the view that the emperor also is a representative of God.
 5. Eusebius used his influence at court to discredit the leaders of the Nicean party. The most important, Athanasius, was accused of the murder of Arcenius,

a schismatic leader who had disappeared. Athanasius was accused of cutting off the right hand of Arcenius and working magic with it. The court was packed. The friends of Athanasius found Arcenius and produced him in court at a very dramatic moment. Eusebius and his crowd, however, continued to trump up charges until they succeeded in having Athanasius banned. They induced the Emperor to recall Arius to Alexandria. When his return was arranged, however, Arius was found dead.

6. In 337 Constans was in control of Alexandria and he, upholding the Nicean position, allowed Athanasius to return. Later Constantius claimed control of Alexandria and exiled Athanasius again, who fled to Rome and appealed successfully to the bishops in the West. In response, the bishops in the East held a conference and condemned Athanasius.
7. After a series of maneuvers on both sides, and after Athanasius had suffered his fifth exile, he was reestablished in his authority in Alexandria.

Summary: The Arian minority, in common front with the semi-Arians, temporarily imposed Arianism on the Christian world by manipulating the throne and illegally attacking the bishops who supported Nicean theology.

D. The final triumph of Nicean orthodoxy

1. The semi-Arians realized they were being used by Eusebius and the Arian party.
2. Athanasius compromised by proclaiming that believers did not have to accept the word homoousion in order to be orthodox, as long as they affirmed the full deity of Christ.
3. Athanasius forgave the bishops in the East for their injustices.
4. The 'Three Cappadocians': Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nyssa became the great leaders that brought unity by interpreting the Nicean language in such a way as to win the support of the large majority of the eastern bishops. They did so by adding the word hypostasis (ὕποστασις: substantial quality or nature). This offered an alternative to the controversial homoousion, although there was no change in meaning, and allowed the Catholic Church to maintain the basic formula of Tertullian. The Cappadocians used hypostasis to mean the same thing as personae (Tertullian's formula), and they used both words to lead thinking toward the idea of one God in three personae.
(The value of the Trinitarian formula was not that it comprehensively explained the nature of the Godhead, but that it screened out Sabellianism on the one side and Arianism on the other.)
5. In 381 the Council of Constantinople reaffirmed Nicene Creed in a revised form, striking out the anathemas.

St. Nicholas

St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra in the province of Lycia in Asia Minor, was present at the Council of Nicea. He is known today, of course, as Santa Claus--the Americanization of the Dutch title Sinterklaas.

St. Nicholas as a very good bishop, known for his special love of children. Whenever he knew of a child in need, he secretly would make sure that need was met. Once he learned that the poor parents of a young girl had sold her into the service of a rich family. Nicholas ransomed the girl by giving three bags of gold to the rich family; he sent the daughter home with more gold for her parents. Because of this, Nicholas was chosen to be the patron saint of pawnbrokers, who took as their symbol three gold balls representing the three bags of gold.

The anniversary of Saint Nicholas' death is Dec. 6; each year on that day the people of Myra would exchange gifts to keep alive his spirit of giving. In many countries gifts are today exchanged on Dec. 6.

The image of Santa wearing a red suit is correct. Icons always show Nicholas wearing a red vestment, as well as with a long white beard.

Discussion #16: The Christological Controversies, part 1

VII. The Christological Controversies

Once it became settled orthodoxy that Jesus was fully divine, the next issue to be examined was his humanity: In what sense was Jesus human? The debates went on for over three hundred years.

A. Apollinarianism

1. Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea (d. 392) had taken the Nicean-orthodox side in the Arian controversy. Apollinarius sought to answer the question: How could He Who is fully God also be man? For the answer Apollinarius resorted to Greek psychology:

The Greek view:	Apollinarius @ Jesus:
BODY	human
SOUL (life-principle shared with the animals)	human
SPIRIT (will, personality, seat of immortality)	Logos = divine spirit

2. Problem: The theory truncates the humanity of Jesus, giving Him neither human intelligence nor human will.
3. The Three Cappadocians opposed Apollinarius.

Gregory of Nazianzus, Ep. 101:

Do not let men deceive themselves and others by saying that the 'Man of the Lord,' which is the title they (Apollinarians) give to him who is rather 'Our Lord and God,' is without human mind. We do not separate the Man from the Deity, no, we assert the dogma of the unity and identity of the Person, who aforetime was not man but God, the only Son before all ages, who in these last days has assumed manhood also for our salvation; in his flesh passible, in his Deity impassible; in the body circumscribed, uncircumscribed in the Spirit; at once earthly and heavenly . . . For the Godhead and the manhood are two natures, as are soul and body, but there are not two Sons or two Gods . . . For both natures are one by the combination, the Godhead made man or the manhood deified, or whatever the right expression . . . If anyone put his trust in Him as a man without a human mind, he is himself devoid of mind and unworthy of salvation.

4. The Second Ecumenical Council--Constantinople, 381--met to decide on Apollinarianism. It condemned and exiled Apollinarius. The Council established that orthodoxy required the admission that Jesus was fully human.

B. Nestorianism

1. Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, did not create the controversy, but became the leading exponent of the heresy. The debate raged from 428 to 431.
2. The view of Nestorius:
 - a. In Jesus was Complete Godhead dwelling in a man somewhat as God dwells in a temple, or in a man, but in the case of Jesus, it was a complete and eternal indwelling.
 - b. No combination of essences, but a conscious moral union.
 - c. It was "at pleasure," i.e., it could have been broken had Jesus been disobedient. This indwelling became eternal at the Ascension. The complete obedience of Jesus was rewarded by His being given indissoluble unity with God.
 - d. Mansi. 4. 1197: 'He who was formed in the womb of Mary was not himself God; but God assumed him (clothed Himself with humanity), and on account of Him who assumed, he who was assumed is also called God.'
3. The leading opponent of Nestorianism was Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria.
 - a. Personal and political factors complicated the debate. Bishops were jealous of the emerging dominance of Constantinople.

b. The view of Cyril:

The spirit in the womb of Mary was a divine spirit. Although his view was almost identical to that of Apollinarius, and thus heretical, Cyril exploited popular and professional sentiment against Nestorius and had him declared a heretic. No one seems to have noticed that Cyril was also a heretic. The phrase "Mother of God" became the battle cry against Nestorianism. Cyril used to advantage the growing popular veneration of the Virgin Mary. Nestorius had declared that Mary could have been the mother of the humanity of Jesus only. As homoousion had been the watchword of the Arian controversy, Theotokos ("God-bearer") became that of the Nestorian debate. If, according to Nicean orthodoxy, Jesus was fully divine, Mary must have been, in some sense at least, the Mother of God.

4. Cyril succeeded in having Nestorius declared a heretic and exiled by the Third Ecumenical Council in 431. The Council quickly condemned Nestorius but did not formulate a positive statement of orthodoxy in regard to the humanity of Jesus. Nestorianism was rejected on the ground that it divided the Person of Jesus; the Council failed to notice that the view of Cyril also divided the Person of Jesus.

5. The subsequent history of Nestorianism

- a. Nestorius was forced from the empire and went to Persia. Persia was gradually accepting Christianity; under the influence of Nestorius it accepted it in its Nestorian form. It helped Nestorius that Rome accepted Cyril's view and the Persians hated Rome.
- b. Nestorianism spread rapidly through the East: India, Arabia, across China and to the north. Some years ago archaeologists unearthed in China close to the Yellow Sea a tablet dated from 781 that is clearly Nestorian.
- c. Some historians claim that Nestorianism became the largest Christian body in the world. Marco Polo wrote that in his day (13th century) the trade routes from Baghdad to Peking were lined with Nestorian chapels. (The later change in dynasties and the rise of the Muslim faith largely wiped out Christianity in the East.
- d. Nestorianism survived among the Assyrians. Through their descendants it survived in the Turkish Empire. During WW I they took the side of the Allies against the Turko-German alliance, and were massacred. The Turks nearly wiped them out. Some managed to fight their way out of Turkey and set up a small nation-in-exile in the Mesopotamian Valley. They are the oldest Christian nation in the world. Many of them have since been scattered in the various cities of Iran and Iraq and in the United States. The Syrian Evangelical Church in Iran merged with the Eastern Persian Presbytery of the Synod of New York of the Presbyterian Church in the USA in 1935 to form the Evangelical Church in Iran.

C. Eutychianism (449)

1. Eutyches was an aged, heresy-hating, bitter head of a monastery in Constantinople who rejoiced when his bishop, Nestorius was exiled.
2. The view of Eutyches: In the Incarnation, the human nature of Jesus was fully absorbed into the divine nature so that Christ became fully divine. The finite consumed by the infinite, as a cup of milk poured into the ocean is overwhelmed.
3. The condemnation of Eutyches
 - a. A local council of bishops in Constantinople (448) surprised Eutyches and his friends by condemning them for the heresy of denying the humanity of Jesus. When Eutyches and his followers would not accept the censure, Leo (449) wrote his famous Tome from Rome laying down the basic explanation of Tertullian and rejecting the explanation of Eutyches. The Tome declares, "Thus there was born true God in the entire and perfect nature of true man, complete in His own properties, complete in ours."
 - b. Because they refused to accept the censure of Leo, Eutyches and his anti-Nestorian friends held a council at Ephesus (449) that was supposed to be an ecumenical council. The friends of Nestorius had trouble getting there, so the

council was started without them. It put through a decision to uphold Eutyches and condemn the successor to Nestorius to the office of Bishop of Constantinople.

A description of the meeting:

The meeting was grossly packed by the friends of Eutyches. Those who had taken part in the earlier condemnation of Eutyches at Constantinople were not allowed to vote. As soon as one of them tried to take part in the proceedings, he was shouted down with cries of "Nestorian! Tear him asunder! Burn him alive! As he has cut Christ in two, let him be cut in two!" Thus Eutyches was vindicated and an anathema pronounced against Nestorius (who had already been exiled). Amid shouts of "drive out! Burn! Tear! Massacre all who hold two natures!" the thing was carried through. The civil officials were called in, armed with swords and chains. The panic-stricken opponent bishops tried to hide under the benches or in dark corners of the church, wherever they could creep out of sight. They were dragged out, threatened, even struck, and forced to sign the condemnation of Flavian, the Patriarch of Constantinople (leader of the opposite party--successor to Nestorius). The Patriarch of Alexandria struck Flavian in the face, kicked him, stamped on him. Flavian died a few days later from the ill treatment he had received at the hands of the council. The emperor confirmed the decision of the council, Leo, Bishop of Rome, repudiated it, invalidating the council and designating it the "Robbers' Council," and thus it has come down through history. The Roman Church does not accept it as an ecumenical council.

c. The Fourth Ecumenical Council was called at Chalcedon in 451 (the last of the great councils) to settle the issue and formulate orthodoxy.

- (1) It condemned Eutychianism.
- (2) It approved the Nicean Creed.
- (3) It adopted the Chalcedonian Creed:

Therefore, following the Holy Fathers, we all with one accord teach men to acknowledge one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, at once complete in Godhead and complete in manhood, truly God and truly man, consisting also of a reasonable soul and body; and of one substance (homoousios) with the Father as regards his Godhead, and at the same time of one substance with us as regards his manhood; like us in all respects, apart from sin; as regards his Godhead, begotten of the Father before the ages, but yet as regards his manhood begotten, for us men and for our salvation, of Mary the Virgin, the God-bearer (theotokos); one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, recognized in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation: the distinction of natures being in no way annulled by the union, but rather the characteristics of each nature being preserved and coming together to form one person (persona) and substance (hypostasis), not as parted or separated into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten God the Word, Lord Jesus Christ; even as the prophets from earliest times spoke of him, and our Lord Jesus Christ himself taught us, and the creed of the Fathers has handed down to us.

- (4) This statement has come down to us as orthodoxy.
 - (a) It does not solve the intellectual problem; this was not the purpose.
 - (b) It warned against dangers on the right and on the left.
 - (c) It witnesses to the fundamental convictions of most Christians

Discussion #17: The Christological Controversies, part 2; Augustine

D. Monophysitism (μόνος = monos = one + φύσις = physis = nature)

1. The theory: In Jesus we are to see a divine nature with human attributes. i.e., one nature (very similar to Cyril and Eutyches). This heresy arose among those who could not accept the Chalcedonian formula; they charged that it was Nestorianism, i.e., two distinct natures.
2. Monophysitism arose in Alexandria and grew in Egypt and Syria. It became the religious theme for an extreme nationalism. People in these areas wanted to be free of the domination of Asia Minor and Rome. (The civilization of Egypt and Syria was older and deeper than that of Rome and Constantinople.)
3. Monophysite churches
 - a. The Coptic Church of Egypt (native Egyptians)
 - b. The Church of Ethiopia (strongly Jewish in flavor)
 - c. The Syrian-Jacobite Church
 - d. The Armenian-Gregorian Church (along the border of Southern Russia)

E. Monotheletism (μόνος = monos = one + θέλησις = thelēsis = will)

1. The theory: In Jesus we are to see two natures (Chalcedon) but only one will, the divine will.
2. Monotheletism was suggested by Bishop Honorius (625-638) of Rome as a solution to the problem created by Monophysitism. It was repudiated by his successors in Rome and by the Sixth Ecumenical Council (Third Council of Constantinople, 680-681). They amended the Chalcedonian formula to affirm two wills and thereby completed the orthodox formula:

Mansi, II. 635 C ff:

We also preach two natural wills in him and two natural operations without division, without change, without separation, without partition, without confusion. This we preach in accordance to the teaching of the Holy Fathers. And two natural wills, not contrary (God forbid), as the impious heretics assert, but his human will following his divine and omnipotent will, not resisting it nor striving against it, but rather subject to it . . .

The Council excommunicated Honorius and consigned him to hell. This presents a problem to Roman Catholic scholars because Honorius delivered the Monophysite theory ex cathedra. This council also reaffirmed that Rome and Constantinople were equal in authority, although Rome was first in honor.

3. The controversy became academic when the Moslem hordes swept through Egypt and Syria in the seventh century. One of the reasons for the comparative ease with which the Muslim forces could move so quickly was that many of the Christian communities welcomed them, preferring a native Muslim faith to the domination of Constantinople. (The Moslem invasion will be discussed later.)

F. Summary: The Christological controversies

1. The controversies left the East badly divided at the end of this period (604).
2. The failure to agree on a formula harmonizing monotheism with the deity of Jesus made the simple monotheism of the Muslim faith attractive to many, especially to native North Africans and Syrians.
3. Six Christian groups are present in the East:
 - a. Orthodox
 - b. Nestorian
 - c. Four Monophysite Churches
 - d. One Monothelete Church--the Maronite Christians of Syria
 - e. The Uniate Churches (quasi-Roman Catholic)
 - f. Various Protestant groups

Parenthetical Summary; Arianism and the Christological Controversies

Descriptions of the nature of Jesus after the Incarnation:

	DEITY	SEMI-DEITY	HUMANITY	
Orthodox	+		+	Fully human, fully Divine; without confusion, without separation.
Arianism		*		Less than God, more than man.
Apollinarianism	+		-	Divine Spirit in a human body (no human will).
Nestorianism	-		+	Two distinct natures in moral union (vs. essential union).
Eutychianism	+		-	Human nature absorbed in Divine Nature.
Monophysitism	+		-	<u>One (Divine) Nature</u> with human attributes.
Monothelitism	+		-	<u>One (Divine) Will</u> , two natures.

VII. Augustine (350-430)

A. Evaluations

1. "The greatest figure in the early church."
2. "Augustine was the ancient church's most distinguished son. He was great in heart, he was great in faith, love, and humility. Because of this he was for centuries the most influential theologian of the church."
3. "The Western Church became his bequest."
4. "He is the Father of Roman Catholicism, and when his teachings had been given such an overlay of superstition that men could no longer see them, the Reformation Fathers dug back to Augustine and sparked a revolution constructed on the old foundations of his theology."
5. "Augustine gave the popes their idea of the City of God; he was father to the mystics, founder of scholasticism, and the hero and master of the Renaissance and Reformation."
6. "For a thousand years, those who came after him did little more than reaffirm his teaching."
7. "His opinions have come to be identified with Divine Revelation."

B. Life

1. Born in North Africa to a pagan father and a Christian mother. His parents were well-to-do and gave him a good education.
2. Augustine became a teacher of rhetoric and by this was wealthy in his own right.

C. Religious experience

1. Augustine had a great moral struggle in regard to his sexuality. At age 16 he fathered an illegitimate child.
2. For nine years Augustine was a Manichaeon (Persian dualism).
3. A. left Manichaeism, became a skeptic, and lived with a concubine.
4. A. became a Neo-Platonist; his Platonism was to deeply affect his thought, and later, his theology.
5. A. met Ambrose, a great Christian orator, and listened to him as a professional rhetorician. Ambrose answered many of his intellectual questions regarding the Christian message.
6. In 386 he was reading a letter from a friend describing the life of monks in

Egypt who were living the life of moral purity. In despair he went into the garden where he overheard a girl at play say the words "take up and read." A copy of the Scriptures was lying there. Augustine took it up and it fell open to Romans 13:13, 14. He took this as a divine message and was converted. He resigned his job and went back to North Africa. Eventually he became the Bishop of Hippo, and in this capacity he spent the rest of his life. His house became a theological seminary. Females were excluded. He lived an ascetic life and became the champion of orthodoxy against all heresies and schisms.

D. Writing. Augustine was a prolific writer; his two most important works:

1. Confessions: One of the greatest Christian classics, the story of his spiritual pilgrimage.
2. City of God: Written just after the Vandals had moved up from North Africa and sacked Rome. It seemed to all that civilization were coming to an end. Pagans were still blaming the Christians. This book was A.'s response. It is perhaps the first real philosophy of history. His theme, two cities: The city that man is always trying to build, and the city (social order) that God is seeking to build. Man's city will always fall, but the city of God will never fall. It embraces, but is not exactly coextensive and coterminous with, the Church. In the middle ages, both Church and State were to identify A.'s City of God with the Church, i.e., medieval "Christendom."

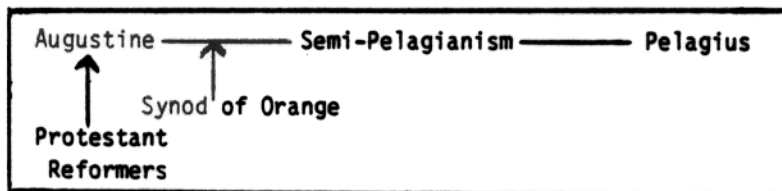
E. Theology

1. Doctrine of God
 - a. A. accepted the Trinity, emphasizing the equality and unity of God vs. the Persons.
 - b. The sovereignty of God: The only free will in the universe is the will of God; the will of God is never thwarted. The will of God is the only cause in the universe, everything else is an effect.
2. Doctrine of man
 - a. Because of his extreme self-consciousness, anthropology was Augustine's great interest.
 - b. A.'s doctrine of man revolves around three ideas:
 - (1) Original Righteousness--Adam's moral perfection before the Fall.
 - (2) Original Sin--moral inability inherited from Adam's fall; the corruption of human nature.
 - (3) Original Guilt--from Adam's fall man inherits Adam's guilt for which he (man) must be forgiven. Under A.'s influence infant baptism became the general practice.
3. Doctrine of salvation
 - a. Salvation is wholly of God--election.
 - b. Irresistible grace (grace an infused moral force)
 - c. The sacraments as the channels of grace
 - d. The results of salvation: faith, justification, sanctification, perseverance.
4. Doctrine of the Sacraments
 - a. "A visible sign of invisible grace" (Protestantism)
 - b. "Channels of grace" (Catholicism)
5. Doctrine of the Church
 - a. Absolute authority resides in the Church (which is the bishops).
 - b. The sole right of the Church to interpret Scripture (vs. the individual). A. did not say exactly how the Church interprets Scripture.
 - c. The "marks" of the Church: One (organic unity), Holy (owns the means of holiness, the Gospel and the sacraments), Catholic (vs. the heretics and the schismatics), Apostolic (bishops in the line of succession). The Roman Catholic Church has added one word to the Augustan formula: "Roman," i.e., the fifth mark is obedience to the Bishop of Rome.

Discussion #18: The Pelagian Controversy; Gregory the Great

IX. The Pelagian Controversy

- A. Pelagius was a British monk who came to Rome and was horrified by Augustine's theology, especially his anthropology.
 - 1. Christianity in Britain was more primitive than that of Rome and Alexandria. Augustine's theology was an innovation.
 - 2. Augustine's theology reflected his experience of life.
 - 3. Pelagius observed that Augustine's theology was an invitation to sin, i.e., man is not responsible.
- B. The view of Pelagius: Complete moral ability (and, therefore, responsibility). Just as Adam could have gone through life without sinning, so can man today. He starts where Adam started. Pelagius claimed that some men actually did live perfectly. Man elects freely to accept or reject the grace of God.
- C. Augustine condemned Pelagius and took a more extreme view than before.
- D. The condemnation of Pelagius: Some councils of the Western Church condemned Pelagius and finally he was condemned at the Ecumenical Council at Ephesus in 431. Pelagianism was now a heresy.
- E. The rise of Semi-Pelagianism
 - 1. The council at Ephesus did not end the controversy. There arose a group of theologians, particularly in southern France, which thought of itself as Augustinian but sought to temper his ideas somewhat.
 - 2. Semi-Pelagianism
 - a. Limited moral ability, i.e., man is sick, not dead.
 - b. Resistible grace
 - c. Election based on God's foreknowledge of man's obedience.
 - d. Synergism
- F. The end of the controversy
 - 1. In 529 a synod was held at Orange (France) at which a compromise was reached.
 - a. The synod affirmed Augustine's views on Original Righteousness, Original Sin, and Original Guilt.
 - b. It held, however, that man's moral inability is not complete.
 - c. It denied reprobation (negative election)
 - d. It declared that grace is prevenient but not irresistible.
 - 2. The decision at Orange was approved by the Bishop of Rome and that ended the controversy. It became orthodoxy.



G. Looking ahead:

- 1. The Roman Catholic Church accepted the modified Augustinianism of the Synod of Orange, but through the middle ages moved steadily closer to the Semi-Pelagian view, although it claimed to be following Augustine.
- 2. The Protestant reformers sought to return the Church to pure Augustinianism, going back even beyond the Synod of Orange.

X. Gregory the Great (596-604)

- A. Review p. 48 for a discussion of Gregory and his administration. Here the concern is for his theology. In this regard the direction of the Church was set by Gregory, Bishop of Rome, and it followed that direction into and through the middle ages.
 - 1. Moderate Augustinianism: Gregory accepted and sanctioned the decision of the

Synod of Orange. He verbally accepted Augustinian predestination, but actually ignored it in his life and thought.

2. Salvation

- a. Baptism: The vehicle of God's prevenient grace. At baptism an infant is infused with grace and has thereby the ability to cooperate with God in salvation (synergism)
 - b. Merit: After baptism further grace and special grace is gained when one performs acts of righteousness beyond what is required for salvation (supererogation).
 - c. Penance: When one falls below the standard of required righteousness, especially in the case of public sins, there must be public confession, absolution by the clergy, and the imposition of satisfaction--acts or gifts that guarantee repentance.
 - d. Purgatory: In spite of baptism, merit, and penance, a Christian still might not, at death, qualify for heaven. In purgatory he must pay what is owed in penalty or satisfaction for forgiven sins and be prepared through suffering in the flame for fellowship with God and the saints.
 - e. The Mass: The Lord's Supper has evolved into a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ for both the living and the dead (to be explored in detail in the next discussion).
 - f. Saints: Prayers are now being offered to the saints who can help with salvation.
 - g. Church: The ark of salvation. Since salvation is available only in the sacraments, and the sacraments available only through the clergy (representatives of the bishops), salvation is possible only for those in fellowship with the bishops, i.e., only in the visible Church.
3. Summary: In Gregorian theology there is the foundation of Augustinian theology with an overlay of sacramentalism and superstition that produced an illogical and inconsistent Augustinianism.

Discussion #19: The Worship of the Church, part 1

XI. The Worship of the Church

A. The Church year

1. Lent established.
2. Ascension Day added to the church year.
3. Christmas began to be observed on Dec. 25. The oldest recorded observance of Christmas on Dec. 25 is in Rome in 354. In the east it was observed for the first time in 378, and on Jan. 6. Not until the 6th century was it detached from Jan. 6 (Epiphany) and celebrated on Dec. 25.
4. Saints' days began to be observed. (Now every day in the ecclesiastical calendar honors at least one saint.)

B. The Church service

1. At about 350 a period of historical silence ends regarding the worship service; whereas before it had been very simple, afterward it is an elaborate ritual.
2. There developed a number of liturgical "families," i.e., different rituals observed more or less uniformly in various areas of the world. E.g., Antioch, Rome, Alexandria. The Orthodox Church has a number of rites today. In the west two major liturgies emerged:
 - a. Early Roman--used in Rome basically as it is today.
 - b. Gallican (French). The Gallican rite was used in northern Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Great Britain. This liturgy was suppressed in the 9th century in favor of the Roman rite, which was not fixed in exactly its present form until 1570.

C. Sacraments

1. In this period no universal agreement on the number of sacraments.
2. Baptism
 - a. No important change in the view of the purpose or design of baptism.
 - b. General mode: triune immersion.
 - c. Confirmation gradually distinguished from and separated from baptism in this period. In confirmation the bishop laid on hands to complete the bestowal of the Holy Spirit; since the bishop could not always be present at a baptism, a later confirmation service was arranged in which he did his part.
3. The Lord's Supper; three views appeared in this period:
 - a. The Realistic view: In some undefined sense Jesus is really present in the sacrament. This concept evolved in the first three centuries of the Church.
 - b. The Symbolic view: The loaf and cup simply represent the body and blood of Jesus and symbolize His death and resurrection.
 - c. The Metabolic view: In an undefined way the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ. This represented an evolution of the Realistic view.
 - (1) Cyril: "Not a change of substance, but a change of significance."
 - (2) Gregory of Nyssa: "Transformed into the body of the Lord, but not the body that was crucified."
 - (3) This view was not transubstantiation, but was on the way to it.
4. Ordination
 - a. Only the bishops could ordain beginning about 300. The reservation of the privilege of ordination to the bishop was essential to the concept of the clergy.
 - b. After Augustine, ordination became a sacrament that infuses a sacred and spiritual character on the ordained, one which he can never lose, i.e., stamped with that which makes him a sacred person.
5. Marriage
 - a. The Church took over the marriage ceremony because it had been a religious (vs. civil) ritual in pagan Roman culture.
 - b. After Augustine, marriage came to be regarded as a sacrament that confers a spiritual character (much like ordination), making the two into one--a meta-

physical change that cannot be undone; hence, the view of no marriage without a sacramental process and no divorce.

D. Lower Christianity

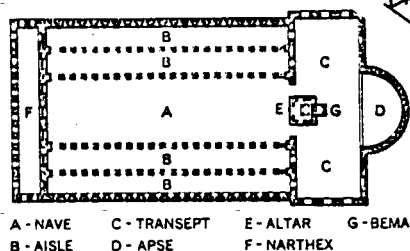
1. Definition: The worship in some way of objects less than God.
2. Source: Elements of religion that came in with the influx of pagans after the end of persecution (the beginning of the reign of Constantine).
3. The evolved Roman Catholic view of worship.
 - a. Latria = divine worship offered only to God.
 - b. Hyperdulia = high veneration or adoration offered only to Mary.
 - c. Dulia = veneration or adoration offered to saints, martyrs, and angels.
4. Saint worship
 - a. Before Constantine prayers were offered for the saints; after Constantine prayers began to be offered to the saints, urging them to intercede for men.
 - b. Saints took the place in Roman culture of the old gods as patrons of particular activities, days, problems, and purposes (see p. 6).
 - c. Saint worship became a vital part of the doctrine and life of what comes to be the Roman Catholic Church.
5. Mariolatry
 - a. In the New Testament and in the writings of the apostolic fathers, no special place is given to Mary. In the Bible she is not mentioned after Acts 1:14.
 - b. Beginning in the mid-second century, legends recorded in apocryphal gospels manifest an expanding interest in Mary.
 - c. The cult of Mary began in the context of the Christological controversies. "Mother of God" came to be the battle cry against Nestorianism (which claimed that Mary was the mother of only the humanity of Jesus). The term was accepted by the Council of Ephesus (431) and after it ~~was~~ the concept evolved rapidly (see pp. 51, 52). By the fifth century the cult of Mary was fully developed.
 - d. The doctrine of the Virgin Mary
 - (1) Perpetual virginity: In the third century Mary became the Virgin Mary; the title became inseparable from her name. Often she was, and is, called simply called "The Virgin" or "The Blessed Virgin." Clement of Alexandria and Origen suggested that Jesus' brothers were sons of Joseph by an earlier marriage. This was the earliest recorded suggestion of perpetual virginity, and was not accepted by Tertullian. Jerome (late fourth century) gave the concept doctrinal respectability and set the basic form of the dogma.
 - (2) Mary the "Mother of God" (see discussion on Nestorianism).
 - (3) Mary the "Queen of Heaven": A pagan concept first introduced by heretical groups--not accepted in the official Church until the fifth century.
The cultural context was the Isis, Magna Mater, et al. goddess concept, especially popular in Egypt. In the name of Mary the functions of patronesses of cities, women with child, etc. were continued. Mary took over sanctuaries, rites, and functions of Isis-Horus worship in Egypt. Statuary was simply renamed.
Mariolatry exalted the mother of Jesus to the extreme limit of humanity, not deity. It represents not the destruction of paganism, but the translation of it.
 - (4) The Assumption of Mary: This concept dates from the second half of the fifth century. Apocryphal writings speak of the ascension of the body of Mary. This was disputed in the middle ages, and did not become dogma until 1950. At this time neither scriptural nor historical evidence was offered; it became dogma simply on the basis of papal infallibility.

- (5) The sinless life of Mary--first taught systematically after Augustine.
- (6) Devotion to Mary: The celebration of aspects and events of Mary's life dates from the late fourth and early fifth centuries. In certain areas Mary was honored in public festivals. In the first half of the sixth century the birth of Jesus, His presentation in the temple, and the announcement of his birth by the angel to Mary (Enunciation) were celebrated. In this period the Church restricted itself to honoring events involving Jesus and mentioned in the Gospel accounts. In the last half of the sixth century Mary's conception, birth, and death were celebrated by festive days--events that did not involve Jesus and were not Gospel events.

Discussion #20: The Worship of the Church, part 2; The Leaders of the Church, part 1

6. The worship of pictures and images
 - a. Not divine worship (latria); prayers are offered to the saints represented by the pictures and images. Consecrated candles are burned in their honor.
 - b. In some countries and in some periods in other countries, veneration of saints has taken the form of genuine idolatry.
 7. The worship of relics
 - a. Not latria.
 - b. Definition of relic: A part of the body of a saint or an article that has been in direct contact with a saint.
 - c. Saint-worship is an extension of the cult of the martyrs; explained as an intimate reminder of the courage and fidelity of the martyr, a natural sentiment of veneration.
 - d. Saints are invoked as patrons who protect cities.
 - e. Saint-worship aroused much criticism. Pagans thought it obscene to cut up bodies for distribution. Mature Christians objected to it as superstition.
 - f. Every altar in the Roman Catholic system that is consecrated for the celebration of the Mass must contain a relic.
 - g. The theology of relics: Honor given to the servant automatically transfers to the master. First suggested by Jerome--"He who receives you receives Me."
 - h. Many relics were fraudulent.
 8. The worship of angels
 - a. Never as important as saint-worship.
 - b. The guardian angel corresponds to the patron saint.
- E. Christian art and architecture
1. Art
 - a. Art began to develop after Constantine because of the surge in the construction of church buildings.
 - b. Purpose:
 - (1) Decoration
 - (2) Education: Bible scenes in sequence, trials of the martyrs, scenes venerating Mary, et al. were of special help to the uneducated.
 - c. Pictures of Jesus: In the fourth and fifth centuries appear the first pictures of Jesus in Church buildings. They are idealized and portray Him as an ascetic--the spiritual ideal of the age. There were two basic "Christs":
 - (1) The calm Christ
 - (2) The suffering Christ
 2. Architecture
 - a. In the east, Byzantine

b. In the west, Basicilan



c. Crucifixes began to appear in this period.

XII. The Leaders of the Church

A. Eusebius of Caesarea (260?-340) (east)

1. Contemporary of Constantine; father of Church history; Eusebius quotes many documents otherwise lost. He was the Bishop of Caesarea; Eusebius took the middle ground at Nicea and tried to reconcile Arians and Orthodox.
2. Eusebius delivered a panegyric of Constantine at the emperor's death.
3. Important works: Ecclesiastical History; Chronicle; Life of Constantine; Martyrs of Palestine.

B. Athanasius the Great (d. 373) (east)

1. The hero of orthodoxy in the Arian controversy; Bishop of Alexandria; a theologian who was able to bring some harmony between east and west.
2. Important works:
 - a. Apologetic: A Discourse against the Greeks; On the Incarnation of the Divine Word.
 - b. Dogmatic and controversial: An Encyclical Letter to All Bishops; On the Decrees of the Council of Nicea; On the Opinion of Dionysius of Alexandria; An Epistle to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya; A History of the Arians to the Monks.
 - c. Exegetical: A commentary on the Psalms.
 - d. Ascetic and practical: Life of St. Anthony; Festal Letters.
 - e. Works in his own personal defense: An Apology against the Arians; An Apology to Constantius; An Apology concerning his Flight.

C. The Three Cappadocians (see p. 50-51). (east)

D. John of Antioch--"Chrysostom" (east)

John of Antioch felt a call to the preaching ministry, but resisted it and became a monk; he pursued the monkish discipline so rigorously that he ruined his health. John finally gave in to his call and became a preacher at Antioch. He became famous as an orator--one of the great orators of the Church, hence his title "Chrysostom": "golden mouth." John was an excellent exegete of the School of Antioch, the center of the historical-grammatical (vs. allegorical) approach to Scripture.

When the office of Bishop of Constantinople became vacant, he was asked to take it; when he repeatedly refused he was literally kidnapped and taken to the capital city. As Bishop of Constantinople he controlled immense wealth, but John continued his austere lifestyle. When bishops and other Church dignitaries came to visit, expecting to be entertained lavishly, he forced them to live as he did, i.e., sleep on the floor, eat simply and sparingly.

John otherwise offended the clergy by his objections to their immorality. He offended the city by his strong preaching against luxury, the games, and the profligate life common to the times. He offended the royalty, preaching against the deportment of the ladies at court. John offended the women of the city by criticizing their dress and cosmetics.

The new Bishop of Constantinople preached a "social gospel," i.e., he was concerned about slavery. He commanded the use of wealth for the poor. John sold expensive possessions of the Church and put the money to better use.

After John ignored her protestations, the queen had him banished. She was shortly thereafter terrified by an electrical storm and had the former bishop recalled with the warning that he change his ways, but John preached as before. The queen again had him exiled. She sent him to Armenia on the Black Sea. She directed that on the journey he be treated roughly, moved about in winter, and tortured. In September 407 John died of the ill-treatment. His followers were tortured, killed, and exiled.

E. Ambrose (west)

1. Ambrose, the Prefect who became a Bishop: Ambrose was the leading civil officer in Milan (northern Italy). Milan was the seat of the Empire in the west at this time. The Bishop of Milan had died and the disagreement over his successor had heated up so that a riot seemed about to break out. Ambrose entered the cathedral to restore order when a child cried out "Let Ambrose be Bishop!" At the time Ambrose was well-respected in the city, but was only a catechumen, and therefore unbaptized. Both factions settled on him and he reluctantly accepted the election, knowing it was the will of the emperor. In the span of eight days he was raised through the ministerial orders to the bishopric.
2. Ambrose the Bishop: Ambrose lived wholly for his office and, due to his integrity, eloquence, and intelligence, he became one of the greatest bishops of ancient Christendom. It was he who convinced Augustine of Christianity. Ambrose was a great theologian, one of the founders of Latin theology. He sold his estates and used his money for the benefit of the poor. He took on the life of the ascetic, eating little and devoting the greater part of the night to prayer and study. Ambrose was especially open to the poor. Addressing the continuing problem of the relation of the Church to the state, Ambrose set forth three concepts that became the basic principles for the Church in the west and are still followed by the Roman Catholic Church:
 - a. The right of the (true) Church to protection by the state from both heresy and paganism. This principle assumes the unity of Church and state.
 - b. The independence of the Church from the state in its own realm. The state must protect the Church, but not interfere with it. The emperor was informed by Ambrose that he (the emperor) was not the head of the Church.
 - c. The supremacy of the Church in the moral and spiritual realm. In this area even the emperor must bow to the authority of the Church.

The emperor Theodosius, enraged at the city of Thessalonica for a riot that took place there, caused many thousands to be put to death, the innocent with the guilty. Ambrose wrote him a polite letter of excommunication:

"... I, indeed, though a debtor to your kindness, for which I cannot be ungrateful, that kindness which has surpassed that of many emperors, and has been equalled by one only; I, I say, have no cause for a charge of contumacy against you, but have cause for fear; I dare not offer the sacrifice if you intend to be present."

Ambrose demanded that Theodosius make public confession of his sin and repent publicly before he would extend to him the benefits of the Lord's Supper. After holding out for a while, Theodosius made his repentance and was restored to the grace of the Church and the friendship of Ambrose.

This important event set a precedent; it was the first time a sovereign acknowledged his subservience to a law higher than his own, and the first time a bishop successfully extended his authority over the conduct of an emperor in a political act solely because the bishop regarded it to be in the moral/spiritual realm.

Discussion #21: The Leaders of the Church, part 2; Withdrawal from the World; The Church in Service to the World

F. Jerome (340-419)

1. The importance of Jerome
 - a. The author of the Vulgate translation of the Bible (into Latin)
 - b. Jerome was the central figure in the introduction of the ascetic life into western Europe.
 - c. Jerome's writings, more than those of any other Church father, are a source of information on the general and ecclesiastical life of his time.
2. Jerome was a classical scholar who abandoned pagan learning for theology.
3. Jerome the ascetic
 - a. Jerome maintained that holiness and marriage are antagonistic.

Marriage means crying children, clamoring servants, cooks and seamstresses and anxiety about expense. The master comes home to dinner, the wife flutters like a swallow all about the house to see that everything is in order and the meal ready to be served. Tell me, I pray, where, in all this, is any thought of God?

In a letter to Eustochium, an aristocratic young lady, J. sets forth his ideas on marriage:

"Do not court the company of married ladies or visit the houses of the high-born."

"You must also shun those who are widows from necessity and not from choice."

"Let your companions be women pale and thin with fasting."

"Let those who are wives keep the place and the time that properly belong to them. For me, virginity is consecrated in the persons of Mary and Jesus."

"Shun all men, especially clergymen, and especially clergymen who use perfume freely."

- b. Roman society largely rejected Jerome's views asceticism and austerity, so he left Rome in disgust and finally settled in Bethlehem in a monastery and gave the rest of his life to writing and reading. J. became the greatest scholar in the ancient Church. He was a moralist and a controversial scholar, commentator, and historian.

XIII. Withdrawal from the World

- A. Almost without exception, the leaders of the Imperial State Church were ascetic and promoted asceticism as the higher life. The tendency to asceticism had begun in the Ancient Catholic Church.
- B. The evolution of asceticism into monasticism
 1. Monasticism
 - a. Reflected the Greek/Platonic dualistic world view.
 - b. Appeared first in the east and gradually spread to the west.
 - c. Became the dominant institution in the Church.
 2. Anthony of Alexandria: Anthony inherited wealth and property. In church one day he heard the preacher repeat the admonition of Jesus to the Rich Young Ruler: "If you would be perfect, go and sell your possessions and give to the poor, and you shall have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me" (Matt. 19:21). Anthony sold his part of the inheritance and gave it away. Later, when he heard the preacher say "take no thought for tomorrow," he sold his sister's share. He withdrew into the desert, living apart from the public, associating only

with those who came to him for counsel. Athanasius wrote a story of his life that became a "best seller," popularizing this way of life.

3. The spread of monasticism

- a. Eremitical monasticism: Men became hermits living the solitary life. They seemed to be anxious to outdo others in self-imposed austerity.

Examples: One monk ate only once a week and slept standing. Many refused to bathe, slept on the ground, and cut their hair only once a year. Some immured themselves in tiny cells, never seeing anyone. Simon Stylites, forerunner of the "pillar saints," (d. 459) constructed a dirt column six feet high outside Antioch and lived on it. Ashamed of his moderation, he later built increasingly higher columns until he had one 60 feet high. The top was only three feet in diameter. Here he lived for 30 years.

Eremitical monasticism was atypical in the long history of monasticism and flourished only in Syria and Egypt.

- b. Cenobitic monasticism: Hermits began to locate their cells, caves, hideways, etc. in loose communities called a laura. This collection of monks had a loose set of rules, often with an agreed-upon director. The laura developed into the community or monastery governed by a head monk and by strict rules. Before his death in 346, Pachomius had established nine monasteries of men and one of women, and after his death other institutions were established in all parts of Egypt.

- c. Basilian monasticism: Basil of Cappadocia lived for a while as a monk, but returned to active life in the Church. He set forth rules that became the standard for monasticism in both east and west. He did away with the extreme and destructive forms of asceticism, emphasizing mutual edification and useful work on behalf of the Church. Basil's rule is still the standard of the Eastern Church, and, in a modified form, of the Western Church.

- d. Benedictine monasticism: Benedict of Nursia founded a monastery south of Rome. He adapted the monastic ideal to the conditions of the western races and established the standard (after AD 500) that still guides western monasticism. The basic framework of the Benedictine Rule:

- (1) The novitiate: a two-year trial period before vows are taken. When the vows are taken, the decision is final and a monk can be released only by a special act of the Church.
- (2) The three-fold vow: absolute poverty, celibacy, absolute obedience to the abbot.
- (3) Laws of worship: seven periods of worship, including night watches.
- (4) Laws of work: physical labor; the monasteries were to be self-supporting. Mental labor: study, the copying of literary works as well as the Bible.

C. Summary of monasticism

1. The monastery became the characteristic, definitive institution of the Roman Catholic Church and absorbed the lives of the most dedicated men and women.
2. The monastic movement was the institutionalizing of an idea, i.e., that the world was hopeless; the higher life, therefore, could only be found in physical flight from the allurements of the world; voluntary hardship made one more acceptable to God because it was the ultimate denial of the "flesh."
3. The monks, not the bishops, were the missionaries, teachers, scholars, and theologians of the following ages. When western Europe sank into chaos and darkness, it was the monks who kept alive the embers of Latin civilization and later fanned them into a blaze. When the official Church had lost its soul, it was the monks who kept alive the spiritual concepts of historic Christianity, to the extent that they were kept alive at all.

XIV. The Church in Service to the World

- A. Despite the support of Constantine and his heirs to the throne, the Church was not able to construct a genuinely Christian society.
- B. Areas of progress toward the ideal of Augustine's City of God (as it was interpreted):
 - 1. The Church helped raise the moral tone of society. The virtues of kindness, obedience, humility, patience, mercy, purity, chastity, and tenderness moderated the violence of a failing civilization.
 - 2. The Church took a stand against, and, for the most part, eradicated abortion, child exposure, and gladiatorial shows (a dominant aspect of Roman pagan life).
 - 3. The Church implanted a humane spirit in Roman legislation. Examples:
 - a. Limitations placed on patria potestas.
 - b. An elevated concept of womanhood.
 - c. The right of the poor to judicial appeal.
 - d. Sunday legislation.
 - e. Humane treatment of prisoners.
 - 4. The Church created philanthropy in society.
 - a. Organized charity, for the first time in the history of the world.
 - b. The institutionalizing of benevolence, e.g., hospitals, orphanages, homes of refuge for the destitute.
- C. Summary: The Church took the lead in progressive social endeavor. It preserved culture and civilization when the Roman Empire disintegrated. Churches were the only islands of culture in a flood of barbarism.

SECTION THREE: The Church in the Early Middle Ages, A.D. 605-1122

Discussion #22: The East; The Separation of the Eastern and Western Branches of the Church

Preliminary Summary:

- A. Western Europe enters a "dark age" with the disintegration of Roman civilization.
- B. This period sees the emergence of the outlines of a new culture--the Christendom of the later middle ages.
- C. The eastern and western wings of the Church drift apart.
- D. This period sees the rise and spread of the Moslem revolution.

I. The East

A. The big picture

1. The Goths break into the Balkans and weaken the eastern empire.
2. The revived Persian empire (Sassanids) threaten the eastern borders.
3. The Muslim conquest
 - a. Mohammed reacted against Trinitarian theology in the east and created a simple, moral, deterministic monotheism.
 - b. In 613 M. began to have "visions."



- c. In 622 M. forced to flee from Mecca to Medina (the "Hijra"); this marked the beginning of the rise of the movement.
- d. In 630 M. had a vision that caused him to resort to force to impose his religion on people. "Kill the idolaters!"
- e. Fanatic Arabs began to sweep over the eastern world.
 - (1) In 632 the Arabian Peninsula falls to the Muslims.
 - (2) 635--the capture of Damascus.
 - (3) 638--the conquest of Jerusalem.
 - (4) 641--the conquest of Antioch and Alexandria.
 - (5) By 655 the Muslims have occupied Egypt and North Africa.
- f. In 732, after Muslim forces had taken Spain, they were turned back at Tours in France by Charles Martel.
- g. The force of Islam was blunted by dynastic squabbles.
- h. Leo the Isaurian, emperor of Constantinople, successfully defended the city (716-717) and kept the Muslims out of Europe. For about 300 years there was a renewal of the eastern (Byzantine) empire and many areas, such as southern Italy and some of the Mediterranean islands were recovered from the Arabs.
- i. In 1025 the Seljuk Turks began a new era of conquest into Europe. This new aggressiveness led to the Crusades.
- j. After the Seljuk Turks were turned back by the Crusaders, the Ottoman Turks emerged and in 1453 took Constantinople, posing a new threat to Europe.

The Church in the east

- 1. The policy of the Muslims toward the Christians: Muslims regarded Christians as "people of the Book," and as such not subject to death as idolaters. Christianity was weakened to the point of near-extinction in Muslim domains, however, principally because the Church had been weakened by theological controversy and because it was no longer legally able to educate a leadership.

The leaders of the Church were often Greek-speaking members of the Byzantine peoples rather than natives. The Muslim religion offered an alternative faith to natives who had reason to resent Constantinople.
- 2. The emperor is the head of the Church (Caesaropapism).
- 3. There was little theological controversy or change in theology.
 - a. The Church was afraid of further theological wrangling.
 - b. The liturgy was fixed and reflected a fixed theology. It was, therefore, difficult to change the theology without changing the liturgy.
 - c. The Church in the east came to pride itself on its orthodoxy (vs. Rome); it held to the older concepts and discouraged speculation and change. It came to call itself the Orthodox Church.
- 4. The limited theological controversy:
 - a. Monothelitism (see p. 54).
 - b. The Paulicians: Believers claiming to be followers of Paul, coming from the area south of Armenia. They were Persian dualists who rejected the Catholic hierarchy and most of the expressions of lower Christianity. They were persecuted and fled to the Muslim territories. Their thought continued for centuries in a sect called the Bogomiles--a religious sect that flourished in the Balkans between the 10th and 15th centuries.
 - c. The Iconoclastic controversy: The emperors of the Isaurian dynasty sought outlaw the use of images in worship. Icons had been one of the great talking points of the Muslims against Christianity. For more than a century the controversy raged in the empire. The common piety of the people was tied to the images and the emperor could not displace it. The image-worshippers ultimately won, with the aid of such prominent theologians as John of Damascus:

(Speaking on behalf of the common people) I am too poor to possess books, I have no leisure for reading; I enter the Church choked with cares of the world, the glowing colors attract my sight and delight my eyes like a

flowering meadow and the Glory of God steals imperceptibly into my soul. I gaze on the fortitude of the martyr and the crown with which he is rewarded, and the fire of holy emulation kindles within me and I fall down and worship God through the martyr; and I receive salvation.

- (1) Irene, queen regent for her son, put herself on the side of the people and reversed the stand of her predecessors. Because of her stand for images she was later canonized--St. Irene of the Greek Orthodox Church.
- (2) The Seventh Ecumenical Council (Second of Nicea, 787) decreed concerning images:

We, therefore, following the royal pathway and the divinely inspired authority of our holy Fathers and the traditions of the Catholic Church (for, as well all know, the Holy Spirit indwells her), define with all certitude and accuracy that just as the figure of the precious and life-giving Cross, so also the venerable and holy images, as well in painting and mosaic as of other fit materials, should be set forth in the holy churches of God, and on the sacred vessels and on the vestments and on the hangings and in pictures both in houses and by the wayside, to wit, the figure of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, of our spotless Lady, the Mother of God, of the honourable Angels, of all Saints and of all pious people. For by so much more frequently as they are seen in artistic representation, by so much more readily are men lifted up to the memory of their prototypes, and to a longing after them; and to these should be given due salutation and honourable reverence, not indeed that true worship of faith (latría) which pertains alone to the divine nature; but to these, as to the figure of the precious and life-giving Cross and to the Book of the Gospels and to other holy objects, incense and lights may be offered according to the ancient pious custom. For the honour which is paid to the image passes on to that which the image represents, and he who reveres the image reveres in it the subject represented. For thus the teaching of our holy Fathers, that is the tradition of the Catholic Church, which from one end of the earth to the other hath received the Gospel, is strengthened.

This was accepted in both east and west.

- (3) From this point on, the only difference between east and west in the matter of images was that, in the east, only two-dimensional images, i.e., pictures, are permitted. Statues and pictures are used in the west.

John of Damascus: The last great theologian of the eastern Church; the "John Calvin or Thomas Aquinas" of the Orthodox Church. John set forth a systematic synthesis of what had already been defined in the east and thus fixed theology and orthodoxy for the indefinite future.

. The Separation of the Eastern and Western Branches of the Church

A. Minor factors in the separation:

1. Difference in language
2. Difference in culture: Byzantine high culture and wealth vs. the modified barbarism of the west.
3. Difference in political control: The barbarians in the west did not recognize the authority of Constantinople.

B. The major factor in the separation: The growing claims of the Bishop of Rome alienated the Church in the east.

C. Points of controversy:

1. The Filioque controversy: The Bishop of Rome added "filioque" ("and the Son") to the Nicene Creed (see Addendum 2). In the west the unity of the Trinity was emphasized, while in the east the distinctions of the Personae of the Trinity were emphasized. The deeper issue: The Church in the east rejected the claim of the Bishop of Rome that he had the authority to act unilaterally to amend

the Nicene Creed, which had been written by an ecumenical council.

2. The Iconoclastic controversy: The Isaurian restrictions were not enforceable in the west.
3. The controversy between Nicholas I, Bishop of Rome, and Photius, Bishop of Constantinople: Ignatius, Bishop of Constantinople, refused to admit Bardus, nephew of the emperor to the Lord's Table because he was drunk. The emperor deposed Ignatius and replaced him with Photius. Ignatius appealed to Nicholas, who restored Ignatius and anathematized all who would further oppose Ignatius. Ignatius was helped not at all, and the eastern Church was enraged at the intervention by the Bishop of Rome. Photius responded by accusing Nicholas of heresy on various points.

D. The final break

1. The occasion: The controversy between Leo X, Bishop of Rome, and Michael Cerularius, Bishop of Constantinople. The Normans had retaken Sicily from the Muslims. The Sicilian churches had formerly given allegiance to Constantinople. Leo took the position that since westerners had liberated them, they now belonged to Rome. Cerularius retaliated by closing some churches in his domains that used the Latin rite. Cerularius and Leo exchanged charges of heresy.
2. In July 1054, papal legates from Leo publicly excommunicated Cerularius in a service in the cathedral at Constantinople. Cerularius returned the favor and excommunicated Leo.

E. Major differences between the eastern and western Churches

1. Government: The recognition of the universal authority of the Bishop of Rome in the west. In the east the Bishop of Constantinople vies with the Bishop of Moscow for supremacy of honor, but there is no single bishop with power that corresponds to the Pope in the west. The highest authority in the east is still the council.
2. Worship: Different liturgies.
3. Theology: General agreement but difference on minor points:
 - a. Ecclesiastical authority (above). In the east, only the first seven ecumenical councils are recognized.
 - b. Sacraments: Slight differences in the views on the Lord's Supper and Extreme Unction.
 - c. Filioque clause in the Nicene Creed (previously discussed).
 - d. In the east, the later dogmas concerning Mary, such as Immaculate Conception, are not accepted.
 - e. Priests may marry in the east (not bishops).
 - f. Triune immersion in the east.
 - g. Three vs. two-dimensional images (previously discussed).
4. Cooperation: The Orthodox wing enters into cooperative efforts, such as the National and World Council of Churches. The Roman Church will not cooperate in this way.

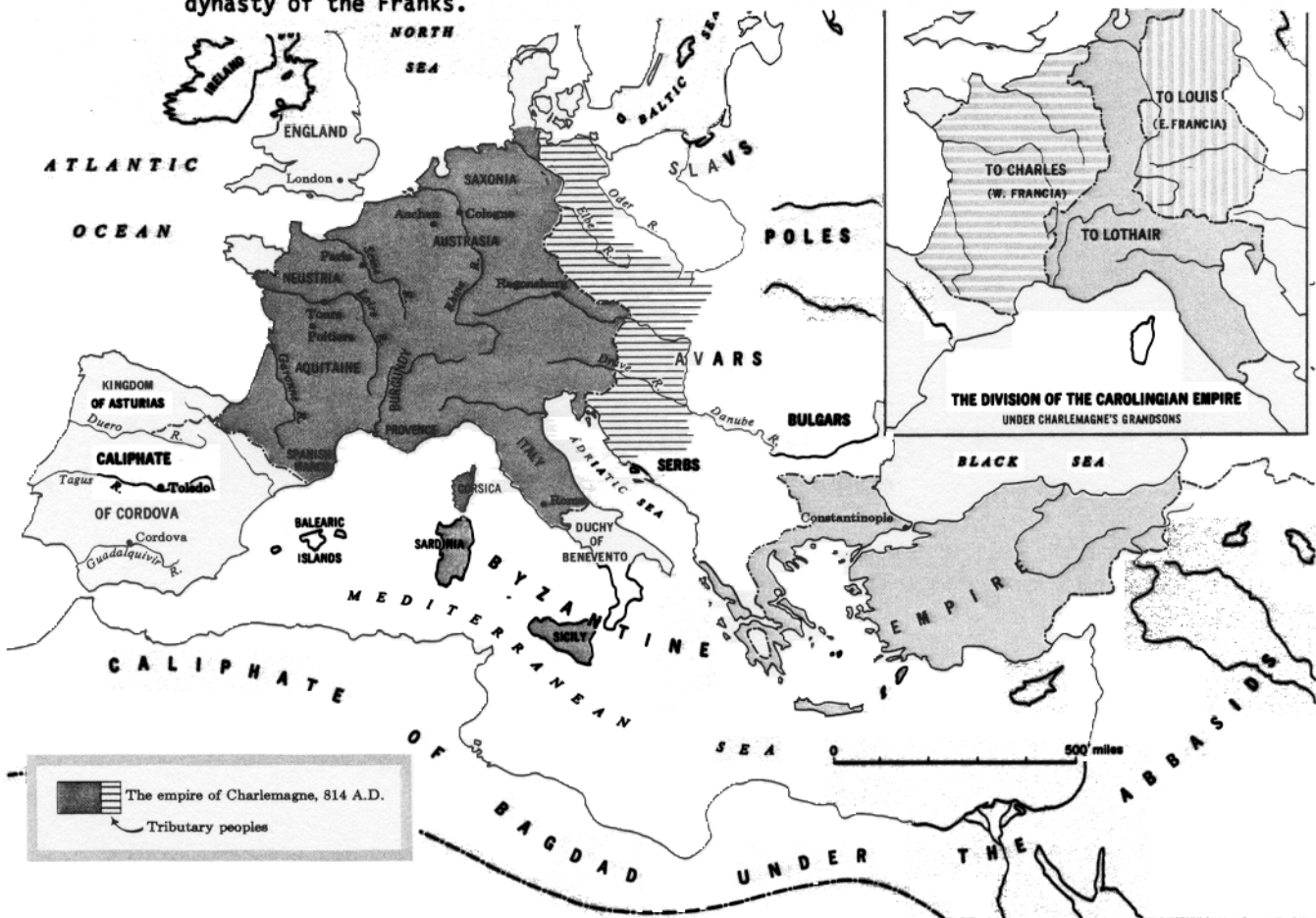
Discussion #23: The West, part 1

III. The West

A. The big picture

1. The Franks from Clovis to the Viking invasions, 450-900

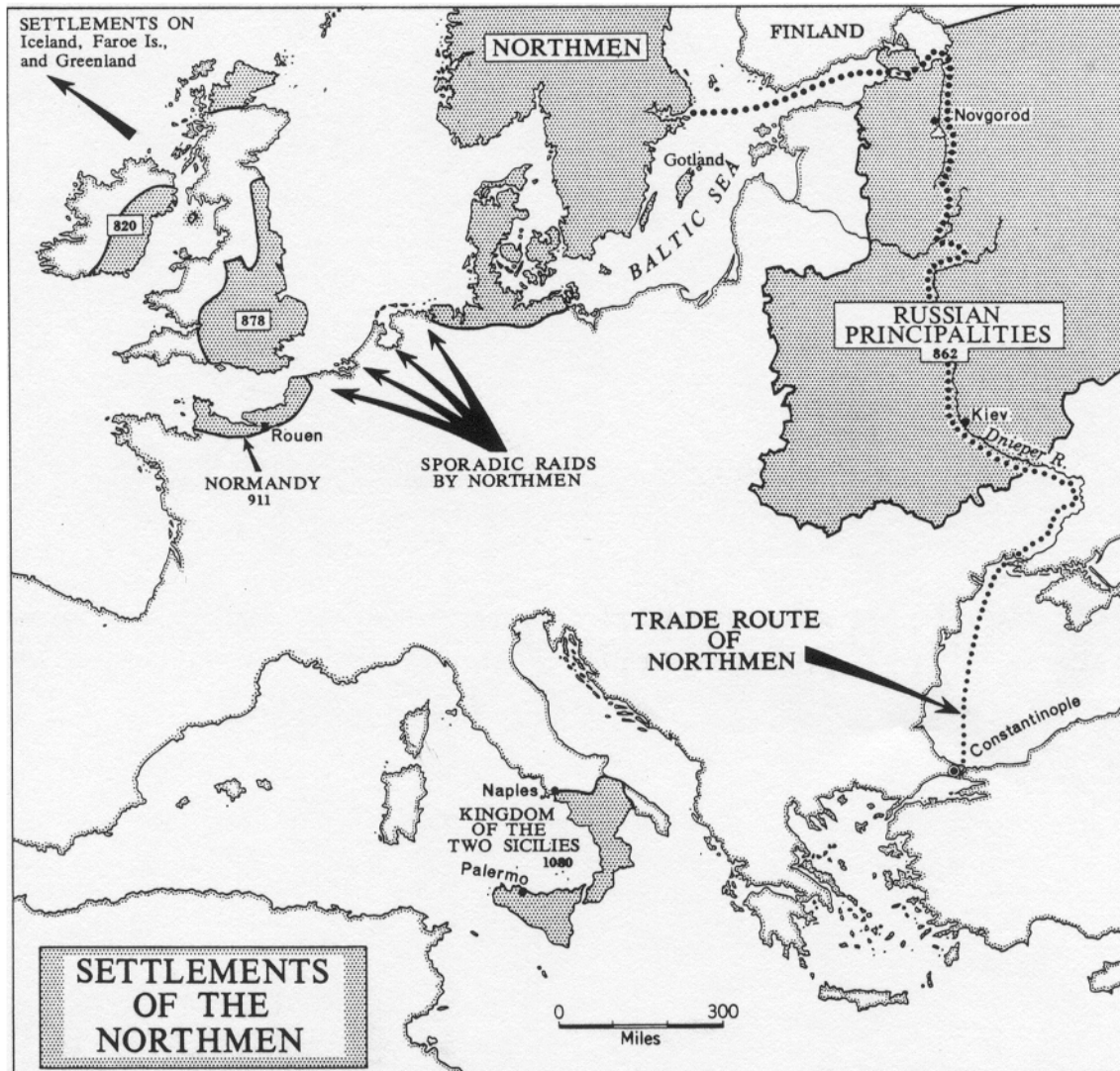
- a. Two powers emerged in the west following the removal of the last Roman emperor in 476, the Franks and the popes. The Lombards stood between these two forces and put pressure on both.
- b. In 481 Clovis became king of the Frankish people, founding the Merovingian Dynasty. Clovis was a nominal Roman Catholic and expanded the kingdom with the help of the catholic population.
- c. Society and the institutions of the Merovingian age
 - (1) Frankish Gaul between 450 and 490 witnessed the emergence of an early medieval culture resulting from the fusion of Roman, German, and Christian elements.
 - (2) The Saxons invaded Britain, destroyed Roman civilization, and remained staunchly Teutonic.
 - (3) Merovingian dynasty was based on the theory of absolute hereditary authority. The kingdom was the private possession of the king. The administrative system was haphazard and limited. The kingdom was divided into units overseen by counts.
 - (4) The bishop's diocese was often coextensive with the count's territory and constituted a competing power. Much of the land was church-owned.
- d. The Merovingian dynasty was weakened through the division of the kingdom by inheritance and actual power fell into the hands of Charles Martel (c. 720), and his descendant Pepin and Charles the Great (Charlemagne), the Carolingian dynasty of the Franks.



THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE 814 A.D.

2. The coming of the Northmen

- a. The Carolingian empire decayed because of internal weakness, and the process of dissolution was accelerated by the impact of barbarian invasions from the far north. In the 9th century the Northmen fell upon the entire exposed coastline of western Europe. Towns and monasteries were systematically looted.
- b. The threat of the Northmen was ultimately removed by the conversion of the Scandinavian countries and their acculturation.



3. The manor and the feudal system

- a. **Origins:** Feudalism evolved in the 8th and 9th centuries. As a social system it reflected a vast number of bargains and arrangements between private individuals, forced by the failure of the central government. Frankish government was a theory rather than a functioning system, and even that collapsed. Land became the sole source of wealth. The poor citizen sank to the lowest possible level; landowners evolved into an aristocratic nobility, and a class of dependent warriors emerged. Soldiers assumed the role of vassal to the lord who furnished armor, horse, and board.
- b. **Character:** rural and agrarian.
- c. **Prevailing social theory:** In the Early Middle Ages three classes evolved, each

with its clearly defined role:

- (1) The clergy--responsible for the salvation of all.
- (2) The nobles--responsible for order and the defense of the helpless.
- (3) The peasants and artisans--responsible to provide the necessities of life for all, and luxuries for the clergy and nobility.

- d. The lord and the peasant: The inhabitants of the village who worked in the fields were members of the peasant class that received its land from the lord of the manor and that lived under his jurisdiction.

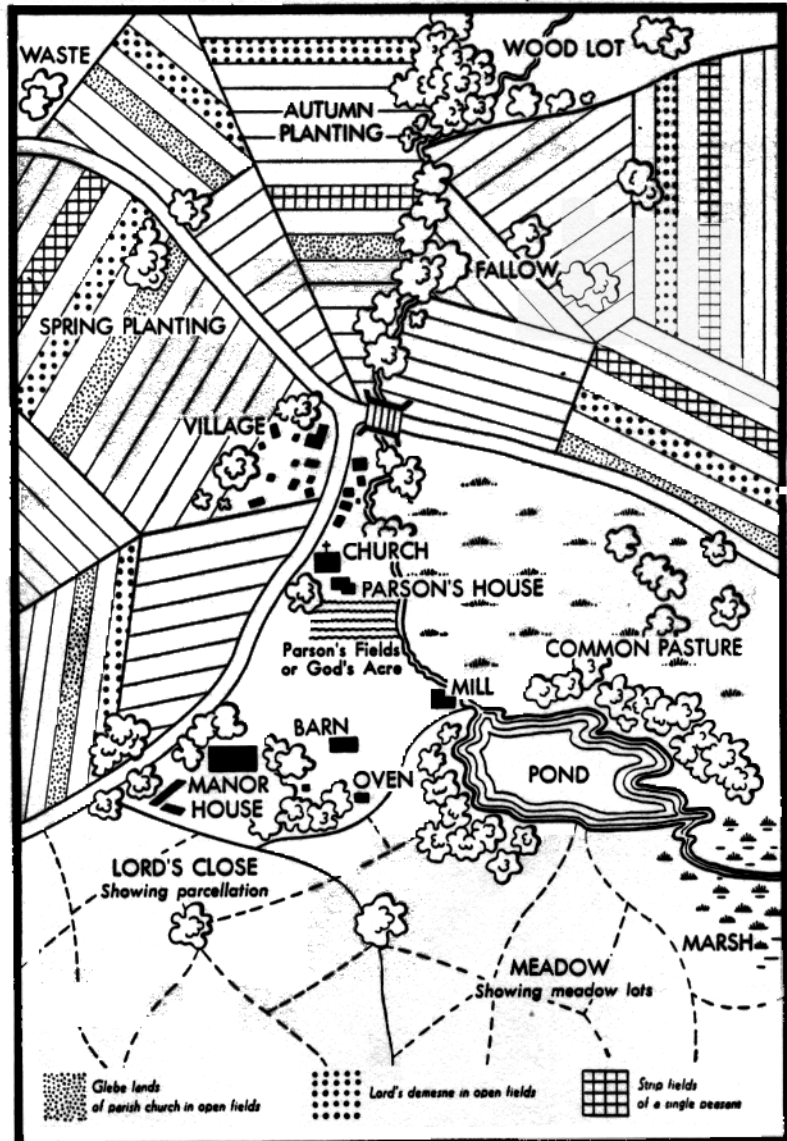
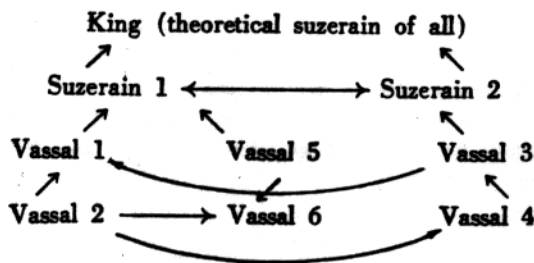
There were degrees of poverty and servitude for the peasantry:

- (1) Villeins/serfs--bound to the land.
- (2) Free tenants--free to change locations.
- (3) Slaves (The Roman institution lasted well into the Middle Ages.)

A contract existed between lord and peasant; it was hereditary and unwritten.

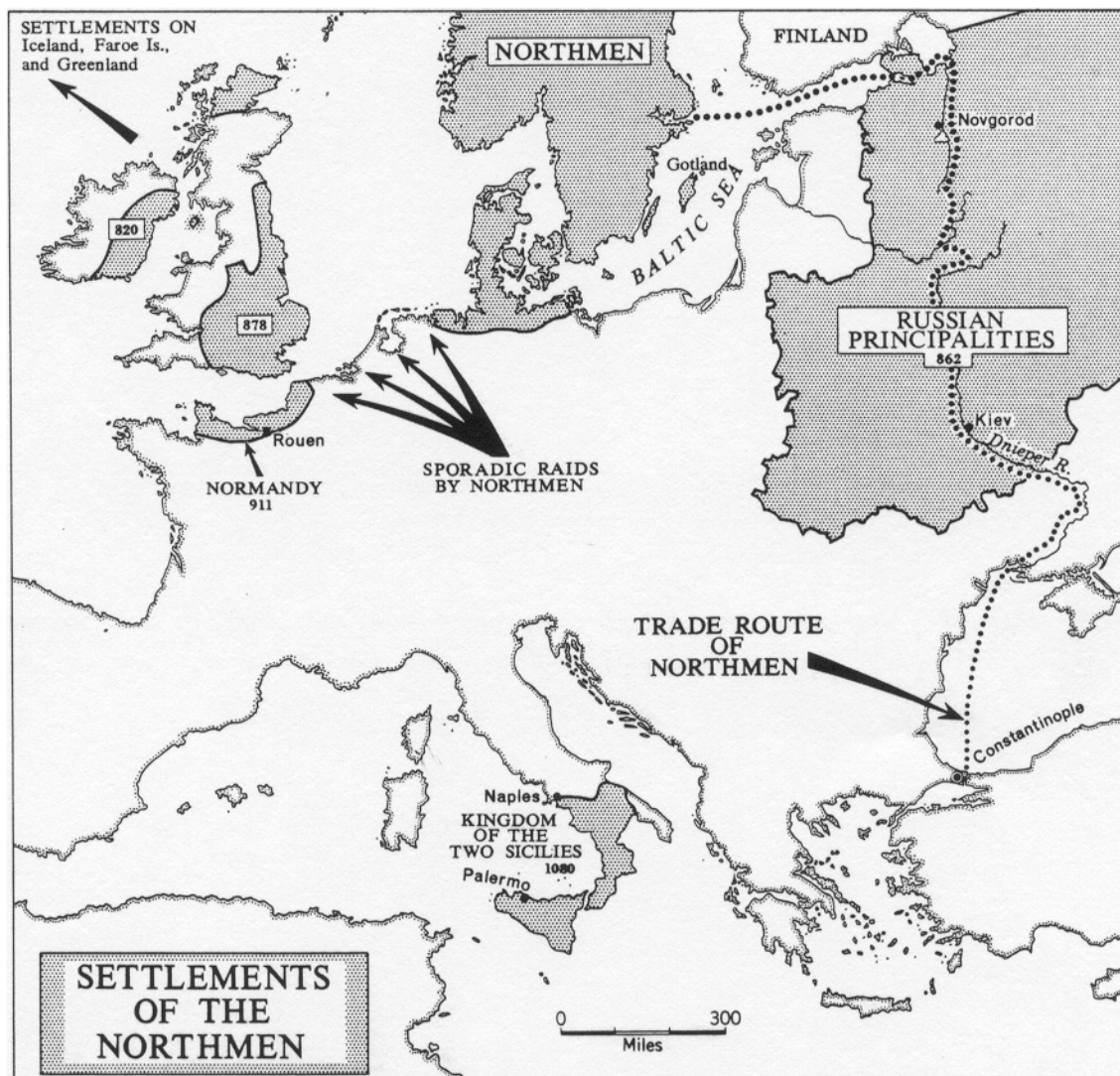
That which the lord owed the peasant: Physical protection, a court for legal recourse, a mill, a blacksmith shop, a common oven, a church and clergyman, individual land that legally remained the possession of the lord, but the produce of which the lord could not claim if the peasant fulfilled his obligations.

That which the peasant owed the lord: "Boon works" (so many days of work each year, rent payments--usually paid in produce, payment for use of the mill and the common great oven, the heriot--a fee paid at the death of a tenant to renew the hereditary contract, the merchet--a fee paid by the unfree tenant (serf) if his daughter married outside the manor and thus deprived the lord of one of his serfs.



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- b. **Character:** rural and agrarian.
- c. **Prevailing social theory:** In the Early Middle Ages three classes evolved, each

3. Rural life and attitudes

Life was short and uncertain, threatened by disease, nature, and human brutality and avarice. Famines occurred regularly. French chronicles, for example, record 48 famines in the 11th century. Epidemics regularly ravaged the people. Insects were a constant plague, and the Church regularly anathematized and excommunicated them. Roving bands of thieves made travel dangerous. Avaricious nobles ravaged pilgrims and looted villages and monasteries. In time of peace the nobles were often little better than brigands; in time of war, they were usually worse. The following is a description of feudal warfare from Chanson des Lorrains:

They start to march. The scouts and the incendiaries lead; after them come the foragers who are to gather the spoils and carry them to the baggage train. The tumult begins. The peasants, having just come out of the fields, turn back, uttering loud cries; the shepherds gather their flocks and drive them towards the neighboring woods in the hope of saving them. The incendiaries set the villages on fire, and the foragers visit and sack them; the distracted inhabitants are burnt or led apart with their hands tied to be held for ransome. Everywhere alarm bells ring, fear spreads from side to side and becomes general. On all sides one sees helmets shining, pennons floating and horsemen covering the plain. Here hands are laid on money; there cattle, donkeys and flocks are seized. The smoke spreads, the flames rise, the peasants and the shepherds in consternation flee in all directions . . . (After the campaign is over) the windmills no longer turn, chimneys no longer smoke, the cocks have ceased their crowing and the dogs their barking . . . briars and thorns grow where the villages stood of old.

4. Physical conditions for the peasantry: Housing was unadorned poverty. Food was brown bread, oatmeal porridge or broiled peas, and water or whey to drink.
 5. The feudal castle: The site was chosen for defensibility--a hilltop, promontory, or island. Conditions within: Dark, damp, inconvenient, boring. The great vaulted hall was the center of activity.
 6. The intellectual and moral condition of the peasantry.(and most of the nobles): Totally uneducated, grossly superstitious, crude; morals were nonexistent.
- B. The Church in the west

1. The expansion of the Church

a. The British Isles

(1) Celtic England--3rd and 4th centuries:

There are late (6th & 7th centuries) traditions that trace the evangelization of Celtic England to Joseph of Arimathea, who supposedly brought the sacred chalice used by Jesus at the Last Supper (the Holy Grail). This is the context of the Arthurian legend.

Christianity is found in Celtic England as early as the 3rd century, possibly brought by traders from Gaul.

In 410 the Roman empire withdrew its troops and in 449 the Saxons, a German people, moved over from the Continent and conquered Celtic England. The Celts were driven to Wales and Scotland. These Anglo-Saxons were not Christian.

(2) Ireland--5th century

Patrick, the great apostle to Ireland, was a Celt from Wales. He had been taken as a slave to Ireland, had escaped, was converted, and ultimately ordained a bishop. He returned to win the people who had once enslaved him.

The monasteries became centers of religious life rather than the bishops and the churches. For a while, Irish monasteries were almost the sole havens of culture and learning in Europe. The monasteries sent out missionaries and were thus an important factor in the evangelization of Europe. In the Irish monasteries was born the idea of the Confessional.

(3) Scotland--6th century

Christianity first came into Scotland from northern England, brought by Ninian, a Celt (at the close of the 4th century). He is regarded as the Apostle to Scotland. Ninian was an Irishman who determined to convert the pagan tribes of Scotland, especially the Picts. He established a famous monastery on the island of Iona, and from there went missionaries who completed the task of converting Scotland. The abbot of the monastery, Columba (a presbyter, not a bishop), became the de facto president of the Church in Scotland.

Discussion #24: The West, part 2

Parentetical study: The form of Christianity that was brought from Ireland to Scotland in the 6th century.

The Columban or Celtic Church in Scotland, as well as the early Irish and British Churches, were different from the Roman form of Christianity in the following principal ways:

1. Independence of the Pope. Iona was its Rome, and the abbot of Iona, and afterwards of Dunkeld, though a mere presbyter, ruled all.
2. Monasticism ruled supreme, but mixed with secular life, and not bound by vows of celibacy, whereas in the Roman church the monastic system was subordinated to the clerical hierarchy.
3. Bishops without dioceses, jurisdiction, or succession.
4. Celebration of the time of Easter.
5. Form of the tonsure: In Rome, circular; in Scotland, semi-circular.
6. Irish/Scottish Christianity of the second and third centuries was ignorant of such ideas as auricular confession, the worship of saints and images, purgatory, transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, etc., for these concepts had, of course, not yet evolved. Due to its geographical isolation and cultural difference, even the 6th-century expression of Christianity in the British Isles lagged behind continental Christianity in the development of such doctrines. Columba carried a more primitive, anachronistic expression of Christianity, and Scotland did not become Roman Catholic until 1073. The differences, however, were in form, not in spirit.

(4) Anglo-Saxon England in the seventh century

Christianity came into Anglo-Saxon England both from the north and from the south. Missionaries from Rome came in 597, sent by Gregory I. Missionaries came from Iona, and Scottish missionaries had more impact than those from the south. It was the earlier form versus the later expression of Christianity.

A debate over the date of Easter upset the church calendar and created havoc. King Oswy, head of one of the seven major tribes, called for a debate to settle the issue. Bede, the early historian of English Christianity, gives the following account (paraphrased):

He (Oswy) let them fight it out . . . Colman, representative of Scottish Christianity, invoked the authority of John . . . Wilfrid, representative of Roman Christianity, invoked the authority of Peter. When he mentioned that to Peter were entrusted the keys to the gates of heaven, Oswy responded, "Did our Lord really say that to Peter?" Being assured by both parties that He did, and even Colman admitting that He had given no comparable authority to Columba, the king decided in favor of the Roman position. "I must tell you, that I am of no mind to contradict the door-keeper, but I desire to obey his ordinances in everything . . . otherwise when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there should be none to open them; if I earn the displeasure of the one who so clearly holds the keys." His kingdom became Roman Catholic and in a generation Roman Christianity became the norm throughout Anglo-Saxon England.

From England the authority of the Bishop of Rome spread to the other British Isles. By 703 all of Ireland had accepted the authority of Rome. In 716 Scotland accepted the Roman year, but did not accept full Roman authority until 1073. Wales did not accept the authority of the pope until 1200.

b. Germany (the lands east of the Rhine)

Christianity came to Germany from two directions: It was imposed by Charlemagne and other Frankish kings--a matter of baptism or the sword. Missionaries from Anglo-Saxon England (700-900) won the hearts of the people to Christianity. Out-

standing was Boniface/Winfred, who was martyred in the attempt to work among the rude Germanic peoples.

c. Scandinavia (900-1200)

Missionaries from Germany converted the Scandinavian peoples to the Roman form of catholicism from the beginning. The scourges of Europe were gradually integrated into the culture and civilization of Europe.

d. The remainder of Eastern Europe (900-1200), including Poland and the Baltic area, became Christianized.

e. Summary: By 1200 the countries of Europe were nominally Christian. Except for the area around Constantinople, they were Roman Catholic. The progression of the missionary enterprise has been traced from Gaul to Celtic England; from the Celts to Ireland; from Ireland to Scotland; From Scotland to Anglo-Saxon England; From Anglo-Saxon England to Germany; from Germany to the Scandinavian countries and through eastern Europe.

2. The relation of the Church and the state. This is an important and complicated subject. In this survey, discussion will be confined primarily to the relation of the Church to the dominant power in Europe.

a. The Church in the Byzantine empire (323-739): The control of the Bishop of Rome over the Church in the west expanded while the functioning authority of the emperor over the western empire steadily declined until it became nominal.

b. The Church in the Byzantine empire after 739; in 739 the Bishop of Rome broke off relations with Constantinople and formed an alliance with the Frankish dynasty, which was the dominant political power in Europe.

(1) The Carolingian dynasty needed to legitimize its rule; it wanted the Church to sanction its claim to hereditary rule. For this they needed the sanction of the Bishop of Rome. The Pope, in turn, needed protection from the Lombards. He had requested help but received none from Constantinople or heaven.

(2) In 751 Pope Zacharias approved the coronation of Pepin, son of Charles Martel. In 754 Stephen II crossed the Alps and personally crowned Pepin again and proclaimed him "Patrician of the Romans" and anointed him after the Old Testament pattern. Pepin conquered the Lombards in Italy and left that part of the country in the hands of the Pope. WITH THIS THE POPE BECAME (OFFICIALLY) A CIVIL AS WELL AS A SPIRITUAL RULER.

c. This development represents a fundamental change in the theory of kingship among the kings of the west. The kings of the Germanic tribes heretofore had been military officers holding office by the consent of the aristocrats and reflecting a general acquiescence. Now they rule by divine sanction. With the anointing of Pepin, a German chieftain was transformed into "the Lord's Anointed." An anathema was pronounced against any who would fail to recognize his kingship. It became a sin against heaven to rebel against the king. This became the basis for the theory of the Divine-right Monarchy.

d. The Donation of Constantine (Addendum Five)

This document was an eighth-century forgery that became the constitutional basis for the claims of the papacy until after the fifteenth century. Its authenticity was impugned by many churchmen and its falsity finally proved by Lorenzo Valla. It is now completely discredited. The Donation seems to have come from about the time of Pope Stephen. The author is unknown, but it was manufactured at Rome and became the cornerstone of papal power. It purported to record the transference of political authority in the west to the Bishop of Rome by Constantine.

e. The reign of Charlemagne (son of Pepin)

(1) The greatest of the Frankish rulers.

(2) A great administrator and warrior who succeeded in exercising authority over the land area of the old Roman empire in the west and over more territory in the west than Rome itself had actually administered.

(3) His relationship to the Church:

He extended the Church. Charlemagne imposed Christianity on the German peoples east of the Rhine (discussed above).

He used the Church. Charlemagne depended on the clergy to do the administrative work in his kingdom because they alone had the necessary education.

He controlled the Church. The Church had fallen heir to much land and wealth. Charlemagne appropriated land and wealth when he needed it, and gave ecclesiastical offices to friends and benefactors to reward them for their favor and services. Some were laymen who were ordained with no regard for their spiritual character. He considered himself the head of the Church, and actually had its welfare in mind. The result, however, was to make the Church more secular and worldly.



GERMAN EMPIRE c. 1200 A.D.

(4) The inauguration of the Holy Roman Empire

On Christmas Day, AD 800, Charlemagne was at Rome in a religious service. The Pope took a crown from his robes and proceeded to place it on the head of Charlemagne and to proclaim him the successor of the Caesars. Later Charlemagne said he was surprised, but he accepted the crown.

The greatness of the old pagan Roman Empire was still a cultural myth, and the kingdom of Charlemagne was conceived to be the Christian version of the Rome of Augustus. The paradigm for the theory of the Holy Roman Empire was the Augustin's City of God (imperfectly understood).

The HRE was to have a long and checkered history, lasting until the failure of Napoleon. (It was at this time that the Christian calendar became generally accepted, which counts the eras BC and AD.)

After the death of Charlemagne, the kingdom was divided among his sons; at this time Germany and France begin to have separate identities and histories.

The centralized empire of Charlemagne could not be maintained, and the system of feudalism (already discussed) became the functioning form of society, despite the theory of the HRE.

f. The Church in the feudal system

- (1) As a landholding part of the feudal system, the Church had all the attendant political, judicial, and military responsibilities, along with the complex of relationships that made up the feudal system. It has been reckoned that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries approximately one-third of the usable land in western Europe was owned or controlled by the Church. There were bishops and abbots whose land covered more than one hundred thousand acres, while even the poorest held five thousand acres or more. As feudal landholders, they owed and were owed vassalage by both ecclesiastical and secular nobility. There was little to distinguish an ecclesiastical fief from any other.
- (2) As a centralized power in an otherwise decentralized society, the Church could and did intimidate the secular nobility by assuming and exercising the right to release dukes from their obligations to the king, thus threatening and destroying dynasties. In this way, and through the threat of excommunication, the pope became the most powerful man in the west.

Discussion #25: The West, part 3

3. The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals: A series of forgeries, purportedly gathered by the scholar Isidor of Spain, which represented themselves as decrees from popes beginning in the first century. They include both genuine and spurious canons and decretals.
 - a. The claims made in the Decretals (summary):
 - (1) The spiritual authority of the pope is infinitely superior to the secular authority of kings and princes.
 - (2) The bishops stand in the same relation to the pope that the other apostles stood in relation to Peter.
 - (3) Provincial councils can be held only when summoned by the pope and their decisions are valid only upon papal approval, i.e., the pope is superior to councils in authority as well as to bishops.
 - (4) The clergy constitute the divine family or the "spirituals," while the laity are the "carnals." (The "spiritual estate" vs. the "lay estate.")
 - (5) None of the clergy may be summoned before a secular tribunal.
 - b. The purpose of the Decretals: To justify claims being made by the papacy by making it appear that these claims have always been made and have always been honored.
 - c. The source of the Decretals: Apparently they were written in France by an unknown author; they reflect the struggle of the clergy to maintain its authority against the counter claims of the state. The Decretals were not written by the popes, but were used by the popes.
4. Pope Nicholas I
 - a. The strongest pope in the early middle ages.
 - b. The first pope to actually use the Donation of Constantine.
 - c. Examples of the power of Nicholas over lay authority:

Lothair III, King of Lorraine, maltreated and finally divorced his wife and married his mistress, Walrada, who appeared in public dressed out in all the array and splendor of a queen. The local clergy sanctioned the divorce. On the appeal of the injured queen, however, Pope Nicholas stepped in and declared the divorce invalid. He threatened excommunication if Lothair refused to restore his first wife to her place. Lothair yielded, demonstrating the actual power of the Bishop of Rome.

Hincmar (c. 865), Archbishop of Rheims and the most powerful prelate in France, refused to acknowledge the authority of the Bishop of Rome over him. When the bishops under him appealed to Pope Nicholas against the tyranny of his administration, the Pope cited the Pseudo-Isidorian as the basis for his power over Hincmar. The latter protested against the validity of the new decretals and their application to France. This issue of conflicting claims to authority was kept alive until the Vatican Council of 1870.

In Nicholas' attempt to exert authority over the Bishop of Constantinople, he was totally unsuccessful.
5. The Church as the pawn of Italian princes (739-885)
 - a. The papacy reached its lowest point up to this time. Because there were no strong rulers in Europe--the HRE existed in name only--the papacy became the pawn of Italian politics.
 - b. The pope was theoretically elected by the people of Rome; this means that he was chosen by the princes of the region. Different counts controlled Rome in this period and thus controlled the papacy.

Schaff 4. 283: "Pope followed pope in rapid succession, and most of them ended their career in deposition, prison, and murder."

Schaff 4. 284: "And what was worse, three bold and energetic women of the highest rank and lowest character, Theodora the elder (the wife or widow of a Roman senator) and her two daughters, Marozia and Theodora, filled the chair of St. Peter with their paramours and bastards. These Roman Amazons combined with the fatal charms of personal beauty and wealth, a rare capacity for intrigue, and a burning lust for power and pleasure. They had the diabolical ambition to surpass their sex as much in boldness and badness as St. Paula and St. Eustachium in the days of Jerome had excelled in virtue and saintliness. They turned the church of St. Peter into a den of robbers, and the residence of his successors into a harem. And they glorified in their shame. Hence this infamous period is called the Papal Pornocracy . . ."

6. The Church and the kings of the Holy Roman Empire (962-1137) (From this point we are discussing the Church and its relationship to Germany, for the HRE and Germany are now coextensive.)

a. The Saxon emperors (962-1024)--The state dominates the Church.

Otto I sought to consolidate his territories by appointing bishops and abbots over his lands rather than secular dukes. The latter passed on their domains to their sons and tried to build their own dynastic power through arranged marriages. The clergy (legally) did not marry and had no children, thus fresh appointments could be made at the whim of the emperor. To maintain this control, however, Otto had to have authority over the Church. He was a good man who appointed good men as bishops and abbots. Otto extended his control to include northern Italy and Rome, and thus he began to appoint the popes. This constituted a rescue of the papacy from the corrupt Italian princes.

Henry II (1002-1024) lost control of Rome because of his weakness, and once again the papacy fell prey to Italian politics. Example (Schaff 4. 297-298):

With Benedict VIII, the papal dignity became hereditary in the Tusculan family. He had bought it by open bribery. He was followed by his brother John XIX, a layman who bought it likewise, and passed in one day through all the clerical degrees.

After his death in 1033, his nephew Theophylact, a boy of only ten or twelve years of age, ascended the papal throne under the name of Benedict IX. His election was a mere money bargain between the Tusculan family and the venal clergy and populace of Rome. Once more the Lord took from Jerusalem and Judah the stay and the staff, and gave children to be their princes and babes to rule over them.

The boy-pope fully equaled and even surpassed John XII in precocious wickedness. He combined the childishness of Caligula and the viciousness of Heliogabalus. He grew worse as he advanced in years. He ruled like a captain of banditti, committed murders and adultries in open day-light, robbed pilgrims on the graves of martyrs, and turned Rome into a den of thieves. These crimes went unpunished, for who could judge a pope? And his brother Gregory was Patrician of the city.

b. The Franconian emperors (1024-1137)--The Church struggles with the state for independence and dominance.

Henry III (1039-1056), the first strong ruler of the Franconian dynasty, stepped in and again took control of the papacy. He appointed good men to that office.

Leo IX, the pope in whose reign came the final east-west split in the Church, was a strong reform pope. He established the College of Cardinals. It grew from the custom of the pope to consult with leading ("cardinal")

clerics around Rome. Leo chose his advisors from all Europe and gave them the right to elect the pope. This took the papacy from the hands of both the Italian princes and the emperors. This transition was possible because Henry III died and Henry IV was still a child; his mother was Queen Regent, and she was unable to restrain the papacy in this matter.

When Henry IV came to manhood, the great struggle for supremacy began. Gregory VII (Hildebrand), a monk elected pope, came to the office with his concept of his role--a clear expression of the ideals of the medieval papacy:
THE ABSOLUTE HEAD OF THE CHURCH

- (1) Absolute administrative authority (legitimized in 1870).
- (2) Absolute legislative authority (vs. councils; legitimized in 1870).
- (3) Absolute judicial authority--the final court of appeals. (In such matters as the dissolution of marriages he gained tremendous power; dynastic power often depended on marriage.)

ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY OVER CIVIL POWER (He can release dukes from feudal obligations and depose emperors.)

When SPEAKING FOR THE CHURCH, INFALLIBLE

- (1) The motive of Gregory: Gregory was not an evil, power-grabbing tyrant. He saw himself as perhaps the only representative of God who could bring order to a chaotic society. Europe was in the throes of war, along with all its other problems. This power was to become an ugly thing in the hands of popes less noble than Gregory.
- (2) The reforms of Gregory VII (the attempt to implement the above ideals):
The abolition of clerical marriage--long a law (1074) but broadly ignored. This marks the actual beginning of the practice of clerical celibacy.

Schaff 5. 44-45: At last, the Gregorian enforcement of sacerdotal celibacy triumphed in the whole Roman Church, but at the fearful sacrifice of sacerdotal chastity. The hierarchical aim was attained, but not the angelic purity of the priesthood. The private morals of the priest were sacrificed to the hierarchical ambition. Concubinage and licentiousness took the place of holy matrimony. The acts of councils abound in complaints of clerical immorality and the vices of unchastity and drunkenness. The records of the Middle Ages are full of the evidences that indiscriminate license of the worst kind prevailed throughout every rank of the hierarchy. The corruption reached the papacy, especially in the fifteenth century.

The abolition of simony/lay investiture: This was the great point of contention in the struggle with the state. The state could no longer control ecclesiastical dignities by selling them. This took the Church with its vast wealth out from under the hand of the emperor and threatened the very feudal order. The German emperors could not maintain their territories after the plan of Otto I if they could not appoint bishops and abbots. Henry IV bitterly fought Gregory on this issue, declaring himself God's representative and Gregory a false monk. Gregory excommunicated Henry and deposed him. The latter was forced to petition the pope for forgiveness, and did so at Canossa in 1077. Henry, upon receiving his crown again, continued his attempts to depose Gregory and was once again excommunicated. This time, however, Henry came to Rome with an army and Gregory was forced to flee; he died in exile.

- c The Hohenstaufen emperors (1138-1254)--The Church dominates the state.

The struggle went on between the successors of Gregory and those of Henry. In the year 1122 there was drawn up the Concordat of Worms, a truce in the following terms:

- (1) The emperor recognized the right of the Church to elect its own popes.
- (2) In Germany, the Church could appoint abbots and bishops, but upon entering their lands, they were under the control of civil authority.

Discussion #26: The West, part 4

7. Controversies in the Church

- a. The Adoptionist controversy in Spain
- b. The Filioque addition (previously discussed)
- c. Controversies over the Lord's Supper

(1) In the ninth century: In 831 full transubstantiation is set forth, i.e., the theory that at the pronouncement of the Mass the bread is changed into the historic body of Christ, that and nothing else. An abbot of a monastery in France, Paschasius Radbertus, wrote a book On the Body and Blood of the Lord, which, in an edited form, was dedicated to the Emperor Charles the Bald as a Christmas gift (844). Marus, a leading theologian, opposed the concept of transubstantiation contained in it as a novelty and appealed to Augustine, who had made a distinction between the historical and the eucharistic/mystical body of Christ.

In the view of Marus, Christ has three bodies:

- (a) The historical body, born of the Virgin Mary.
- (b) The eucharistic body, created in the Mass.
- (c) The spiritual/mystical body, the Church.

(2) In the eleventh century: In 1049 a theologian named Berengar of Tours attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation. He was opposed by Lanfranc and condemned by a Roman synod that met in 1050 and by later councils. He was forced to sign a recantation. Thus the theory that had been marked as a novelty in the ninth century is orthodox in the eleventh, and a man is marked as a heretic if he opposed it. In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council declared transubstantiation to be a dogma of the pope.

- d. The Predestination controversy: A Monk, Gottschalk (or Godescalcus) revived the Augustinian concept of predestination. He was condemned as a heretic and suffered torture and imprisonment for 20 years. It is important to notice that the Church has moved far from Augustine theology in many important areas of doctrine.

8. Worship in the early middle ages

- a. The liturgy of this period reaches approximately the form that it holds at the present time. The Roman liturgy replaced the Gallic and became the sole form. It is expanded and elaborate; the Mass has approximately 100 separate elements. Symbolism dominates; every movement in the service came to be invested with mystic significance.
- b. The table around which was formerly celebrated communion was pushed up against the front wall and became an altar before which the priest offers the sacrifice (transubstantiation). Churches began to be built in the shape of the cross, and designed so that people could see, not so they could hear or participate. Sanctuaries became deeper and people moved farther and farther from the altar.
- c. The service was in Latin, which was now a foreign tongue. At the Mass, the priests stood with their backs to the people, and preaching deteriorated until it became almost nonexistent. Few priests had sufficient education to preach.
- d. The organ began to be used in the service.

9. The life of the Church in the early middle ages

- a. Society was violent, chaotic, tottering on the edge of anarchy. People were religious with a heavy overlay of superstition. Morals were almost nonexistent.
- b. The Church reflected the age, but it was the only institution making any attempt whatever to lift the intellectual and moral tone of society.
- c. The means used by the Church to elevate moral and spiritual life:
 - (1) Monasticism: This was the Cluniac stage of monasticism. The monastery founded at Cluny in France (910) had tremendous influence. It tightened the Benedictine Rule and spawned a family of monasteries that were subject to the mother institution.

system of mutual responsibilities. It reflected the influence of women. There was a religious ceremony in which a knight would dedicate himself to the service of God and man. The code of chivalry required that the knight

- (a) believe the teachings of the Holy Church.
- (b) protect the Church.
- (c) defend the weak.
- (d) love the land of his birth.
- (e) never shrink from the enemy.
- (f) wage implacable war against infidels.
- (g) treat vassals according to feudal justice.
- (h) never lie; always keep his word.
- (i) be generous in largess to all.
- (j) always champion good against evil.

SECTION FOUR: The Church in the Later Middle Ages, A.D. 1122-1500

Discussion #27: The Crusades

I. The Crusades (1095-1292)

- A. Definition: Military expeditions designed to win back Palestine from the Turkish Muslims.
- B. Number: Because of several abortive attempts, it is difficult to count the crusades, but were at least eight expeditions that can be called crusades.
- C. Underlying causes
 1. Military: The Seljuk Turks were threatening Constantinople, and thereby the security of Europe. It was good military strategy to confront the Muslim forces at Constantinople rather than letting them get a foothold west of the Bosphorus.



EUROPE AND THE
MIDDLE EAST ABOUT 1190

2. Economic: Trade between east and west had always been required for the economic health of Europe, which was dependent on the east for important products, such as spices and silks. The Turks often interrupted trade.
3. Political: It was to the advantage of many kings who were trying to consolidate their holdings to send recalcitrant nobles to fight in far away places. Many nobles being squeezed out of their inheritances were seeking new lands where they could establish their own estates, or even kingdoms.
4. Romantic: The crusade was a dramatic appeal to glamor and glory in a bleak and restricted age.
5. Religious:
 - a. Whereas Muslims had traditionally treated Christian pilgrims kindly, the Turks were interfering with them. The cry went up to win back the "Holy Land" from the infidel.
 - b. The promise of indulgence from purgatory for those who went was attractive to men who lived short, evil lives.
- D. The First Crusade, 1096-1099
 1. The Turks replaced the Arabs as the dominant group among the Muslims, and they were applying pressure westward. The emperor called on the west for help; his appeal was made to the pope.
 2. The response of Pope Urban: Urban delivered what is called by Will Durant "the

most influential speech in medieval history," and set the forces in motion. It was delivered at Clermont in France.

O race of Franks, race beloved and chosen by God, from the confines of Jerusalem and from Constantinople a grievous report has gone forth that an accursed race, wholly alienated from God, has finally invaded the lands of these Christians, and has depopulated by pillage and by fire . . . some of the captives they have carried away into their own country, and some they have killed by cruel torture . . . they destroy the altars after having defiled them with their uncleanness . . . on whom, then, rests the labor of avenging these wrongs? If not upon you, you upon whom above all others God has conferred the remarkable glory in arms, great bravery and strength to humble the heads of those who resist you . . . let the deeds of your ancestors encourage you. The glory and grandeur of Charlemagne and your other monarchs. Let the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord and Savior, now in the hands of unclean nations, arouse you, and the holy places that are now stained with pollutions. Let none of your possessions keep you back nor anxiety for your family affairs. This land which you now inhabit, shut in on all sides by the sea and the mountain peaks is too narrow for your large population. It scarcely furnishes food enough for its cultivators. Hence it is that you murder and devour one another; that you wage wars and that many among you perish in civil strife. Let hatred, therefore, depart from among you. Let your quarrels end. Enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre! Wrest that land from a wicked race and subject it to yourself! Jerusalem is a land fruitful above all others; a paradise of delights. That royal city situated at the center of the earth implores you to come to her aid! Undertake this journey eagerly for the remission of your sins! Be assured of the reward of imperishable glory in the Kingdom of Heaven!"

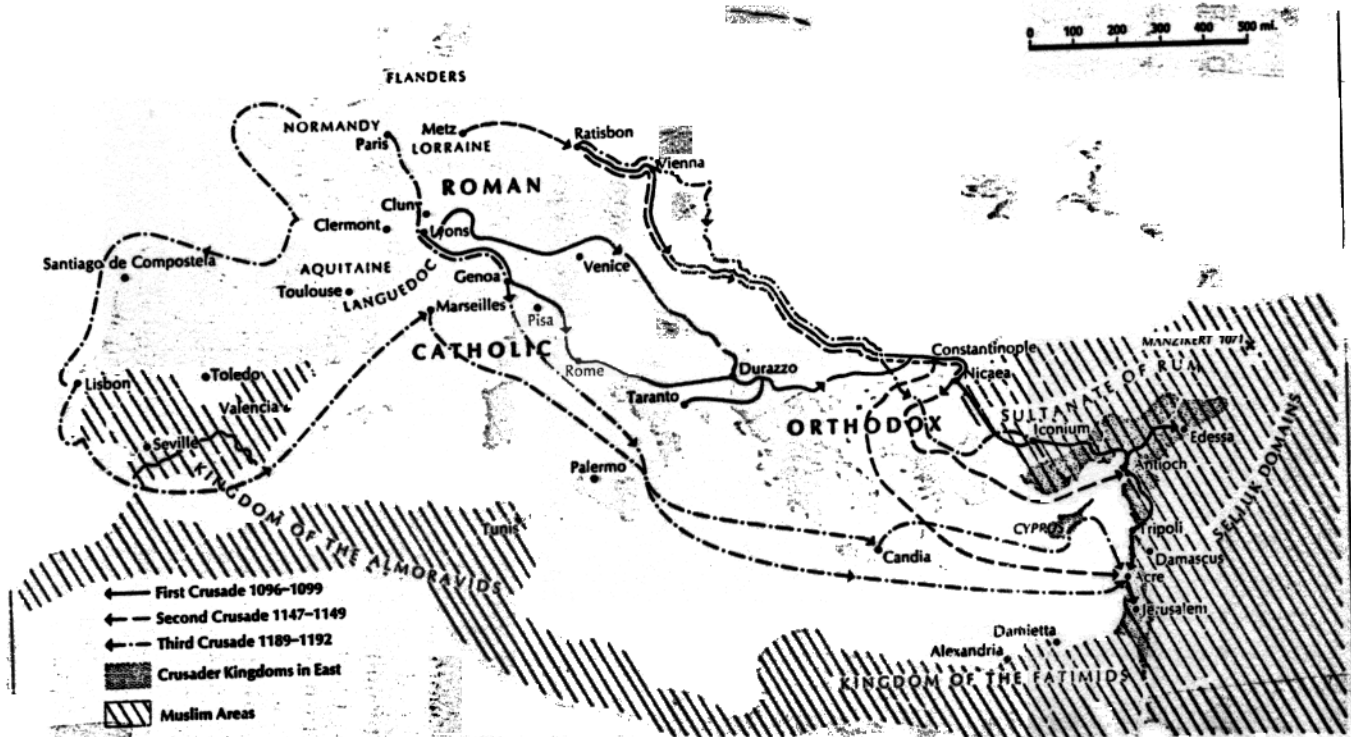
3. The response to the speech of Pope Urban
 - a. The people cried "Deus Vult!"--God wills it!. Urban took up the cry and urged the people to make it their battle cry. He commanded them to wear a cross upon their breasts.
 - b. For nine months Urban preached the crusade with equal success. He assumed the right to release nobles as well as serfs from feudal obligations that might hinder their leaving. Urban conferred on all crusaders the privilege of being tried in ecclesiastical courts for any crime of which they might be accused while on the crusade. He commanded (but could not enforce) a truce to all wars among the Christian nobility. Europe was genuinely united under the pope as it feverishly prepared for a holy war. Urban promised a complete indulgence for all who went. This was the beginning of a new emphasis on indulgences that was to have tremendous consequences.
4. The crusade: Before the armies could be raised and organized, a number of mobs simply got together and started for Jerusalem, led by such men as Walter the Penniless and Peter the Hermit. The mobs (as did later organized expeditions) attacked the Jews in Europe. Reasons: They had to live off the land; why not plunder the "Christ-killers?" Why fight heretics so far away when these enemies of the Church were right here at home? THIS WAS THE BEGINNING OF JEWISH PERSECUTION IN EUROPE.

The mobs looted and raped in a general way, thus many cities in eastern Europe closed their gates against and even fought the "crusaders." The mobs arrived at the gates of Constantinople decimated by fighting, famine, plague, leprosy, fever, and defection. The Emperor Alexias welcome them but did not feed them enough, so the mobs began to plunder Constantinople, including churches.

The emperor shipped them across the straits and advised them to wait until better organize and equipped units could join them. They ignored him and marched on Nicea. A contingent of Turkish bowmen marched out and all but

annihilated them.

The armies finally got under way and succeeded in capturing Jerusalem. The crusaders took three years to accomplish their goal and were reduced to 12,000 competent. They killed Christians who tried--at first--to welcome them, and massacred the Muslim inhabitants of Jerusalem.



5. The results of the first crusade

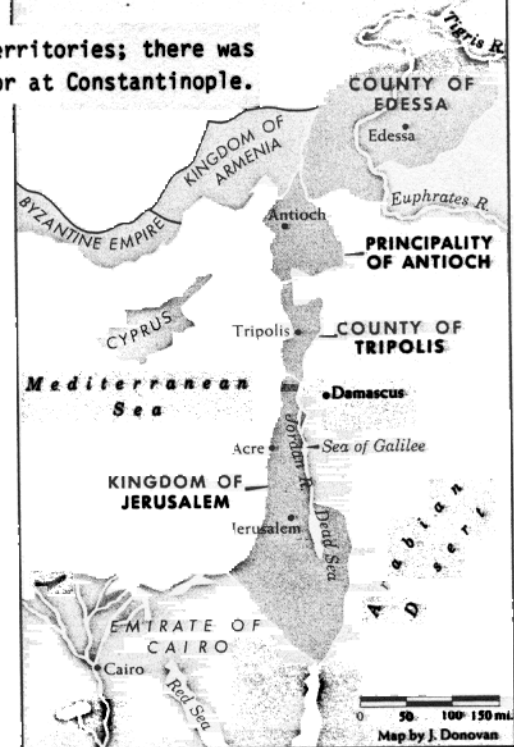
a. The foundation of four Latin kingdoms:

- (1) The Kingdom of Jerusalem
- (2) The Principality of Antioch
- (3) The County (or Duchy) of Tripoli
- (4) The County of Edessa

Roman Catholic Christianity was imposed in these territories; there was no thought of returning the territory to the emperor at Constantinople.



THE CRUSADER STATES



- b. A number of military orders
 - (1) The Hospitalers
 - (2) The Templars, a monastic order of warriors. This is the beginning of what was to become the Masonic order.
 - (3) The Teutonic Knights
- c. A new concept of warfare
 - (1) In the first 300 years of its history, the Church was taught pacifism by the fathers who spoke on the subject and whose writings have survived. After Constantine made the empire Christian, Augustine et al. conceived of the "just" war fought reluctantly.
 - (2) The crusade differed from the just war.
 - (a) Fought under the Church vs. the state.
 - (b) The common soldier volunteered.
 - (c) The common soldier had no personal responsibility for evaluating the ethics or morality involved.
 - (d) All qualms were erased. This was a holy cause in which to kill was to benefit Christ. To die was salvation.
- E. The Second Crusade, 1147-1149
 - 1. Cause: The loss of Edessa, one of the Latin kingdoms. This was the result of a resurgence of Muslim power, which threatened the other kingdoms.
 - 2. Inspired by Bernard of Clairveaux (to be discussed later).
 - 3. The armies came from France and Germany. In part because they received little help and protection from Constantinople, the armies were cut to pieces in Asia Minor.
- F. The Third Crusade, 1189-1192
 - 1. Cause: The capture of Jerusalem.
 - 2. The armies came from France, Germany, and England, and were led by Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard the Lionhearted of England.
 - 3. Frederick drowned on the way and the armies of Germany withdrew. Philip and Richard fell to quarrelling, and Philip went back to France. Richard's forces approached by sea and won a foothold in Acre. He got no farther and was forced to return home. On his way to England he was imprisoned in Germany and his brother John ruled in England until Richard could be ransomed.
- G. The Fourth Crusade, 1202: This crusade was promoted by Pope Innocent III. The armies came from northern France. It went to Venice with a view to getting passage to Egypt. The French planned to strike north from there. Because they could not pay for the boats, the crusaders were persuaded to take Constantinople (1204) and divide the city with the Venetians. Constantinople remained a Latin state until 1261, when the forces of the Byzantine Empire, working from Nicea, retook the city.
- H. The other crusades and the fate of the Latin kingdoms; the resurgence of the Muslims.
 - 1. The crusades diminished in force and result. In 1291 Acre, the last foothold in Palestine, was lost to the Muslims.
 - 2. In 1356 the Ottoman Turks surged into Asia Minor; in 1453 Constantinople fell; in 1517 the Ottoman Turks crossed the Bosphorus and threatened Vienna; the whole of Europe was endangered.
- I. The results of the crusades
 - 1. The fall of Constantinople was delayed by the defeat of the Seljuk Turks.
 - 2. The crusades hastened the consolidation of the European states, which meant the end of feudalism and the rise of nations.
 - 3. Trade followed the Cross; commerce expanded spectacularly.
 - 4. As a result of contact with the higher cultures in the east, there was an intellectual revolution in Europe. The ground was laid for the Renaissance.
 - 5. The moral tone of Europe was lowered even further.

6. The religious division between east and west was intensified.
7. The bitterness between Christian and Muslim was intensified.
8. Hatred of the Jews was intensified.
9. The superstitious and unquestioning faith of many in European Christendom was turned into doubt.



Discussion #28: The Church and the State, part 1

II. The Church and the State

This was a period of struggle for power, not simply for freedom, with the Hohenstaufen dynasty of the Holy Roman Empire, the leading European power.

A. Pope Alexander III

1. The struggle with Frederick Barbarossa of the Holy Roman Empire: Because they were old enemies, Frederick refused to recognize the election of Alexander to the papal throne. He set up a rival pope and Alexander responded by excommunicating him. For eighteen years pope and king fought. Frederick marched into Italy, but was defeated by papal forces, heat, and disease. Alexander managed to create opposition to Frederick in Germany itself. Frederick was forced to make his peace with Alexander in St. Mark's Square in Vienna, July 1177, marking his final defeat in the struggle with the papacy. This made Alexander the most powerful pope up to this time.
2. The struggle with Henry II of England: Henry II was a powerful monarch who sought to consolidate his kingdom and, therefore, control church lands. To this end he established the Clarendon Code:
 - It called for control of bishops by the king.
 - It subjected clergy to civil courts.
 - It limited appeals to papal courts.
 - It restricted the power of excommunication.Thomas à Becket, longtime friend of Henry, was made Archbishop of Canterbury and was to have implemented the Code. Thomas unexpectedly changed both his lifestyle and his loyalties. At the king's suggestion, his courtiers assassinated Thomas, creating such popular revulsion that the king was forced to modify or withdraw most of the terms of the Clarendon Code.

B. Pope Innocent III

1. Innocent III claimed that God had given him not only the government of the Church, but of the whole world (and the facts seemed to bear out this claim). He was the most powerful pope in history, coming nearest of any to actually wielding the authority claimed by Gregory VII.
2. Innocent III and the Holy Roman Empire: When the electors were unable to choose a successor to Henry VI, the pope stepped in and said that he would choose between the two candidates. When Otto made the best pledges to the pope, Innocent III crowned him king of the Holy Roman Empire. When Otto forgot his promises, the pope deposed him and crowned Frederick II, after extracting certain assurances.
3. Innocent III and King John of England: There was a debate over who was to be Archbishop of Canterbury. John refused to accept the pope's appointed man, and Innocent III excommunicated him. When John did not seem to be concerned about this, England was put under papal interdict. When John still refused to yield, Innocent III offered the crown of England to the king of France. When the king of France prepared to invade England and assume his divine right, John was forced to submit. After publicly declaring his feudal loyalty to the pope, he gave his crown to a papal envoy and received it back from him.
4. Innocent III and France: The pope forced Philip II to take back a wife he had divorced. When the dukes of southern France refused to eradicate the Cathari, a heretical group in their area, Innocent III declared a crusade against southern France. He invited other French nobles to go in and kill the heretics and take over the real estate in the process. This they did and southern France was economically retarded for years.
5. Innocent III assembled and dominated the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), the most important council of the middle ages.
6. After the death of Innocent III, Frederick II opposed his successor and the

struggle continued; the papacy never again, however, came as close to making good its claims to universal authority. In all this, the papacy bartered spiritual leadership for temporal rule.

C. The Church and France

1. When Innocent III broke the power of the Holy Roman Empire, France became the leading European power.
2. After Innocent III, the papacy, because of its obsession with temporal and political power, lost moral prestige--the basis of its influence.
3. Modern states began to emerge, each having a king who consolidated power in himself. Philip the Fair of France was the first of these kings, creating a system that was more resistant to papal claims than had been possible under the feudal arrangement.
4. The humiliation of the papacy at the hands of Philip the Fair (1268-1314).
 - a. Philip needed money to fight his wars, so he proceeded to tax Church property. Boniface VIII issued the bull "Clericis Laicos" in which he denounced the attempt to do so. Philip responded by blockading any funds from passing over Alps to Rome. Boniface VIII had to give in and permit the taxation of Church property in France.
 - b. Philip had arrested a papal envoy and proceeded to put him on trial for treason. Boniface VIII issued the bull "Unam Sanctam" (1302):

We are obliged by the faith to believe and hold . . . that there is one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and that outside this Church there is neither salvation nor remission of sins . . . Of this one and only Church there is one body--not two heads, like a monster--namely Christ, and Christ's Vicar is Peter, and Peter's successor, for the Lord said to Peter himself, "Feed my sheep" . . . And we learn from the words of the Gospel that in this Church and in her power are two swords, the spiritual and the temporal. . . Truly he who denies that the temporal sword is in the power of Peter, misunderstands the words of the Lord . . . But the latter (temporal) is to be used for the Church, the former (spiritual) by the Church; the former by the priest, the latter by kings and captains, but at the will and by the permission of the priest. The one sword, then, should be under the other, and temporal authority subject to spiritual. . . Furthermore we declare, state, define, and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff.

Philip called together (for the first time) the Estates General--representatives of all ruling elements in France--and found that he had sufficient support, including ecclesiastical support, to defy the pope. He sent one of his men to Italy to bring the pope back to France to stand trial. The man kidnapped the pope and started home with him. He got as far as Anagni in northern Italy before friends of the pope rescued the pontiff. Boniface VIII was an old man and he died shortly thereafter, no doubt from consternation that the successor of Peter should be so humiliated. This marked the end of the dream of the medieval papacy of universal authority.

- c. Pope Clement V, successor to Boniface VIII, was helpless when Philip moved against the Knights Templar and executed their leader Demolay on trumped-up charges.
- d. Philip compelled the papacy to move its headquarters from Rome to Avignon in France where it could be better monitored. This began the "Babylonian Captivity of the Church," 1305-1378 (70 years), and every pope in this period was a Frenchman.

In this period the popes used their considerable political influence on behalf of France against the kings of Germany and England. The papacy began to be regarded as a political pawn rather than a moral power for God that transcended politics. In this the prestige of the papacy declined further.

As a consequence of papal political activity, there arose significant individual

criticism of the papacy by such men as Dante, William of Occam, and John of Paris. Their primary opposition was to the temporal claims of the pope; they continued to recognize him as the spiritual power--the head of the Church. (William of Occam denied the spiritual claims also). These men argued for a temporal sword independent of the spiritual, and they raised the question whether the power of the state came directly from God or to the state through the Church.

Marsiglius of Padua, rector of the University of Paris and sometimes called "the first modern man" in Europe, argued that the supreme authority is not in the papacy but in the New Testament, and that the authority of both Church and state is in the hands of the people. Both pope and king are to hold power for the people, and they retain it only so long as they use it for its intended purpose. God, according to Marsiglius, gave the pope to the Church, not the Church to the pope. The means of popular expression is the council, and the council has authority over the pope.

William of Occam denied papal infallibility; he argued that the general council, not the pope, was the highest authority.

Parenthetical Study: Six Popes to be Remembered

1. Innocent I (401-417)--the first pope to claim universal authority.
2. Leo I ("the Great," 440-461)--the first to claim explicitly for Rome the exclusive powers stated in Matt. 16.
3. Gregory I (590-604)--laid the foundations of the medieval papacy.
4. Gregory VII (1073-1085)--clearly defined the ideals of the medieval papacy, i.e., the particulars of universal authority.
5. Innocent III (1198-1216)--the pope who, more than any others, nearly realized the claims of Gregory VII.
6. Boniface VIII (1294-1303)--the pope whose humiliation marked the end of the dreams of the medieval papacy.

Discussion #29: The Church and the State, part 2; The Popes of the Italian Renaissance

D. The Church and Germany

In this period the German princes adopted the Declaration of Ross (1338), which set forth the doctrine that the Holy Roman Empire had the right to elect its own emperors without papal interference. They rebelled against being manipulated by a French pope who was under the direct control of the French king. The Declaration did not stop the pope from interfering in German affairs.

E. The Church and England

In England in 1351, and again in 1353, provisos were drawn up declaring that the English Church had the right to elect its own bishops without interference from Rome, and limiting the right of appeal from English civil courts to Roman ecclesiastical courts.

F. The Church and finances

1. Oppressive measure to obtain money. In this period the financial activity of the Church came to a climax. The drain of gold to Rome was a grave problem to the emerging national states. Rome was very creative as it devised ways of increasing the flow of money into its coffers. Examples:
 - a. Taxes from the Papal States.
 - b. Annates--the first year's income from newly-appointed bishops.
 - c. Tithes--1/10 of the income from ecclesiastical offices.
 - d. Service charges--revenues from such services as ordination and confirmation of bishops.
 - e. Pallium--the archbishops mantle.
 - f. Visitation--high officials were expected to regularly travel to Rome, and while there they had to pay for their entertainment. Later they had to pay the hospitality fees whether or not they made the trip.
 - g. Procuration--priests paid fees when they visited bishops; a portion of this went to Rome.
 - h. Spoils--if a Christian died intestate, his property belonged to the pope.
 - i. Vacancies--if a bishop or abbot died, the pope would delay the appointment of a successor and claim the income from the office in the interim.
 - j. Peter's pence--a penny-per-person tax paid by kings and princes to indicate feudal dependence on the pope.
 - k. Apostolic tax--a tax levied upon certain nations and certain monasteries.
 - l. Charitative subsidies--special appeals, on the basis of charity, made to bishops and abbots in time of special need.
 - m. Indulgences--money as penalty for forgiven sin.
 - n. Absolutions--money from excommunicants as a part of their restoration to the Church.
 - o. Dispensations--for priests born out of wedlock, prelates who wished to absent themselves from their livings, persons wishing ordination before they were of age, clergy who said mass in interdicted territories, relatives wishing to marry, princes who wanted to exercise the right of coinage, a king who wanted to carry his sword on Christmas day, kings who wanted to legitimize bastard children, a sick nun to leave the convent and go home to die, a converted Jew who wanted to visit his unconverted parents, the permission to hold more than one benefice, to secure freedom from fasting, to permit a city to establish a school, a layman to hear university lectures on law and physics, to permit a city to erect a hospital, to receive stolen goods, ad infinitum.
 - p. The sale of offices--papal offices that had great under-the-table income were sold by the pope. The applicant had to pay ten-times the above-the-table income.
2. The prodigal expenditure money: While the common people were being systematically looted, popes of this period enjoyed the most luxurious and licentious courts

in Europe. They spent huge sums on the wars they waged to secure power and land.

III. The Great Schism, 1378-1417

- A. The beginning of the Great Schism: Gregory XI made a pilgrimage from Avignon to Rome (which had fallen into a state of decline), and died there. According to custom, the election of a new pope was held in that city. This excited the people of Rome to agitate for the return of the papacy from Avignon and with it the restitution of the former glory and prosperity. Under the pressure of the mob, the College of Cardinals elected an Italian, Urban VI.

When Urban VI proved to be an arrogant, ascetic reformer, the cardinals said they had been forced to elect him; they proceeded to invalidate the election and install a French pope, Clement VII. Result: Urban VI refused to recognize the disendowment and continued to reign in Rome. Clement VII reigned in the papal palace at Avignon. Europe divided itself into the French bloc vs. the anti-French bloc.

- B. The complication of the Great Schism: When neither pope would trust the other enough to resign first, three reforming councils were called. The corruption of the papacy, and now the schism, led to a revival of the "conciliar theory," i.e., the concept that the Holy Spirit speaks through councils in a way that supercedes the authority of the papacy.

1. The Council of Pisa, 1409

- Called by both the Avignon and the Roman cardinals to settle the schism and reform the Church. It was recognized that the Church had more problems than the multiple papacy. The situation called for both administrative and moral reform.
- The council deposed both popes and elected Alexander V to the papal throne. The council then adjourned without addressing further reform.
- Result: Neither pope complied with the decision of the council, so there were now three popes.

Parentetical Summary: The Popes of the Great Schism

Years	Roman	Avignon	Pisan
1378	Urban VI	Clement VII	
1489	Boniface IX		
1394		Benedict XIII	
1404	Innocent VII		
1406	Gregory XII		
1409			Alexander V
1410			John XXIII (deposed)
1417	Martin V		

2. The Council of Constance, 1414-1418

- Called by the German king to deal with reform in general, the schism in particular, and the problem of John Hus.
- Constance was the most imposing council of the middle ages.
- For the first time, the vote was by nation.
- The decisions of Constance
 - A clear declaration of conciliar supremacy.
 - The schism settled: John XXIII (Pisan) was put on trial for 70 different crimes (most of which he had committed), convicted, and deposed. Gregory XII (Roman) voluntarily resigned. Benedict XIII (Avignon) was deposed, although he never recognized the deposition. He was isolated by the cardinals and thus did not function in office.
 - Constance took insignificant action toward minor reforms.
 - The council burned John Hus.

- (5) A schedule was set for future councils, most of which would never be held.

3. The Council of Basel, 1433

a. The decisions of the council

- (1) A declaration of supremacy of council over pope. Pope Eugene IV objected and attempted to have the council adjourned to Bologna. He was forced to submit to the council.

- (2) Various administrative reforms were set forth.

b. The division of the council: Constantinople was about to fall to the Ottoman Turks; the emperor called on the Roman pope for assistance. Eugene IV adjourned the council to Ferrara and then to Florence to meet with representatives of the Greek Church to talk over the problem. The majority refused to adjourn. The majority in Basel lost prestige because it seemed to all Europe that at Ferrara-Florence the Church was about to be reunited. The Basel council panicked and deposed Eugene. With this Basel washed itself out of the picture because Europe would not tolerate the idea of again having two popes. The council at Ferrara-Florence undid all the reform work done at Basel. Eugene demanded that the supremacy of the papacy be restated in order that he might facilitate the reunion with Constantinople. The east-west breach was superficially mended, then fell apart as the reconciliation was aborted.

4. The results of the conciliar movement

- a. By ending the schism and uniting the Church under a single pope, the conciliar movement dug its own grave. The newly-strengthened papacy reasserted its traditional claims to universal authority.
- b. Reform, which had been tied to the conciliar movement, was blunted and the Church and the papacy slid into deeper corruption. It became clear to thinking people that little hope remained for reformation from within the Church.

IV. The Popes of the Italian Renaissance, 1417-1521 (the papacy in the century leading up to the Protestant Reformation)

A. Italy was divided into a number of city-states: Genoa, Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome, and the Papal States.

B. The papacy of the Italian renaissance summarized.

- 1. They functioned primarily as civil rulers--temporal princes struggling to enlarge their borders at the expense of their rivals.
- 2. They were patrons of the renaissance, i.e., more interested in the tradition of classical paganism than in the Christian world view.
- 3. They were indulgent fathers and uncles, given to legitimizing their children and providing for them by giving them offices in the Church.
- 4. They were shrewd financiers. The drain of gold intensified and the displeasure of emerging national states increased accordingly.
- 5. Many of the renaissance popes were shameless profligates.

C. The nadir of the renaissance papacy--Alexander VI

- 1. Alexander VI was of the family Borgia; he bought the papacy, according to the custom of the time. Schaff, 6. 445ff:

The pre-eminent features of Alexander's career, as the supreme pontiff of Christendom, were his dissolute habits and his extravagant passion to exalt the worldly fortunes of his children.

The gayeties, escapades, marriages, worldly distinctions and crimes of these children would have furnished daily material for paragraphs of a nature to satisfy the most sensational modern tastes.

That which marks him out for unmitigated condemnation is his lack of

principle. Mental ability, which is ascribed to the devil himself, is no substitute for moral qualities. Perfidy, treachery, greed, lust and murder were stored up in Alexander's heart. He shrank from the commission of no crime to reach the objects of his ambition . . .

- D. The apex of the renaissance papacy--Leo X (1513ff.): Leo was on the papal throne when Martin Luther nailed the Ninety-Five Theses to the church-door at Wittenberg. He was a refined Italian gentleman, but a man of classical paganism; he knew little of Christian theology or piety.

Discussion #30: The Doctrine of the Church, part 1

V. The Doctrine of the Church

In this period Roman Catholic theology, as it exists today and with minor exceptions, was formulated and fixed.

A. The rise of schools and universities

1. For about 500 years it was a "dark age"; few schools or libraries existed. Learning survived only in cathedral schools and monasteries.
2. In the period 1050-1200 rapid growth of schools was part of the emerging order in Europe. These schools usually developed around a single popular teacher.
3. In the 13th century there arose universities, i.e., schools taught by faculties and enjoying organization and rules. The University of Bologna was the first.

B. Early scholasticism

1. Definition: In this context, the theology of the schoolmen of the later middle ages. It is the doctrine and theology of modern Roman Catholicism.
2. The rise of early scholasticism
 - a. Theology was the "queen of the sciences."
 - b. It appeared in the single-teacher school of this period.
 - c. It represented a reaction to Muslim scholarship--Averroes et al.
 - d. It reflected the rediscovery, in some sense at least, of the works of Aristotle. The early schoolmen began with the assumption that the traditional teachings of the Church were true; they then proceeded to demonstrate the intellectual respectability of Church dogma by constructing a system of theology and apologetics after the Aristotelian paradigm.
3. The purpose of early scholasticism: To discover and explain Church dogma and to thus establish the rational validity of it. The schoolmen believed that the truth of dogma rests on the authority of the Church; the explanation of it, they hoped, could be completely rational.
4. The character of early scholasticism
 - a. No attempt was made to gain new knowledge, either by experiment or by observation.
 - b. Early scholasticism was a synthesis of the following (fully developed only in later "high" scholasticism.):
 - (1) Catholic tradition and theology
 - (2) The wisdom of the Arabs
 - (3) Medieval Jewish philosophy
 - (4) Classical antiquity
5. The problem addressed by the schoolmen: The question of universals vs. particulars. Are such universals as truth, beauty, and sin the ultimate realities. The language of Church doctrine reflected the Augustinian-Platonic theme--ultimate reality in universals, not in particulars. The schoolmen questioned the meaning of the language of Church doctrine, not its truth. They investigated three "answers":
 - a. Realism: The traditional Catholic belief that universals constitute ultimate reality, existing above, before, behind, and under particulars.
 - b. Nominalism: The Aristotelian concept that universals are simply abstract names and do not actually exist. The Church rejected this answer.
 - c. Conceptualism: The theory that universals exist in, but not apart from, particulars.
6. The theological implications of scholasticism
 - a. Question: Does the Church exist primarily as a universal reality functioning as the depository of faith and the source of sacramental grace, or does it exist only in local congregations? If the latter, what is the source of her authority? Can there be, in reality, a universal (mystical?) Church that gives the local bishop his authority?
 - b. Does Original Sin transmit through mankind by Adam's fall, or through individual

- men? How could "mankind" fall in Adam if no such thing as mankind actually exists?
7. The conclusions of early scholasticism: The Church embraced Realism and rejected Nominalism. The former harmonized with Augustinianism, the latter undermined the authority of the Church because it saw truth as being available from sources other than divine revelation. Nominalism is the rational epistemology, Realism the mystical.
 8. The representatives of early scholasticism
 - a. Anselm--the "first of the great schoolmen." Anselm introduced the ontological argument for the existence of God and took a kind of satisfaction theory of the atonement.
 - b. Abelard--a powerful and popular teacher at the University of Paris.
 - c. Peter Lombard--the schoolman who summarized Church dogma along orthodox lines. Lombard's Sentences became the theological textbook of the middle ages.
- C. High scholasticism
1. The background
 - a. The emergence of universities (vs. the earlier one-man schools)
 - b. The rise of monastic teaching orders (to be discussed later)
 - c. The incorporation of Aristotelian science into Church doctrine. The question became, not what does the Bible say, neither what does nature reveal, rather, what does Aristotle say.
 2. Representatives of high scholasticism
 - a. Duns Scotus
 - b. Albertus Magnus (the teacher of Thomas Aquinas)
 - c. Bona Ventura (the head of the Franciscan order)
 - d. Thomas Aquinas (1255-1274)
 3. Thomism--the theology of Thomas Aquinas; the theology of the Roman Catholic Church.
 - a. Authority--revelation through the Church.
 - b. Reason--functions to demonstrate, so far as it can, that revelation is rationally credible.
 - c. God--the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity; the Chalcedonian creed.
 - d. Proof of the existence of God--the cosmological-theological argument (cause and effect) as opposed to Anselm's ontological argument.
 - e. Predestination--Augustinian double-election.
 - f. Man--Augustinian total inherited moral disability, utterly dependent upon prevenient grace. Because the Church, on this point, followed Duns Scotus rather than Aquinas, it was not as receptive to Luther and Calvin as it might have been.
 - g. Salvation
 - (1) God's part--the source of prevenient, infused grace through the sacraments of the Church.
 - (2) Man's part--faith as the acceptance of Christ as clothed in the dogmas of the Church of Rome.
 - (3) Works--obedience to the commands of the Church, which obedience produces merit that may achieve the level of supererogation (that which surpasses what is required for salvation).
 - h. Sin
 - (1) Venial sin, resulting in temporary punishment in purgatory.
 - (2) Mortal sin, resulting in eternal punishment in hell.
 - i. The sacraments (to be discussed later): baptism, confirmation, penance, the eucharist, extreme unction, marriage, the orders of ordination; channels of infused grace. The method: ex opera operato.

Discussion #31: The Doctrine of the Church, part 2

D. The seven sacraments

1. Baptism

A baby is born with a sinful nature and bears the guilt of Adam's sin. Baptism regenerates the nature, remits Adam's sin, and implants the "seed of faith." If the baby is not baptized, it goes to Limbus Infantrum for eternity. For this reason, baptism may be administered by a layperson in an emergency.

2. Confirmation

- a. A rite designed to give another "dose" of grace (an infused moral force) after baptism. In the early middle ages confirmation came as soon as possible after baptism.
- b. In the later middle ages confirmation was performed at early adolescence. It served to confirm the faith implanted at baptism and to give the emerging adult the increased inner moral power to live the Christian life.

3. Penance. According to Aquinas, the sacrament of penance embraces four elements:

- a. Contrition
- b. Confession--to a priest. Failure to confess at least once a year is a mortal sin.
- c. Absolution--the remission of guilt.
- d. Satisfaction--payment of the temporal penalty for sin. Satisfaction must be made either in this life or in purgatory. Full satisfaction, however, can seldom be made in this life; everyone, except the saints, goes to purgatory. The indulgence is a purchased substitute for acts of satisfaction or penance. The indulgence draws upon the supererogative or excess of meritorious works stored in the "treasury of the saints."

4. The Eucharist

- a. The communion; the common believer partakes of only the bread, the priest partakes in both kinds.
- b. The Mass: The priest reoffers the body of Christ, performing the miracle of transubstantiation, in which the elements become the historic body and blood of Jesus, that and nothing else.
- c. The value of the Eucharist to one who attends
 - (1) The celebrant receives a new infusion of grace.
 - (2) Absolution--the absence of the believer from the Eucharist for more than a year is a mortal sin. In the Eucharist he enjoys partial absolution, i.e., time in purgatory is reduced.
 - (3) Masses can be said (at a price) for the dead to decrease their time in purgatory.
- d. Thomas Aquinas worked out the explanation of transubstantiation, which describes the substance of the wine and bread as distinguished from the accidents.

5. Extreme unction

- a. Based on James 5:14, 15.
- b. Definition: The anointing with special oil of various parts of the body (each of symbolic importance). Three benefits of extreme unction:
 - (1) It might help the sick to recover.
 - (2) It offers psychological or spiritual encouragement at time of death.
 - (3) It remits the remnants of sin so far as the Church can perform that function. It will keep the believer out of hell, but not out of purgatory.

6. Marriage

- a. The marriage ceremony conveys a transcendental character that cannot be destroyed, hence the prohibition of divorce. An eternal entity is created by the sacrament in the Realistic sense.
- b. Marriages can be dissolved or annulled only by the discovery of an obstacle that prevented the transcendental entity from being created in the first place.

prevented the transcendental entity from being created in the first place.

- c. Because of the sacramental character of marriage, all who are married other than by a priest are living in adultery. Non-catholic marriages are in terms of "natural law," i.e., the couple does not live in adultery, but there is no full marriage in the eyes of God.

7. Ordination: The sacrament that enables the priest to perform the other sacramental acts

E. The Church

1. Before Aquinas the last theologian to define the Church was Augustine: One, Holy, Apostolic, Catholic.
2. Aquinas: One, Holy, Apostolic, Catholic, Roman (no true Church other than in subjection to the Bishop of Rome).
3. Since salvation is of primary importance to man, and since salvation is only in the Roman Church, it follows, according to Aquinas, that those who threaten the safety of the Roman Church, such as heretics, deserve not only condemnation in hell, but also temporal punishment by the state. He is worse than a murderer, and therefore deserving capital punishment.

F. John Duns Scotus (a Franciscan monk)

Duns Scotus introduced a strain of thought into Roman theology called Scotist (vs. Thomist). Particulars wherein Duns Scotus differed from Aquinas and wherein the Roman Church followed the former rather than the latter:

1. Faith vs. reason: Duns Scotus denied the concept of Aquinas that all doctrines of the Church can be explained rationally. Duns Scotus held that all doctrines cannot be understood by logic and, therefore, must be accepted on the basis of authority, even though dogma might defy reason.
2. Whereas Aquinas taught that God is essentially Being (with a certain character), Duns Scotus held that God is essentially Will, and therefore arbitrary. The issue in this is whether a thing willed by God is good because it is good, or is good because it is the will of God.
3. With Duns Scotus attrition could take the place of contrition in the sacrament of penance. Attrition, in this context, is sorrow for sin that arises from concern for pain caused to the sinner, not necessarily extending to full contrition, i.e., sorrow for the nature of the act itself and for the feelings of God (fear of hell vs. love for God).
4. Duns Scotus held to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, a theory rejected by Aquinas.
5. Whereas Aquinas' view of man was Augustinian (man completely without moral ability), Duns Scotus was semi-Pelagian (man can make an initial move toward God).

G. William of Occam (a disciple of Duns Scotus); important aspects of his thought:

1. He went further than Duns Scotus in holding that none of the doctrines of the Church are subject to reason and that all must be believed solely on the authority of the Church. This constituted a breakdown of scholasticism.
2. The supreme authority in the Church is in the general council. William of Occam wrote during the Avignon captivity of the Church.
3. The Bible alone is binding on Christians, and in secular matters, the Church and the pope are subject to the state.
4. William of Occam rejected Realism in favor of Nominalism.

H. The decline of scholasticism

1. Scholasticism reigned supreme in the thirteenth century, but declined rapidly in the fourteenth and fifteenth.
2. Reasons for the decline
 - a. The acceptance of Nominalism by William of Occam, scholasticism's leading exponent.
 - b. The expanding willingness to accept pure authority as the basis of epistemology.
 - c. Scholasticism inflated into an elaborate deductive system (Christian rabbinism) moved further and further away from reality and life.
 - d. The overall impossibility of subjecting Roman dogma to reason. Unlike the doctrines

of the Bible, Roman dogma is Augustinian and, therefore, inherently nonrational.

Augustine's God

Following the inclinations of Greek philosophy, the early Christian fathers tended to highlight the contrast between God and his world. The effect was to play up the truth that God is holy and separate from sinners, and to play down the equal truth of his personal presence in people's lives.

Augustine (354-430) was Western theology's classic exponent of this account. He stressed God's sovereignty. God predestines us according to his own will, and God's grace restores the hearts of those whom he chooses. Augustine diagnosed evil as good gone wrong, which, though God overrules and uses, he does not cause.

Augustine also adapted from the neoplatonists their model of the mind's ascent to knowledge. He claimed that understanding of God, who can only be known through the incarnate Son, comes solely as God illumines the willing minds of those who have already taken Christian truth on trust. "Believe in order to understand" was Augustine's principle. □



Aquinas's God

Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) took as his basis the orthodox theological heritage, particularly as interpreted by Augustine. But he recast it to fit a different philosophical mold—that of Aristotle. Thus, Thomas conceived God not as a static essence, but as a dynamic being who is the First Cause of everything that is not himself.

Aristotle examined everything in terms of causes. This prompted Thomas to develop natural theology—supposedly real and sure knowledge of God gained by reason alone. His method was to note respects in which, as he thought, this world can be shown to be the effect of a First Cause, and then to reflect on what the First Cause must be to produce such effects.

Is Thomas's natural theology logically and psychologically sound? Is his distinction between natural and supernatural realms of being and knowledge good or bad theology? These questions are disputed to this day. □



Discussion #32: The Worship of the Church; Popular Piety

The Worship of the Church

- A. The liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church reached its present form in this period.
- B. The sermon was overshadowed by the mass, the latter becoming the center of the worship service. Preaching all but died out in the beginning of this period, but was revived toward the end. After there was no preaching at all, especially in the smaller parish churches. Few great preachers, such as Bernard of Clairveaux and Savanarola (to be discussed later), existed in the Church of the later middle ages. Some of the monastic orders carried preaching to the streets and fields.
- C. A vast amount of sacred poetry came from the monasteries in this period. Some was incorporated into hymns sung by choirs (no congregational singing). They were heavily loaded with saint worship and mariolatry; pruned somewhat of these elements, some of the hymns continue in use. Examples:
 - a. "O Come, O Come, Immanuel"--twelfth century, anonymous
 - b. "O Sacred Head Now Wounded,"--ascribed to Bernard of Clairveaux
 - c. "Jesus, Thou of Loving Hearts" " " " "
 - d. "Jesus, the Very Thought of Thee" " " " "
 - e. "Jerusalem, the Golden"--ascribed to Bernard of Cluny
 - f. "All Creatures of our God and King"--ascribed to St. Francis of Assisi
 - g. "Good Christian Men, Rejoice"

VII. Popular Piety

- A. The worship of Mary and the saints was developed and expanded in the late middle ages. This reflects, in part, the feudal romanticising of womanhood. "Madonna" means "my lady." Mary, who was, in the past, spoken of as perpetually virgin, the "Mother of God," and the "Queen of Heaven," in this period began to be viewed as immaculately conceived (free of original sin). In this period, prayers to Mary as mediatrix are advanced. From this comes the Ave Maria.

The present form:

Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee.

Blessed are thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus.

Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now, and in the hour of our death.

Amen.

Parentetical study: The Evolution of Mariology

1. In the New Testament and in the first century, Mary enjoys no special veneration.
2. Origen (185-254) et al. attributed to Mary an elevated sanctity, but not perfection.
3. Ambrose of Milan (340-397) first suggested that Mary lived a morally perfect life (a virgin of the spirit).
4. Augustine (354-430) held that Mary did not commit sin.
5. Radbertus (9th century) held that Mary was sanctified in her mother's womb, i.e., born without sin.
6. The Canons of Lyons (1140)--the first suggestion that Mary was conceived in a way untainted by original sin (immaculate conception). Bernard of Clairveaux and Thomas Aquinas objected to the idea as an unacceptable innovation.
7. In 1854, Pope Pius IX declared the Immaculate Conception as dogma.
8. In 1950 the Assumption of Mary became dogma.
9. In certain countries, it is taught that Mary is the Co-Redemptress.

- B. The use of the rosary as a devotional comes in this period. With the rosary, fifteen

decades of Ave Marias are recited, each decade preceded by the Pater Noster and followed by the Gloria Patria.

C. Relics

1. Both the number and importance of relics increased with the crusades. The crusaders brought back a multitude relics. Examples: The Holy Grail found at Caesarea, Noah's beard, the horns of Moses, the stone on which Jacob slept at Bethel, the branch from which Absalom hung, the naval cord of Jesus, tears that he shed at the grave of Lazarus, milk from Mary's breast, the table on which the Last Supper was eaten, Paul's thorn in the flesh, enough fragments of the Cross to build a small town.
2. In 1517, Frederick the Wise, Luther's prince, was very proud that the collection of relics that his province could boast contained more than 5,000 items.

D. Sacramentals (vs. sacraments): Objects that are supposed to have supernatural power by virtue of a blessing bestowed upon them by the Church, not having the stature of a sacrament, which is blessed by Christ.

1. Examples:

- a. The sign of the cross
- b. Special candles
- c. Holy water
- d. Ashes on the head of the faithful on Ash Wednesday
- e. Rosary
- f. Medals and pictures

2. The sacramental objects, prayers, gestures, etc. must be blessed by the priest to be efficacious. Their general value is
 - a. to promote popular piety.
 - b. to obtain indulgence from purgatory--for venial sins only.

E. Drama: The old pagan theater died out in the dark ages. In the late middle ages (up to about 1250), dramas were performed in the churches by priests. After 1250, they began to be performed also by guilds out in the open. Gradually, humor, burlesque, and mimicry were introduced. The devil became a popular comic relief. Ultimately modern drama developed out of ecclesiastical drama.

F. The Bible: As Latin ceased to be the common language, the Bible, which was available and permitted only in Latin, ceased to be generally read; it became a lost book. Between 1440 and 1450 printing was invented, and after this a number of translations began to appear.

The Church had either discouraged or forbidden popular reading of the Bible.

G. Religious art: During the middle ages, the Renaissance artists often worked with religious themes: Giotto, Da Vinci, Raphael, Michelangelo, et al.

H. Architecture: the great period of cathedral-building.

- a. Romanesque
- b. Norman
- c. Gothic (the style that permitted the great stained-glass windows)
- d. Renaissance
- e. Examples: Cologne, Westminster Abbey, Notre Dame (at Paris, Milan, and Rheims, France)

I. The Flagellants: Men scourged themselves and one another as they paraded through the streets--suffering for Christ. This is an example of the kind of hysteria that regularly swept Europe, in different forms.

J. A somewhat hysterical concept of Satan and the demons prevailed in the late middle ages. This was often reflected in the art of the period, from which comes the gargoyle image of demons. Witch-hunts resulted from the superstitious fear of Satan.

Discussion #33: Missions; Monasticism, part 1

VIII. Missions

- A. Summary of the history of the expansion of the Church
 1. The ancient catholic Church (AD. 30-323)--the Church expanded rapidly through the Roman empire.
 2. The imperial state Church (AD 323-604)--the Church went to the barbarian tribes beyond the boundaries of the old Roman empire.
 3. The Church in the early middle ages (AD 605-1122)
 - a. Great losses in the east and in North Africa.
 - b. Great gains among the peoples of Europe, until that continent was, in some sense at least, won to the Faith.
 4. The Church in the later middle ages (1122-1500)
 - a. No real gains; very little missionary activity; Europe was considered to be already Christianized.
 - b. The Muslim states had cut off access to the pagan of Africa and the east.
- B. During this period the Muslims were expelled from Spain by force of arms. In 1492 they lost their last toehold--Granada in southern Spain. Spain emerged as the "most Catholic" nation of that era. This is because, in part, Spain had been Latinized during the age of the Roman republic and empire, and Roman Christianity was most closely tied to the Latin culture.
- C. Very little concern or effort was given to evangelize the Muslims. Christians relied primarily on the sword.
- D. Brilliant exception: Francis of Assisi. Francis was the one man who approached the Muslim problem intelligently. He set up schools to train men as missionaries to the Muslims. Francis believed that Christians ought to make the attempt to understand and persuade the Muslims. He lost his life on a mission in North Africa.
- E. Missions in the far east
 1. In this period the great Mongolian empire covered much of Asia and Russia. They were generally favorable toward Christianity.
 2. Nestorian Christians and Franciscan monks went as missionaries and were initially welcomed. Two factors blunted the missionary thrust into the great Mongolian empire:
 - a. The loss of Acre (1291), the last Christian foothold in Palestine, was interpreted by the Mongols as a shift in the balance of power to the Muslims. They thought it wise to cast their lot with the Muslims.
 - b. In 1368, the Mongolian empire fell to the native Chinese Ming dynasty. Because the Chinese were so opposed to the Mongols, and because the Mongols had been favorable to Christianity, the Chinese took an attitude of unrelenting hostility toward the Church. Organized Christianity was eradicated from China.
 3. The Russian peoples had relied on Christianity in its Eastern Orthodox form to sustain and encourage them in the period of Mongolian domination. When the Mongols were driven out, Russia was more staunchly Orthodox than ever, and began to view Moscow as the center of true Christianity.
- F. The relations between Christians and Jews
 1. Summary of the history of the relations between Christians and Jews
 - a. Antisemitic legislation began with Constantine. Before the Romans had recognized the Jews as a difficult people, but they had granted them general favor in the form of citizenship, although there were brief periods of oppression. Constantine prevented the Jews from proselyting.
 - b. Constantius (son of Constantine) went further and made intermarriage between Jewish men and Christian women illegal. Later all Jewish-Christian marriages were proscribed. Constantius also made it illegal for Jews to own slaves, which seriously affected them in two ways:
 - (1) It stopped an important channel of proselyting.

- (2) It crippled the Jews economically.
 - c. Theodosius II (408-450) prohibited Jews from holding high public office.
 - d. Justinian (sixth century) did not allow a Jew to bear witness in court against a Christian.
2. With the crusades, persecution of the Jews began (previously discussed). From this time forward, Christians despised Jews on two grounds:
 - a. Hysterical hatred generated by the passion of the crusader spirit. After the crusades were a thing of the past, the clergy kept the spirit alive.
 - b. Economics, i.e., because Jews were allowed to charge interest where Christians could not, the Jews became the bankers and merchants of Europe.
3. Despite the efforts of the papal office (e.g., Innocent III) to discourage persecution, it flared regularly. Although Innocent III opposed the more intense and violent treatment of Jews, he instituted antisemitic legislation and started the practice of forcing Jews to wear yellow badges so these second-class citizens could be readily identified.
4. The lay princes tried to protect the Jews because they regularly borrowed money to fight their wars.
5. Expanding persecution culminated in the expulsion of the Jews from a number of countries in Western Europe; from England in 1290; from France in 1394; from Spain in 1492.
6. Ghettos were established in Italy and in Germany.
7. Christians confiscated the banking-merchant organizations and Jews were reduced to such business as trading in second-hand goods and the lending of small amounts of money in return for the pledge of an article (pawn-broking).
8. Persecution after the middle ages
 - a. Martin Luther was very bitter toward the Jews when they did not accept Protestant Christianity. Hitler called attention to the writings of Luther as the latter called for "merciful severity" toward the Jews. Luther advised that synagogues be burned, Jewish homes destroyed, and the Jewish population put in stockades. Jews suffered both from Protestants and Catholics in the struggle between the two parties.
 - b. Driven out of Western Europe, the masses of the Jews found refuge in Russia and Poland where they developed a communal life based on observance of the Talmud.
 - c. Under the influence of the Enlightenment, the Jews were allowed to gradually return to many sections of Western Europe, especially after the French Revolution.
 - d. Pogroms and persecutions continued in Russia and Poland until the beginning of World War I.
 - e. Their continuing status as a persecuted or disenfranchised minority led to the creation of Zionism--the doctrine that Jews must have their own homeland if Judaism is to survive and flourish.
 - f. Hitler's Germany demonstrates how deeply antisemitism was ingrained in the culture of Western Europe.

IX. Monasticism

- A. Monasticism was a movement within the Church on behalf of the Church. It was the characteristic institution of the Church from Constantine to the Protestant Reformation.
- B. Whereas the leading order in the early middle ages was the Cluniac, it was the Cistercians who were the leading group from 1100 to 1200.
- C. The founding of the Cistercians: The climate that created the order was the reaction against the laxity in following the Benedictine Rule that had come to characterize most monasteries. The founders of the Cistercians emphasized contemplation and withdrawal from the world. Their monasteries were built in secluded areas and the order became a contemplative one, i.e., requiring a strict regime of meditation and strictly regulated communication between the monks.

1. The outstanding representative of the Cistercian order: Bernard of Clairveaux (1090-1153). Despite his dedication to the principle of withdrawal from the world, Bernard became the greatest Christian leader of his day and one of the greatest moral leaders in the history of Europe. He was a man who dominated his age.
2. The Cistercian order came to have about 750 monasteries. After the death of Bernard (although he was not the official head of the order), the Cistercians went into decline. The order is now very small. A seventeenth-century reform movement within the Cistercians created the Trappist Order, a contemplative order.

Discussion #34: Monasticism, part 2; Mysticism

D. The Mendicant period (1200-1550)--the most important development in monasticism in this age of the Church.

1. The distinctive characteristics of mendicant monasticism

- a. Service in the world rather than withdrawal from the world becomes the ideal of monasticism. Orders of men and women who remained unmarried, accepted only a bare living from the Church, subjected themselves to a discipline, and gave themselves to various areas of service to mankind on behalf of Christ, including scholarship.
- b. Group poverty as well as individual poverty. Monasteries often became very wealthy, although its individual members owned nothing but had use of the wealth. For example, monks, in some orders, hired serfs to do the manual labor and became "fat and lazy." The mendicant orders were, in many cases, ruined by their wealth.

The mendicant ideal was that the group or order would divest itself of its lands and wealth and live by free-will daily gifts. This practice is called "mendicancy" and these became "begging orders."

Even the mendicant orders acquired wealth and gradually slipped back into the degenerative state of the older monastic systems.

- c. Lay brotherhoods--associate members of the orders, serving without taking vows of celibacy and poverty. There came to be three levels in the lay orders:
 - (1) Primary--friars
 - (2) Secondary--nuns
 - (3) Tertiary--laymen/brothers

- d. The mendicant orders were, from the first, immediately subject to the pope. They became something of a papal militia. The older orders had resisted papal authority and often had such power as to intimidate the pope.

2. The two most important mendicant orders: Franciscans and Dominicans

- a. The order of Franciscans, founded by St. Francis of Assisi, "the most beloved saint in the history of the Church."

Francis was a wealthy, frivolous, sensitive young man who underwent a conversion and set his face toward a life of direct imitation of the life of Jesus on earth.

Men were drawn to his very attractive life and person and wanted to join him. He set down as a rule for any who would be disciples Matt. 16:24-26; 19:21; Luke 9:1-6.

Some of the friends of Francis, against his will, organized the order on behalf of the Church. They required an oath, whereas Francis wanted men to be able to change their minds and return to the ordinary life.

After his death, the order, now somewhat far from the ideal of him whose name it bore, suffered fragmentation. The two primary divisions are the Franciscan and the Capuchin orders.

- b. The order of Dominicans, founded by Peter Dominic, a Spaniard and contemporary of Francis.

An extensive popular movement away from the Church took place in Spain and southern France; it was, for the most part, a reaction to the wealth and corruption of the Roman Catholic Church. When the leaders of the Church sought a way to stem the tide of apostasy, they were advised by Dominic that it was not pomp and grandeur that would win back the hearts of the masses, but preaching, austerity, apostolic humility, and genuine sanctity.

Dominic founded an order of preaching monks--a mendicant order. Whereas Francis was afraid of books, Dominic emphasized education as the preparation for the preachers. He required four years of general training and three years

of theological training. The greatest theologians of this age came from the Dominicans, including Thomas Aquinas.

When the Church decided that torture and force--the Inquisition--must augment preaching in the process of saving the Church from heretics, it was the Dominicans that were given the task.

- c. The Carmelites (see L. 439)
- d. The Augustinians (see L. 440)
- 3. The influence of the mendicant orders
 - a. Initially they produced a genuine revival of the religious spirit.
 - b. Eventually the orders were corrupted and fell from the high ideals of their founders.

X. Mysticism

- A. Definition: the direct intuition or experience of God, or that which believes itself to be.

Parenthetical Study

The Three Paths to God in Roman Catholic tradition

- 1. The lower road: minimum salvation through the sacraments.
- 2. The middle road: self-help, i.e., salvation with minimum purgatory through the sacraments plus meritorious works and special devotion. This is the path of the clergy and the monastic orders.
- 3. The high road: mysticism, i.e., a direct fellowship with God and revelation from God that depends neither upon the sacraments nor upon meritorious works, but rather upon the experience of God--the path many of the saints.

B. The basic kinds of mystics

- 1. The scholastic mystics--men who were schoolmen and theologians as well as mystics.
 - a. Examples: Bernard of Clairveaux--"The purpose of religion is conscious fellowship with God."; Hugo of St. Victor; Richard of St. Victor.
 - b. The problem of the scholastic mystics: Because they were analytical thinkers, they struggled to know if one can be sure he has really experienced God and not simply an emotional time of thinking about God? Their approach, called "practical mysticism":
 - (1) Cogitation
 - (2) Meditation
 - (3) Contemplation
- 2. The German mystics
 - a. Johann Eckhart--a Dominican theologian. Eckhart believed that every man had in him a spark of the divine that was the only true reality, and that man's goal was to enter into conscious union with God.
 - b. Johann Tauler
 - c. Groups of men called "Friends of God" devoted themselves to gathering and reading the writings of the mystics. From this group emerged, anonymously, a book called German Theology, a handbook on German mysticism. It was one of the influential books in the late middle ages and has come to be classified among the Christian classics. Luther said that the three greatest books in the world were the Bible, the writings of Augustine, and German Theology.
- 3. The Dutch mystics
 - a. John Ruysbroeck (1129-1381). Ruysbroeck founded the Brethren of the Common Life, a semi-monastic group that had a tremendous reviving influence upon life in Europe. The Brethren were prominent as school teachers. Another group of his followers organized a monastery at Windesheim, which later spawned a family of monasteries.

- b. Thomas à Kempis. Thomas was a product of the Windesheim monastery. He spent seventy years at the Convent of St. Agnes. He was in some way involved in the authorship of The Imitation of Christ. THIS BOOK IS THE GREATEST OF ALL CHRISTIAN CLASSICS, SO FAR AS ITS INFLUENCE IS CONCERNED. It has been read by more believers than any other Christian book other than the Bible itself. In the late middle ages it was read more than the Bible.
- C. Summary on the character of mysticism
 - 1. Mysticism was a movement within the Church but apart from the Church. Mystics were highly critical of sacramental theology, but never quite moved over into heresy because they participated in the sacraments; they simply attached little importance to them.
 - 2. Because they emphasized the inner life, the mystics were not interested in doctrinal reform.
 - 3. Common ideas found in the mysticism of this period:
 - a. God cannot be known by reason or by simply reading the Bible; He must be known by experience.
 - b. A man must first withdraw and "meet" God before he is ready to go forth and serve God and man in the world.
 - c. If a man will get himself "ready," God will pour Himself into the man's soul.
 - 4. Doctrinal thought among the mystics led, in a general way, away from basic biblical doctrines of God, man, and salvation. Mystics embraced Mary as quickly as they embraced Jesus.

Discussion #35: Criticism and Dissent, part 1

Criticism and Dissent--a trend that culminated in the Protestant Reformation.

A. Individual criticism and dissent--twelfth century

1. The general character and fate of these individuals

- a. They were ahead of their time in that their criticism often, for the first time, penetrated the area of doctrinal reform (vs. moral and administrative reform).

2. Examples

- a. Peter of Bruys, who denied that salvation depends upon the priesthood, rejected infant baptism and the Eucharist, and was burned by a mob.
- b. Henry of Lausanne (d. 1145), who denied the validity of the sacraments when performed by unworthy hands, condemned the wealth, power, and corruption of the clergy, and was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment by the pope.

c. Arnold of Brescia (@1155)

- (1) The most important dissenter of the twelfth century, a man who inflamed Europe and instigated a genuine mass exodus from the churches.
- (2) Arnold was a firebrand who condemned not only the wealth, corruption, and immorality of the papacy, but who also denied that the papacy has any temporal authority.
- (3) Arnold of Brescia held for the separation of Church and state.
- (4) He was put to death as a common criminal by Frederick Barbarossa.

B. Criticism and dissent by groups or sects--thirteenth century

1. General character and fate of the groups

- a. Mass movements of uncertain number.
- b. Especially strong in southern France, perhaps the most culturally advanced and enlightened area of Europe in this age.

2. Examples

- a. The Cathari or Albigenses: Named for Albi of southern France, one of their chief centers. The Albigenses represented a reaction to corruption, wealth, and immorality in the Church. They were dualistic and ascetic; they organized their own churches. The Albigenses were eventually destroyed by a papal crusade (see p. 92).
- b. The Waldenses: Named for Peter Waldo, a wealthy merchant from Lyons who discovered the Bible. Having previously committed himself to the mendicant life, he Waldo gathered about him a group of disciples (laymen), sometimes called called "the Poor Men of Lyons," and they carried on a ministry of preaching.

A papal commission examined them and forbade them to preach, but they continued, eventually setting up their own churches. The Waldenses objected to the sacraments, images, indulgences, purgatory, masses for the dead, etc. They lived the communal life. A papal crusade and other persecutions did not eradicate them because many found refuge in the Alps. Remnants of the Waldenses survive in northern Italy, making them the oldest protestant group extant.

One of Milton's sonnets was about the persecuted Waldenses and their flight to the Alps:

Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold--
Even them who kept Thy truth so pure of old
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
Forget not! In Thy book record their groans,
Who were Thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese that rolled

Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields where still doth sway
The triple-tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred-fold, who having learned Thy way
Early may fly the Babylonian wose.

C. The response of the Roman Catholic Church to criticism and dissent

1. Missionary endeavors, primarily by the Dominicans
2. Crusades
3. Prohibition of Bible reading in France (1229). It became the general policy to discourage the reading of the Bible, and to prohibit it in some areas.
4. The Inquisition

There had existed earlier the episcopal inquisition, i.e., bishops had the right of inquisition to ferret out and punish heresy in their own diocese. In response to the rising tide of dissent, there came into existence the papal inquisition administered by the Dominicans.

The general process:

- a. When the Inquisitor arrived in a community, all accused heretics were summoned. They were given a grace period of about 30 days to recant. If they did, they were given a comparatively light penance.
- b. The faithful were called upon to denounce all heretics to the Inquisitor, who could call upon the civil authorities to arrest them. Only two witnesses were required to make an accusation, and they did not have to agree on all points. The witnesses might themselves be accused heretics, perjurers, murderers, excommunicants, etc. Once charged, the accused was assumed to be guilty and trial was by torture, aimed at extracting a confession with a view to restoring him to the Church after proper punishment.
- c. If no quick recantation and repentance was forthcoming, the accused suffered a long, uncomfortable imprisonment--without sufficient food.
- d. If imprisonment did not bring the accused around, a trial was held in the presence of clergy and lawyers who were to watch for irregularities. The process was recorded by notaries. Witnesses for the accused were reluctant to testify because they might well find themselves charged.
- e. The accused was not allowed to confront those who testified against him. His only defense was to recite a list of his enemies and the court would take it into consideration if the accuser were named.
- f. After 1215 the papacy authorized torture for those who would not confess, according to the terms of Roman law. The chief means of torture:
 - (1) The rack
 - (2) The strappado
 - (3) Burning coals (applied to the soles of the foot)
- g. If torture did not extract a confession of guilt, the accused was still assumed guilty until he could explain away the accusations. If he could not do so (an almost impossible task), and if he failed to confess his guilt and recant, he was turned over to civil authorities for execution, usually to be burned at the stake. If there were serious doubt in his case or other reasons for clemency, the accused might be strangled before the burning.
- h. The character of the inquisitors: They were a part of a cruel age, at least in those particulars that our cruel age has moderated. The Church was no more and no less cruel than the age. The inquisitors believed they were preserving the social order and preventing anarchy and chaos. They also believed they were saving the public from eternal suffering in hell.

D. Critics of the papacy--fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Much criticism was encouraged

by the Avignon captivity and the Great Schism (see previous discussion). The leading pre-Protestant reformers:

1. John Wyclif (1320-1384)

- a. A schoolman: Wyclif was a professor of theology at Oxford, and recognized as the leading theologian in one of the leading universities in Europe; hence his broad influence.
- b. A statesman: The papacy was placing a heavy financial burden on the people of England. England needed protection from the papal claim to the right to tax the state. Wyclif developed a concept of stewardship, i.e., that the Church did not own the land, but rather held it in trust for the people. If the wealth of the land was not used for the people, the Church had violated its stewardship and it became the duty of the state to confiscate the land and assume the stewardship. Because of this service to the crown, Wyclif was to be later protected when accused of heresy by the pope.
- c. A reformer: Wyclif's teaching was revolutionary; he called for doctrinal as well as for moral and administrative reform in the Church. He affirmed that the Church does not exist in the bishops but in the elect, and the Church, therefore, is not coextensive with the State. Wyclif affirmed that Christ is the Head of the Church and that the Bible is the only law for the Church--not canon law and tradition. He sought to make the Bible available to all men. Wyclif announced that the papacy was the Antichrist, not the vicar of Christ. In this he created in England much hatred for the papacy that would bear fruit later. Wyclif attacked monasticism, mendicancy, celibacy, indulgences, saint-worship, transubstantiation, etc. The major contributions of Wyclif:
 - (1) The translation and distribution of Scripture.
 - (2) The ministry of his disciples--the order of the "Poor Preachers" or "Lollards."
- d. The career and death of Wyclif: Wyclif lost his position at Oxford and ended his days as the director of a small parish. He was protected by the crown because of his earlier service and allowed to die peacefully.
- e. Reaction to Wyclif
 - (1) In 1414 the Council of Constance prohibited the reading of the English-language Bible under pain of excommunication, forfeiture of lands, cattle goods, and life for self and heirs forever. Further translation was proscribed.
 - (2) In 1415 the Council of Constance condemned Wyclif on 250 counts, ordered his writings burned and his bones exhumed and removed from consecrated ground. His bones were disinterred, burned to ashes, and cast into the little river Swift. His memory was damned and he was consigned to hell.

Discussion #36: Criticism and Dissent, part 2; The Renaissance

2. John Hus of Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) (1370-1415)
 - a. Hus was a teacher at the University of Prague who became a disciple of Wyclif through the writings of the latter. The king of England had married a Bohemian princess who, in England, came into contact with the work of Wyclif and brought some of his material to Bohemia.
 - b. Hus had become a national hero because he stood for the rights of Bohemians against the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire who oppressed them.
 - c. Hus was excommunicated for circulating the teachings of Wyclif, but was so popular that the Church was forced to restore him. He was excommunicated a second time because he opposed one of the papal crusades and the attendant indulgences.
 - d. The Council of Constance (1414-1418) summoned him under a safe conduct. He was immediately arrested; the council said that a promise made to a heretic was not binding. Hus was kept incommunicado in a miserable imprisonment and suffered much for two months. When he was finally brought before the council, he was not allowed to speak but was simply called upon to repudiate his writings. The council burned his writings and condemned him to the stake. His ashes were cast into the Rhine.
 - e. A movement called the Bohemian Brethren continued underground when crusades were called to root them out. The Bohemian Brethren later accepted Calvinism and came into the Reformed stream of the Reformation.
3. Savonarola (1452-1498)
 - a. Girolamo Savonarola lived in Florence, Italy, a wealthy and immoral city in which the Church was no better than the rest of society, sometimes worse.
 - b. Savonarola entered a monastery when a girl refused to marry him.
 - c. He became a great preacher of moral (not doctrinal) reform. Savonarola led a book-burning and condemned "vanities." He openly criticized Pope Alexander VI. The crowds came to hear him preach and he produced a genuine (if brief) revival of religion in Florence.
 - d. Savonarola was excommunicated and a ban was put on the city of Florence. The public eventually turned against him. Many were jealous of his popularity and to most Florentines the revival was a novelty soon-to-be-tired-of. Many objected to Savonarola's "puritanical" attitude.
 - e. Savonarola called for a trial by fire to prove that God was on his side.

Schaff (6. 706-708):

The coming trial was looked for with the most intense interest. There was scarcely any other topic of conversation in Florence or in Rome. Great preparations were made. Two pyres of thorns and other wood were built on the public square about 60 feet in length, 3 feet wide at the base and 3 or 4 feet high, the wood soaked with pitch and oil. The distance between the pyres was two feet, just wide enough for a man to pass through. All entrances to the square were closed by a company of 300 men under Marcuccio Salviatis and two other companies of 500 each, stationed at different points. The people began to arrive the night before. The windows and roofs of the adjoining houses were crowded with the eager spectators.

The solemnity was set for eleven o'clock. The Dominicans made a solemn impression as they marched to the appointed place. Fra Domenica, in the van, was clothed in a fiery red velvet cope. Savonarola, clad in white and carrying a monstrance with the host, brought up the rear of the body of monks and these were followed by a great multitude of men, women and children, holding lighted tapers. When the hour arrived for the procession to start, Savonarola was preaching. He had again told the people that his work

He proved that the Apostles' Creed could not have been written by the apostles. Valla compared the Vulgate with the Greek text; the issue--authority vs. scholarship.

2. The fruits of the Italian Renaissance
 - a. The beginnings of modern literature.
 - b. The beginnings of modern art.
 - c. A revival of scholarship.
 - d. The rise of humanism.
 - e. The decline of morals.

Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (p. 427): "Nevertheless it cannot be denied that Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century found itself in the midst of a grave moral crisis, out of which the best men saw hardly any escape."

- f. Religion was paganized. Jesus was not forgotten, but Pan was more enthusiastically honored.

Schaff, 613-614:

Intellectual freedom in Italy assumed the form of unrestrained indulgence of the sensual nature. In condemning the virginity extolled by the Church, Beccadelli pronounced it a sin against nature. Nature is good, and he urged men to break down the law by mixing with nuns. The hetaerae were of greater service to mankind than monastic recluses. Illegitimacy, as has already been said, was no bar to high position in the state or the Church. Aeneas Sylvius declared that most of the rulers in Italy had been born out of wedlock, and when, as pope, he arrived in Ferrara, 1459, he was met by eight princes, not a single one of them the child of legitimate marriage. The appearance of the Gallic disease in Italy at the close of the 15th century may have made men cautious; the rumor went that Julius II, who did not cross his legs at public service on a certain festival, was one of its victims. Aretino wrote that the times were so debauched that cousins and kinsfolk of both sexes, brothers and sisters, mingled together without number and without a shadow of conscientious scruple.

What else could be expected than the poisoning of all grades of society when, at the central court of Christendom, the fountain was so corrupt. The revels in the Vatican under Alexander VI, and the levity of the court of Leo X, furnished a spectacle which the most virtuous principles could scarcely be expected to resist. Did not a harlequin monk on one occasion furnish the mirth at Leo's table by his extraordinary voracity in swallowing a pigeon whole, and consuming forty eggs and twenty capons in succession! Innocent VIII's son was married to a daughter of the house of the Medici, and Alexander's son was married into the royal family of France and his daughter Lucrezia into the scarcely less proud family of Este. Sixtus IV taxed and thereby legalized houses of prostitution for the increase of the revenues of the curia. The 6,800 public prostitutes in Rome in 1490, if we accept Infessura's figures, were an enormous number in proportion to the population. This Roman diarist says that scarcely a priest was to be found in Rome who did not keep a concubine "for the glory of God and the Christian religion." All parts of Italy and Spain contributed to the number of courtesans. They lived in greater splendor in Rome than the hetaerae in Athens, and bore classical names, such as Diana, Lucrezia, Camilla, Giulia, Costanza, Imperia, Beatrice. They were accompanied on their promenades and walks to church by poets, counts and prelates, but usually concluded their gilded misery in hospitals after their beauty had faded away.

The almost nameless vice of the ancient world also found its way into Italy, and Humanists and sons of popes like the son of Paul III, Pierluigi Farnese, if not popes themselves, were charged with pederasty. In his 7th

satire, Ariosto, d. 1533, went so far as to say it was the vice of almost all the Humanists.

D. The Renaissance north of the Alps

1. In Italy the Renaissance existed among coteries or academies of scholars. Its spirit never got out into the masses or into the universities. North of the Alps, it was more democratic and was active in the universities.
2. North of the Alps, there was more interest in the Christian classics rather than in the pagan--the emphasis in northern Italy.
3. The greatest representative of the Renaissance north of the Alps: Erasmus (1466-1536).
 - a. Born in Rotterdam, illegitimate son of a priest, educated in a monastery under the Brethren of the Common Life, Erasmus enjoyed an unusually enlightened education, following the theories of Gerson. His abbot recognized his intellectual superiority and allowed him to go to the university. He never returned to the monastery. Erasmus was to become an international figure: England, France, Switzerland. Never before or since has the whole of Europe so read after one man.
 - b. Doctrine: Erasmus was neither an orthodox Catholic nor a protestant. He held for primitive Christianity, ignoring the sacraments--after the pattern of the mystics--not attacking them. He focused on the moral teachings of Jesus. Example:

Of what use is it to be sprinkled outside by holy water if filthy within? No devotion better pleases Mary than the imitation of her humility. Would you please Peter and Paul? Then emulate the faith of the one and the charity of the other. Thereby you will do better than if you make ten pilgrimages to Rome. Would you imitate St. Francis? As it is you are arrogant, avaricious, and contentious. Control your temper, despise lucre. Overcome evil with good. You think it important to be buried in the cowl of a Franciscan? To put on his habit after you are dead will profit you nothing if you have not put on his deportment while alive.

(Continued on next page.)

I do not condemn you for revering the ashes of Paul, but if you venerate mute, lifeless ashes will neglecting his living image, speaking, as it were breathing in his letters, is not your devotion preposterous? You make much of a fragment of his body encased in glass but do you admire the whole mind of Paul shining through his epistles? You honor a statue of Christ in wood or stone and adorned with colors. You would do better to honor the image of his mind which through the Holy Spirit is expressed in the gospels. Are you excited over the seamless robe and the napkin of Christ and yet doze over the oracles of his law? Far better that you should believe than that you should treasure at home a piece of the wood of the cross. Otherwise you are no better than Judas, who with his lips touched the divine mouth. The physical presence of Christ is useless for salvation. Did not Paul say, "If I have known Christ after the flesh I will know him so no longer?" When I talk in this fashion I am supposed to be recommending the abolition of all external ceremonies, all devotions of the simple, especially those approved by the authority of the Church. No. They are sometimes aids to piety and practically necessary for babes in Christ, but if the salt has lost its savor what good is it? I am ashamed to speak of all the superstitions attached to these ceremonies.

In Praise of Folly:

And what shall I say of those who comfortably delude themselves with imaginary pardons for their sins, and who measure the time in purgatory with an hour glass into years, months, days, hours, with all the precision of a mathematical table? There are plenty, too, who, relying upon certain magical little certificates and prayers--which some pious imposter devised either in fun or for the benefit of his pocket--believe that they may procure riches, honor, future happiness, health, perpetual prosperity, long life, a lusty old age--nay, in the end, a seat at the right hand of Christ in heaven; but as for this last, it matters not how long it be deferred: they will content themselves with the joys of heaven only when they must finally surrender the pleasures of this world, to which they lovingly cling.

The trader, the soldier, and the judge think they can clean up the Aegean stable of a lifetime, once for all, by sacrificing a single coin from their ill-gotten gains. They flatter themselves that all sorts of perjury, debauchery, drunkenness, quarrels, bloodshed, imposture, perfidy, and treason can be compounded for by contract and so adjusted that, having paid off their arrears, they can begin a new score.

How foolish, or rather how happy, are those who promise themselves more than supernal happiness if they repeat the verses of the seven holy psalms! Those magical lines supposed to have been taught to St. Bernard by a demon, who seems to have been a wag; but he was not very clever, and, poor fellow, was frustrated in his attempt to deceive the saint. These silly things which even I, Folly, am almost ashamed of, are approved not only by the common man, but even by the teachers of religion.

c. The influence of Erasmus on the Protestant Reformation

- (1) He popularized criticism of the Roman Catholic system.
- (2) He undermined confidence in the sacraments, primarily by his wit. Where Luther battered down, Erasmus undermined. In such works as Praise of Folly, a silly woman who becomes Erasmus' mouthpiece, he reduced the spirit of awe in regard to sacraments and sacramentals.
- (3) His work on the Greek text was crucial. Its publication caused such a stir in Europe that the pope tried to proscribe it. His text became the basis of the KJV.
- (4) Erasmus elevated reason and exegesis over authority and illumination.

Bainton, Erasmus, p. 22: He certainly would not deny the historic revelation, but emphatically he insists that direct revelation has ceased. The Holy Ghost does not sit as a dove on the back of a chair to whisper in anybody's ear, as in the pictures of Gregory the Great.

- (5) Erasmus disagreed with Luther on the question of the freedom of the will.
- g. Summary: Erasmus died in the fold of the Roman Catholic Church and with the identity as an enemy of Luther; yet his faith and teaching were infinitely further removed from Rome and toward the New Testament than were the faith and teaching of Luther.

Addendum One: The Sources (Ante-Nicean)

At this point in the study of the early Christian centuries, it is important that the student have an introductory awareness of the major Ante-Nicean sources (sources of information for the period before A.D. 325). The first six are called Apostolic Fathers.

Clement of Rome (92-101?). According to Tertullian, Clement was the third successor to Peter at Rome and consecrated by him. Roman Catholic historians consider him as Clement I in the papal line. (His relationship to the Church at Rome is discussed in class.) He is probably to be identified with the Clement of Phil. 4.3. This identification is made by Eusebius and others. Clement is famous for his letter to the Church at Corinth in A.D. 96. He is an important source of information about the persecution by Domitian.

Ignatius (110f), Bishop of Antioch. Ignatius is known from letters which he sent to various congregations while he was on his last journey from Antioch to Rome (@110-117) where he was martyred. He is mentioned in Polycarp's short epistle to the Philippians. Ignatius emphasized 1) the glory of martyrdom, 2) the custodial (vs. sacerdotal) authority of the eldership, and 3) the terrible threat to the Church posed by heresy and schism. In particular he blasted the Docetists.

Polycarp (69-115). Polycarp was the famous Bishop of Smyrna. He is known through the writings of Irenaeus, the epistle of Polycarp to Philippi, the epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp, and the well-known letter from Smyrna which contains the account of his martyrdom. Polycarp knew the Apostle John, and in the spirit of John, vigorously opposed Docetism and Marcionism.

Hermas (100-?). The obscure author of Shepherd of Hermas. In this document, an angel allegedly appears to Hermas in the guise of a shepherd. The revelation consists of five visions, twelve moral commandments, and ten parables. The basic purpose of the document is to demonstrate that postbaptismal sin is forgivable.

Barnabas (?). The Epistle of Barnabas is an obscure document which is widely questioned as to authenticity. It is a doctrinal essay which heavily allegorizes the Old Testament.

Papias (d. 130). Papias was a contemporary of Polycarp and a leader of the congregation at Hierapolis. His Exegesis of the Dominical Oracles is preserved chiefly by Irenaeus and Eusebius. They comment negatively upon it primarily because of its millennialism. Papias is a primary early authority for the canonicity of Matthew and Mark. He claimed authority to teach because he was acquainted with those who had been pupils of the Apostles.

Ante-Nicean sources After the Apostolic Fathers

Justyn Martyr (c. 100). Justyn Martyr was born in Nablus, Samaria. He was an intellectual and philosopher who was converted to Christianity through the study of comparative philosophy. He became a travelling Christian lecturer whose goal was to convert pagans through debate and persuasion. He lectured in Rome and became very important there. Justyn Martyr is an important

source for mid-second century public worship. His works are Dialogue with Trypho (a Jew) and Apology. The latter was written at Rome about A.D. 150 and defends believers against the charge of atheism and hostility to the state. He argues from fulfilled prophecy and from the moral superiority of Christianity.

Irenaeus (c. 130). Irenaeus is one of the more important Ante-Nicean sources. He was a bishop of Lyons and he knew Polycarp. His chief work, Against Heresies (@180) is not only a refutation of Gnosticism, but also the first systematic presentation of catholic belief. By "catholic" belief, it is meant that Irenaeus set down that which had always been believed by most Christians in most places. Irenaeus held for the succession of elders as a guarantee of truth. This proposition will be discussed at length in class.

Clement of Alexandria (150-215). Clement was a very cultured and intelligent leader of the Church in Alexandria, Egypt. He is known chiefly for his systematic answer to the famous critic of Christianity Celsus. The latter charged that Christians were uncultured and rude and that the Gospel was irrational. Celsus charged also that Christians resorted to sophistry and forced exegesis to make their point. The writings of Clement of Alexandria mark an epoch in early Christian literature. His most important work is the trilogy Exhortation to the Greeks, Tutor, and Miscellanies. Clement wrote an important tract on the use of wealth and another which was a moral exhortation to the newly-baptized. His writings contain important notes on the doctrines of the Valentinian Gnostic Theodotus. Clement helped draw the line between Gnosticism and orthodoxy at Alexandria. He defended the faith without resorting to the super-orthodox view that the Greek philosophers were the source of all heresy. He placed a high value on the Hellenic tradition and considered Greek philosophy as the tutor of the Gentiles as the Law of Moses had been the tutor of the Jews; both leading to Christ and the reception of the Gospel. Clement theorized that the Greek philosophers had plagiarized Moses (this was the view of the famous Jewish philosopher, Philo). Because he took the quasi-classical view that the purpose of Christ was to perfect the character of man and because he viewed divine punishment as remedial rather than punitive, Clement was criticized by other early Church fathers for being tainted with the kind of heresy for which Origen was known.

Tertullian (155-222). Tertullian was the greatest of the early writers in the west. He was born at Carthage, converted at Rome, and became a heretic from the Church at Rome. He created Latin (vs. Greek) Christian literature. Tertullian had an excellent education and was a lawyer. He studied and mastered the documents of Christianity. Tertullian was discouraged by the deadness of the Church and tried to unite primitive enthusiasm with intelligent thought. This brought him into a qualified association with the Montanist heresy, the first "charismatic movement." He battled Marcion, Jews, Monarchians, and the traditional "main-line" church. The career of Tertullian saw the ultimate victory of Christianity over Gnosticism.

Hippolytus (165-235). Hippolytus lived at Rome but was excommunicated by the "Bishop of Rome" Calixtus because he would not recognize the authority of Calixtus. He was a defender of the Logos view in the monarchian controversy (to be discussed in class), and thus opposed the modalist and patri-passian views (which were held by Calixtus). His Contra Noetum is the most valuable single source of information on the monarchian controversy. Hippolytus died in exile in Sardinia.

Origen (185-254). Origen lived and worked at Alexandria and is often called the first great theologian of Christianity (after Paul). In 203 Origen became head of the famous catechetical school at Alexandria. He took over for his father who had been the head of the school but who died in one of the waves of persecution. Origen studied Hebrew (unprecedented) in his attempt reconcile Old Testament concepts with those of Greek philosophy. He was condemned by the Church in Alexandria, moved to Palestine, worked for a number of years in Caesarea, and finally died at Tyre. It is widely recognized that the thought of Origen smacks of Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism. He was a prolific writer, his most important works being: Philocalia, the Hexapla (a textual study which tried to reconcile the Hebrew text with the Septuagint), Homilies, and the Commentaries. It was Origen who thought in terms of a tri-level hermeneutic. He said that Scripture has a grammatico-historical meaning, a moral meaning, and a "pneumatic" interpretation. The latter was allegorical and represented, to Origen, the highest meaning of Scripture.

Eusebius (260-340). Eusebius was the bishop of Caesaria from about 314. His work Ecclesiastical History earned for him the traditional title "Father of Church History." He is the chief primary source for the history of the Church up to Nicea (325). Eusebius preserves in citation important works which are no longer extant. He was primarily an apologist, but also is known as a corrector of biblical texts and the author of a panegyric biography of Constantine. He was commissioned by the emperor to provide copies of the Scripture for the Church at Constantinople. Eusebius had a checkered career. He was imprisoned in the Diocletian persecution but seems to have performed some act of submission and thereby escaped death. He leaned toward the Arian position (to be discussed in class), but was exonerated of Arianism by the Nicean council.

Addendum Two: The Creeds

The Apostles' Creed

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried: He descended into hell: the third day He rose again from the dead. He ascended into Heaven. And sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty: from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Catholic Church: the Communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins: the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.

The Nicene Creed

I believe in one God
 The Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and all things visible and invisible:
 And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God;
 Begotten of his Father before all worlds,
 God of God, Light of Light,
 Very God of very God;
 Begotten, not made; being of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made:
 Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven,
 And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man:
 And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate; He suffered and was buried:
 And the third day He rose according to the Scriptures:
 And ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father:
 And He shall come again, with glory, to judge both the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.
 And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son.
 Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified; who spake by the prophets:
 And I believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church:
 I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins:
 And I look for the resurrection of the dead:
 And the life of the world to come.

*These words are omitted by the Orthodox Church.

The Athanasian Creed

Whoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic Faith.
 Which Faith except everyone do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.
 And the Catholic Faith is this: that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity.
 Neither confounding the Persons: nor dividing the Substance.
 For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Ghost.
 But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is all one: the Glory co-equal, the Majesty co-eternal.
 Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost.
 The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate.
 The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible.
 The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal.
 And yet they are not three eternals; but one Eternal.
 As also there are not three incomprehensibles, nor three uncreated: but one Uncreated and one Incomprehensible.
 So likewise the Father is almighty, the Son almighty: and the Holy Ghost almighty.
 And yet they are not three almighties: but one Almighty.
 So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God.
 And yet there are not three gods: but one God.
 So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord and the Holy Ghost Lord.
 And yet not three lords: but one Lord.
 For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by Himself to be God and Lord:
 So are we forbidden by the Catholic religion to say, there be three gods, or three lords.
 The Father is made of none: neither created, nor begotten.
 The Son is of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten.
 The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son, neither made, nor created nor begotten, but proceeding.
 So there is one Father, not three Fathers, one Son, not three Sons, one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.
 And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other: none is the greater or less than another.
 But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together, and co-equal.
 So that in all things, as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.
 He therefore that will be saved: must thus think of the Trinity.
 Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation: that he also believe rightly the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.
 For the right Faith is, that we believe and confess: that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man:
 God, of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds: and Man, of the Substance of His mother, born in the world:

(Athanasian Creed cont'd)

Perfect God, and perfect Man: of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting: Equal to the Father, as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father, as touching His Manhood.

Who although He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but one Christ.

One: not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by the taking of the Manhood into God.

One altogether: not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person. For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man: so God and Man is one Christ.

Who suffered for our salvation: descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead.

He ascended into heaven, He sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty, from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give account for their own works.

And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire.

This is the Catholic Faith: which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.

The dates of the first fifteen are conjectural. Anti-popes are listed indented.

42-67	Peter	496-498	Anastasius II	816-817	Stephen V	1012	Gregory
67-76	Linus	498-514	Symmachus	817-824	Paschal I	1024-1032	John XIX
76-88	Cletus	498-505	Lawrence	824-827	Eugenius II	1032-1044	Benedict IX
88-97	Clement	514-523	Hormisdas	827	Valentine	1045	Sylvester III
97-105	Evaristus	523-526	John I	827-844	Gregory IV	1045	Benedict IX,
105-115	Alexander I	526-530	Felix IV (III)	844	John		again
115-125	Sixtus I	530-532	Boniface II	844-847	Sergius II	1045-1046	Gregory VI
125-136	Telesphorus	530	Dioscurus	847-855	Leo IV	1046-1047	Clement II
136-140	Hyginus	533-535	John II	855-858	Benedict III	1047-1048	Benedict IX,
140-155	Pius I	535-536	Agapetus I	855	Anastasius		again
155-166	Anicetus	536-537	Silverius	858-867	Nicholas I	1048	Damasus II
166-175	Soter	537-555	Vigilius	867-872	Adrian II	1049-1054	Leo IX
175-189	Eleutherius	556-561	Pelagius I	872-882	John VIII	1055-1057	Victor II
189-199	Victor I	561-574	John III	882-884	Marinus I	1057-1058	Stephen X
199-217	Zephyrinus	575-579	Benedict I	884-885	Adrian III	1058-1059	Benedict X
217-222	Callistus I	579-590	Pelagius II	885-891	Stephen VI	1059-1061	Nicholas II
217-235	Hippolytus	590-604	Gregory I	891-896	Formosus	1061-1073	Alexander II
222-230	Urban I	604-606	Sabinian	896	Boniface VI	1061-1072	Honorius II
230-235	Pontius	607	Boniface III	896-897	Stephen VII	1073-1085	Gregory VII
235-236	Anteros	608-615	Boniface IV	897	Romanus	1080-1100	Clement III
236-250	Fabian	615-618	Adeodatus I	897	Theodore II	1086-1087	Victor III
251-253	Cornelius	619-625	Boniface V	898-900	John IX	1088-1099	Urban II
251	Novatian	625-638	Honorius I	900-903	Benedict IV	1099-1118	Paschal II
253-254	Lucius I	640	Severinus	903	Leo V	1100	Theodoric
254-257	Stephen I	640-642	John IV	903-904	Christopher	1102	Albert
257-258	Sixtus II	642-649	Theodore I	904-911	Sergius III	1105-1111	Sylvester IV
259-268	Dionysius	649-655	Martin I	911-913	Anastasius III	1118-1119	Gelasius II
269-274	Felix I	654-657	Eugenius I	913-914	Lando	1118-1121	Gregory VIII
275-283	Eutychian	657-672	Vitalian	914-928	John X	1119-1124	Callistus II
283-296	Celus	672-676	Adeodatus II	928	Leo VI	1124-1130	Honorius II
296-304	Marcellinus	676-678	Donus	928-931	Stephen VIII	1124	Celestine II
308-309	Marcellus I	678-681	Agatho	931-935	John XI	1130-1143	Innocent II
309	Eusebius	682-683	Leo II	936-939	Leo VII	1130-1138	Anacletus II
311-314	Melchiodes	684-685	Benedict II	939-942	Stephen IX	1138	Victor IV
314-335	Sylvester I	685-686	John V	942-946	Marinus II	1143-1144	Celestine II
336	Mark	686-687	Conon	946-955	Agapetus II	1144-1145	Lucius II
337-352	Julius I	687	Theodore	955-964	John XII	1145-1153	Eugenius III
352-366	Liberius	687	Paschal	963-965	Leo VIII	1153-1154	Anastasius IV
355-365	Felix II	687-701	Sergius I	964-966	Benedict V	1154-1159	Adrian IV
366-384	Damasus I	701-705	John VI	965-972	John XIII	1159-1181	Alexander III
366-367	Ursinus	705-707	John VII	973-974	Benedict VI	1159-1164	Victor IV
384-399	Siricius	708	Sisinnius	974	Boniface VII	1164-1168	Paschal III
399-401	Anastasius I	708-715	Constantine	974-983	Benedict VII	1168-1178	Callistus III
401-417	Innocent I	715-731	Gregory II	983-984	John XIV	1179-1180	Innocent III
417-418	Zozimus	731-741	Gregory III	984-985	Boniface VII,	1181-1185	Lucius III
418-422	Boniface I	741-752	Zachary		again.	1185-1187	Urban III
418-419	Eulalius	752	Stephen II	985-996	John XV	1187	Gregory VIII
422-432	Celestine I	752-755	Stephen III	996-999	Gregory V	1187-1191	Clement III
432-440	Sixtus III	757-767	Paul I	997-998	John XVI	1191-1198	Celestine III
440-461	Leo I	767-769	Constantine	999-1003	Sylvester II	1198-1216	Innocent III
461-468	Hilary	768	Philip	1003	John XVII	1216-1227	Honorius III
468-483	Simplicius	768-772	Stephen IV	1004-1009	John XVIII	1227-1241	Gregory IX
483-492	Felix III	772-795	Adrian I	1009-1012	Sergius IV	1241	Celestine IV
492-496	Gelasius I	795-816	Leo III	1012-1024	Benedict VIII	1243-1254	Innocent IV
						1254-1261	Alexander IV

1261-1264	Urban IV	1621-1623	Gregory XV	8.
1265-1268	Clement IV	1623-1644	Urban VIII	
1271-1276	Gregory X	1644-1655	Innocent X	
1276	Innocent V	1655-1667	Alexander VII	
1276	Adrian V	1667-1669	Clement IX	
1276-1277	John XXI	1670-1676	Clement X	
1277-1280	Nicholas III	1676-1689	Innocent XI	
1281-1285	Martin IV	1689-1691	Alexander VIII	
1285-1287	Honorius IV	1691-1700	Innocent XII	
1288-1292	Nicholas IV			
1294	Celestine V	1700-1721	Clement XI	
1294-1303	Boniface VIII	1721-1724	Innocent XIII	
1303-1304	Benedict XI	1724-1730	Benedict XIII	
1305-1314	Clement V	1730-1740	Clement XII	
1316-1334	John XXII	1740-1758	Benedict XIV	
1328-1330	Nicholas V	1758-1769	Clement XIII	
1334-1342	Benedict XII	1769-1774	Clement XIV	
1342-1352	Clement VI	1775-1799	Pius VI	
1352-1362	Innocent VI	1800-1823	Pius VII	
1362-1370	Urban V	1823-1829	Leo XII	
1370-1378	Gregory XI	1829-1830	Pius VIII	
1378-1389	Urban VI			
1389-1404	Boniface IX	1831-1846	Gregory XVI	
1404-1406	Innocent VII	1846-1878	Pius IX	
1406-1415	Gregory XII	1878-1903	Leo XIII	
1378-1394	Clement VII	1903-1914	Pius X	
1394-1423	Benedict XIII	1914-1922	Benedict XV	
1409-1410	Alexander V	1922-1939	Pius XI	
1410-1415	John XXIII	1939-1958	Pius XII	
1417-1431	Martin V	1958-1963	John XXIII	
1431-1447	Eugenius IV	1963-1978	Paul VI	
1440-1449	Felix V	1978	John Paul I	
1447-1455	Nicholas V	1978-	John Paul II	
1455-1458	Callistus III			
1458-1464	Pius II			
1464-1471	Paul II			
1471-1484	Sixtus IV			
1484-1492	Innocent VIII			
1492-1503	Alexander VI			
1503	Pius III			
1503-1513	Julius II			
1513-1521	Leo X			
1522-1523	Adrian VI			
1523-1534	Clement VII			
1534-1549	Paul III			
1550-1555	Julius III			
1555	Marcellus II			
1555-1559	Paul IV			
1559-1565	Pius IV			
1566-1572	Pius V			
1572-1585	Gregory XIII			
1585-1590	Sixtus V			
1590	Urban VII			
1590-1591	Gregory XIV			
1591	Innocent IX			
1592-1605	Clement VIII			
1605	Leo XI			
1605-1621	Paul V			

Addendum Four: Ecumenical Councils

Recognized by Both Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholics:

1. First Council of Nicaea (325)
2. First Council of Constantinople (381)
3. Council of Ephesus (431)
4. Council of Chalcedon (451)
5. Second Council of Constantinople (553)
6. Third Council of Constantinople (680-681)
7. Second Council of Nicaea (787)

Recognized by Roman Catholics:

8. Fourth Council of Constantinople (869-870)
9. First Lateran Council (1123)
10. Second Lateran Council (1139)
11. Third Lateran Council (1179)
12. Fourth Lateran Council (1215)
13. First Council of Lyons (1245)
14. Second Council of Lyons (1274)
15. Council of Vienne (1311-12)
16. Council of Constance (1414-18)
17. Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-c 1445)
18. Fifth Lateran Council (1512-17)
19. Council of Trent (1545-63)
20. First Vatican Council (1869-70)
21. Second Vatican Council (1962-65)

Addendum Five: The Donation of Constantine

Bettenson, Documents of the Christian Church, pp. 136-140:

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Emperor Caesar Flavius Constantinus in Christ Jesus (one of the same Holy Trinity our Saviour, Lord and God) faithful, merciful, mighty, beneficent, Alamannicus, Gothicus, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Britannicus, Hunicus, pious, fortunate, victorious, triumphant, ever August; to the most holy and blessed father of fathers, Silvester, Bishop of the Roman city and Pope; and to all his successors, the pontiffs, who shall sit in the chair of blessed Peter to the end of time; as also to all the most reverend and God-beloved Catholic bishops, by this our imperial constitution subjected throughout the world to this same Roman Church, whether they be appointed now or at any future time—Grace, peace, love, joy, long-suffering, mercy from God the Father almighty and Jesus Christ His Son and the Holy Spirit be with you all. . . . For we wish you to know . . . that we have forsaken the worship of idols . . . and have come to the pure Christian faith, the true light and everlasting life. . . .

For when a horrible and filthy leprosy invaded all the flesh of my body and I was treated by many assembled doctors but could not thereby attain to health, there came to me the priests of the Capitol, who said I ought to erect a font on the Capitol and fill it with the blood of innocent children and that by bathing in it while it was warm I could be healed. According to their advice many innocent children were assembled; but, when the sacrilegious priests of the pagans wished them to be slaughtered and the font filled with their blood, our serenity perceived the tears of their mothers and I thereupon abhorred the project; and, pitying them, we ordered their sons to be restored to them, gave them vehicles and gifts and sent them back rejoicing to their homes. And when the day had passed, and the silence of night had descended upon us and the time of sleep had come, the apostles SS. Peter and Paul appeared to me saying, 'Since thou hast put an end to thy sins and hast shrunk from shedding the blood of the innocent,

we are sent by Christ, our Lord God, to impart to thee a plan for the recovery of thy health. Hear therefore our advice and do whatever we bid thee. Silvester, bishop of the city of Rome, flying from thy persecutions, is in hiding with his clergy in the caverns of the rocks on Mount Scapte. When thou hast called him to thee, he will show thee the pool of piety; and, when he has thrice immersed thee therein, all the strength of this leprosy will leave thee. When that is done, make this return to thy Saviour, that by thy command all the churches throughout the world be restored; and purify thyself in this way, by abandoning all the superstition of idols and adoring and worshipping the living and true God, who alone is true, and devote thyself to His will. . . .

Therefore I rose from sleep and followed the advice of the holy apostle. . . . The Blessed Silvester . . . imposed on me a period of penance . . . then the font was blessed and I was purified by a triple immersion. And when I was at the bottom of the font I saw a hand from heaven touching me. And I rose from the water cleansed . . . from the filthiness of leprosy. . . .

And so the first day after my reception of the mystery of Holy Baptism and the cure of my body from the filthiness of leprosy I understood that there is no other God than the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, whom most blessed Silvester, the Pope, preaches, a Trinity in unity and Unity in trinity. For all the gods of the nations, whom I have hitherto worshipped, are shown to be demons, the works of men's hands. And the same venerable father told us clearly how great power in heaven and earth our Saviour gave to His Apostle, blessed Peter, when in answer to questioning He found him faithful and said: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Attend, ye mighty, and incline the ear of your heart to what the good Lord and Master gave in addition to His disciple when He said: '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.' And when I learned these things at the mouth of the blessed Silvester, and found that I was wholly restored to health by the beneficence of blessed Peter himself, we—together with all our satraps and the whole senate, and the magnates and all the Roman people, which is subject to the glory of our rule—considered that, since he is seen to have been set up as the vicar of God's Son on earth, the pontiffs who act on behalf of that prince of the apostles should receive from us and our empire a greater power of government than the earthly clemency of our imperial serenity is seen to have conceded to them; for we choose the same prince of the apostles and his vicars to be our constant witnesses before God. And inasmuch as our imperial power is earthly, we have decreed that it shall venerate and honour his most holy Roman Church and that the sacred see of blessed Peter shall be gloriously exalted above our empire and earthly throne. We attribute to him the power and glorious dignity and strength and honour of the Empire, and we ordain and decree that he shall have rule as well over the four principal sees, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, as also over all the churches of God in all the world. And the pontiff who for the time being presides over that most holy Roman Church shall be the highest and chief of all priests in the whole world, and according to his decision shall all matters be settled which shall be taken in hand for the service of God or the confirmation of the faith of Christians. For it is right that the sacred law should have the centre of its power there where the Founder of the sacred laws, our Saviour, commanded blessed Peter to have the chair of his apostolate, and where, bearing the suffering of the cross, he accepted the cup of a blessed death and showed himself an imitator of his Lord and Master; and that there the nations should bow their necks in confession of Christ's name, where their teacher, blessed Paul, the apostle, offered his neck for Christ and was crowned with martyrdom. There for ever let them seek a

teacher, where lies the holy body of that teacher; and there, prone in humility, let them perform the service of the heavenly King, God, our Saviour, Jesus Christ, where proudly they used to serve the empire of an earthly king. . . .