Textbook
of
CHURCH HISTORY

by

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Editorial Notes and Acknowledgments

After graduating from Concordia Seminary in St. Louis in 1880 and serving first as a pastor in Two Rivers, Wisconsin and then as professor at Northwestern College, J.P. Koehler (1859-1951) was called to Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary in 1900 as professor of New Testament and history. An avid musician and painter, his scholarly interests ranged widely, from liturgics and the Lutheran chorale to exegesis and church architecture. Starting in 1920, Koehler served as president of the Seminary. He was removed from his professorship in 1930 in connection with the Protes'tant Controversy.

In an obituary that he wrote after Koehler's death, Jaroslav Pelikan made the observation that "Koehler's *Lehrbuch* is perhaps the outstanding work of its kind to come out of American Lutheranism, regardless of synod. It is almost uncanny in its penetration into the way such things as the establishment of the canon, the creation of the episcopacy, the cultivation of the liturgy, the zeal for purity of doctrine, and the Christian ethical concern have become tools for legalistic perversion. With this there is combined a wholesome regard for the good, the beautiful, and the true wherever they have appeared in the history of Church. Professor Koehler knew well and demonstrated well that in its history the Church has to be ecumenical, never sacrificing confessional loyalty and yet never permitting it to become a legalistic denominationalism" [*Concordia Theological Monthly* 23 (1952): 50-1].

It is our joyful privilege to be able to offer to the church this "outstanding work" in translation. It is our fond hope in so doing to give a new generation of students of church history, who are less familiar with the German language than Professor Pelikan was, a fresh chance to discover a genuinely American Lutheran church history, one that takes into consideration a wide range of cultural considerations, including art, music, and literature, and does not confine itself simply to the history of doctrines or ecclesiological developments. If the volume also reminds those who continue to cling to the ideals fostered by the Wauwatosa Theology as the "rock from which they are hewn" (Isaiah 51:1), it will have served its purpose well. Anyone who may wish to know more about the provenance of this unjustly neglected work is advised to consult *Faith-Life* LXXX (2007), pp. 1 and 2, 26-7.

Preface

It is a unique coincidence that the 400th anniversary of the Reformation should concur with the phasing out of the great World War. It appears as if God were telling the world that her entire culture has been shown up in this war as incompetent, and that if He should allow us a reprieve after the war, we must plough a new furrow, and that in every instance we should take our cue from Luther.

The church history offered here meets this situation. It originated in the requirements of my course in the subject, but war and jubilee have sped its publication along. So it seemed natural to assess the happenings of history from beginning to end in line with Luther's thoughts, and then to carry them forward into the present time. The former would have been done even without war and jubilee, because Luther was the only man in modern times who understood how to interpret history, and, in fact, human issues in general, not in disconnected temporality, as people for the most part view history, but rather in context with eternal issues, mainly with the Gospel.

While Luther himself, as we know, authored no historical work, the *Magdeburg Centuries* was the first historical compilation written from the perspective of Luther's mind. Later, in the time of Rationalism, this historiography was superseded by that of Löscher and Mosheim who, although they lacked Luther's spacious, emancipated mind, anticipated nevertheless, in the first instance, the faithful compiler's diligence, and in the second, the tolerant objectivity of the Enlightenment. Historiography thereafter advanced technically to the level of Niebuhr and Ranke. These historians demanded, not without the prompting of a reawakening faith-life, an additional spirit-filled element above and beyond external technical advances, which requires the history writer to try honestly to understand and present happenings in the world in view of the spiritual atmosphere of the era under investigation.

As an exegete, Luther practiced none other than this self-evident, spirit-filled approach in his treatment of a body of material, namely Holy Scripture, which allowed the extent of the man's historical objectivity to come into play in the circumstances of his time. This has sometimes thrown observers who are unacquainted with Luther's mind off balance in their opinion of the Reformer, some claiming Luther for "higher criticism," others reproaching him with having turned Holy Scripture into a paper pope.

One must understand Luther in the light of the believing attitude of his heart. In this way one can recognize how, in historical problems in isagogics and canonics, he demonstrated the great evangelical freedom which he otherwise exemplified in every word at every turn, and instinctively combined with this attitude that searching professional thoroughness which has since been superseded only in point of factual research, but in depth of mind has not again been equaled, because the political element in world history, precisely via Ranke, has assumed such predominance in the science of historiography that many today take it for granted that the forms of civil institutions and all that they imply necessarily represent the measure of culture generally, a view which one must call shallow, even in an unbeliever. Any writer who addresses a wide general public will find that this common assumption reflects the public's own superficial interests; truth, however, it is not. So much for Luther's art of history. (188A and B)

Let us proceed to the other factors in the contemporary situation. There are those who deny God's

governance, or who at any rate contend that it eludes our observation. These people have in many instances dreamed up and acquired great ideas in their specialization in the purely human aspects of history. But they have never penetrated to the actual depth, to the inside of things, and have only imperfectly understood even matters which, for example, as anyone can see, lie right out in the open on earth, namely all the magnificence which the Gospel has created. This is why they keep getting stuck in the externals of history, and even now, when the World War has so pitilessly exposed the collapse of all human culture, they can not make any headway for all their critique and suggested remedies. This cannot be the right way to practice history, even though one can indisputably learn a good deal from its one-sided approach insofar as it proceeds with intensive power.

But again, there are others, dear Christians too, who neglect essentials on the opposite side. They content themselves with the thought that God rules the world. With this mind-set they combine a curious want of interest in their environment, and encapsulate themselves inside a view of these things which has been contrived within a restricted frame of reference, causing them to ignore or even to deny the existence of many important human factors and their relationship to church life, a view not derived from Holy Scripture. Upon this view, it follows then, their judgment in church matters as they appear to the eye, is dependent, and, for the most part, wrong. If one observes closely, one will find these people are the very ones who fall prey to every wind of opinion on the most important issues as it drifts through the daily paper or popular books. This is not the right way to study history either, and practically, it amounts to the same thing as the contrasting approach outlined above.

The church history offered here views all church activities within the context which they share with contemporary secular and cultural relationships. These relationships are presented in every instance in brief resume with a corresponding cultural and historical critique. In the context of church-related events, secular occurrences receive an evaluation shaped by the thought of God's universal governance. Similarly, church-related issues receive an evaluation which projects the evolution of the purely human context in the foreground.

Owing to this method of presentation, a larger mass of historical material has been compressed within the book's limited space than is generally done in such compendiums, the more so since the story is carried down to the present. I do not mean to suggest, therefore, that the reader can satisfy all of his historical requirements from this volume. The book is intended, rather, as a direction finder, mainly for students. As such it can be used also by pastors, teachers and generally better-read Christians. Even those who are sufficiently competent to form a mature independent judgment about complex historical information might find it interesting to view the whole history of culture of the past 2,000 years, measured against the thought of the Gospel, passing in review on a relatively small screen, and in doing so might again freshen up a number of shriveled thoughts.

For this reason and on general principles I expect neither my students nor other readers to accept uncritically propositions and judgments which have not been specifically ratified by God's Word. I have self-evidently expressed my opinions emphatically because they were born of many years of preoccupation with history and of experience in a variety of situations and occupations. Still, as I hope that God may for a while preserve to me my ability to learn, my thoughts should be able to serve at least as stimulant and pathfinder and occasionally as witness in a field where, nearly more than in any other, one is unable ever to learn everything.

May I perhaps be permitted on this occasion to express an observation on the study of history, in its context within our entire system of education from the primary school on up to the seminary or the university. Every field of study in the world, also theology, is at bottom the study of history. The method of this study is stated in the words of Samuel: "Speak, Lord, thy servant heareth." Hence in theology the chief subject is a historical one, exegesis. Every other discipline, or every other subject in science generally, must derive its material, its

incentive, and also its corrective from the art of history (I mean, from this historical method of observation). Were one to assign a name used in philosophy to this intellectual activity which I designate as the paramount activity in all forms of intellectual life, it would be Bacon's "induction."

This apprehension of things stands opposed to systematics as it is usually viewed, or at least as it is handled in practice. In secular science, we assign the task of systematizing to philosophy; in theology, we give it to dogmatics. If philosophy seeks to create a positive contribution by means of a systematic summation of all ideas which decisively comes to terms with the past and offers guidelines for action in the future, it is reaching beyond its competence. A truly definitive summation can be achieved only when the complete work of induction is performed at world's end. Thus the value of philosophy can only rest in that, on the one hand, it removes obsolete elements which have turned into ballast, and on the other, in that it stimulates the mind to work on from a fresh perspective in the age-old labor of induction. The same applies to the business of dogmatics in theology. The right way to study dogmatics is the one that has always counted in the Lutheran church, at least theoretically, that is, to view it as a historical discipline. Its job is to arrange the instructional materials which have been won, through successive epochs in the history of the church on the road of history, by Scripture interpretation and confessional minting, and to cleanse the channels of study from the ever recurring accretions made up of the rubbish of false views, but in doing so, to keep the mind always open to the spiritual-historical disposition as expressed in Samuel's response.

This disposition bears significantly on every phase of human life. The attitude of cocksureness which, on its own, has everything figured out and thus in its back pocket, is not the same as certainty of faith, neither in manner of utterance nor in matters touching reliability. Cocksureness on the one hand is selfish and loveless in its off-hand positivity, and on the other, lacks inner moral reserve, and in the face of surprise onslaught, collapses internally. The certainty of faith, by contrast, is a rock-bound confidence which bases itself upon an alien message, and in fact, upon a message of alien grace, coupled with a modest recognition of its own deficiency, even in cognition and comprehension, and so, for all its confessionally faithful decisiveness, it remains open to discussion with other believing Christians. To a systematic temperament this conception appears to be paradoxical. And in a sense in fact it is paradoxical, but so is human life in its entirety, also our Christian life, down to its most intimate associations. Given the two-sidedness of our total being, comprising sin and grace, the divine and human, it could hardly be otherwise.

So far as I know, it is Luther alone who actually possessed this cast of mind sufficiently to be able to live and speak and act from it as if dipping from a fresh well of life, and this is the measure of his greatness.

The premise for the study of history is an acquaintance with the theater of history and its conditions as God created them and as they have taken shape in the course of time. These conditions are primarily concerned with the question of how people, nations, and their associations develop. So the first requirement is a thorough instruction in geography in the most comprehensive sense. The sources of history would follow. These are of many kinds. The chief ones are the written sources and the exemplars of plastic art.

The history student, to begin with, should familiarize himself with the most significant sources in which the most advanced questions are treated and which have effected the most crucial changes, and really make them his own. These sources are the Holy Scriptures, Luther's principal writings, and the Lutheran congregational hymn. They introduce the student to the supreme issues, God's governance in the interest of our salvation, and simultaneously introduce him to all the impulses of the human mind in all fields of life in the most significant epochs of universal history, and this, in fact, in the most uncircumscribed manner. One will find in this material the best guide to every subject, even quite apart from theology, in the proper, practical introduction to art and science, to constitutional and social concerns, because it was born of the most intensive labor that has been done on earth in the way of salvation.

Next in importance for the study of general history, the most significant products of the human mind in the secular field present themselves in the following order: folk poetry (Homer, the *Niebelungenlied*, the folk song); the chief products of the truly great poets (Aeschylus, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe); the prime examples of plastic art and music (Greek architecture and sculpture, Roman and Gothic art, the sculpture of Michelangelo, the painting of Raphael and Rembrandt, the simplest music of Palestrina, Bach, Handel and Beethoven); the great historians of ancient times (Herodotus, Thucydides, Caesar, Tacitus); and the philosophers Plato and Aristotle. These products throw light on the whole of history. Then follow the sources for detailed studies in the individual epochs of history and the particular areas of intellectual life as they are outlined in this historical work.

One ought to guard against undertaking too much, especially at first; master what you read. In subjects that require knowing how as well as simply knowing, one must not neglect the knowing how, as for example in art and in philosophy, since in these subjects there is no knowing without knowing how. More than this, one must beware of merely reading about the great things (works of art, music, poetry and the like) instead of personally engaging them. If you have fought through to the proper approach or point of view in the study of the great principal sources, you can later skim over a good deal of the less important, since in your judgment of these matters your aim becomes increasingly accurate, the sharper and more reliable the focus of your point of view to start with. Then too, subsequent reading will serve to enrich the mind insofar as the reader steadily maintains the faculty of self-criticism while constantly fortifying this original point of view based on Scripture and Luther's Gospel.

All our work in education, from the elementary school onward, ought to be arranged or oriented along the lines of this foundation. If, as side effect, this program would help our people to substitute nutritious reading for shallow newspaper and magazine skimming, a great blessing would redound from it, even for this life. But this must first be achieved among the leaders of the people, the pastors, teachers and others.

In copy and proof-reading, Pastors Hermann Gieschen and Karl Koehler rendered me the most valuable assistance. A number of pastors of close acquaintance have undertaken the task of subscription. Others too, some of them pastors whom I hardly know, have offered me considerable encouragement. All this has contributed to the completion of this work, and I should here like to express my appreciation for this help and for the kindness that accompanied it, inasmuch as I am well aware that in the production of such a work the actually pressing need for a work of history has been more telling than any confidence in the achievements that might have been anticipated.

Now that the work lies finished before me, I already note a number of deficiencies. Not all of its segments received equal treatment; frequently the rationale ran to greater length than it should in a compendium; some particulars were omitted, others might well have been. Also the external organization of variegated type is not the most felicitous throughout. I hope readers will not allow these flaws to spoil their taste for the reading itself. I hope the work will not be without benefit in our circles, even if it amounts only to this, that the sense for history would be stimulated, a unique and wholesome sense, without which in the years ahead, no one who takes a leading position in life will be able to find his way among human associations. Perhaps presently, too, someone else will appear among us who will make a better job of it. The fulfillment of my main wish, however, that the cultivation of Luther's remembrance and of his Gospel might spiritually benefit at least some individuals and some larger circles, this God will not deny me.

Wauwatosa, January 17, 1917

JOH. PH. KOEHLER

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Introduction.

§1. Concept of Church History.

a.   In its Biblical concept the church is the communion of saints, known to the Lord alone, the invisible church. She is conceived by the Savior of sinners through the Gospel. This Gospel engenders trust in the Savior in the desperation of sin, and in harmony with this, a sanctified life. This is Christianity. It is the work of the Holy Spirit, and his objective is not to constitute all nations as a people of God, but rather to lead the elect congregation of God out of the world to everlasting bliss. This governance of God, so far as it becomes recognizable in history, is the actual theme of church history.

b.   People who are enraptured by the Gospel remain people like other people, in their external circumstances. They move in the same external forms as before, in faculties of ideation, thinking, perception, speech and action; in a system of government and law and national custom; in science and art. The great new life in them takes hold not in creating new forms of life. The expressions of religious life: fear of God, hope, trust, prayer, praise, thanksgiving and every other expression of reflected inner life, have already been given as outward forms in the life of every person. So have the forms which take shape in human relationships: government, morals, art, and science. But the new life in Christians pours a new content into these existing forms, the spirit of the Gospel. This acts as a tremendous power and remolds the forms until they correspond to the new content.

c.   Christians, however, are never alone but are in constant association with other people. We find differences, even among so-called Christians. There are some among them who are not Christians at all. The others have been unequally gripped by the Gospel. Hence it is not Christians alone who determine the forms which their associations among one another and among people in general engage, but the forms take shape from the exchange of all elements with one another. So the evolution of forms which the so-called visible church possesses, as well as her contours as she presents herself in earthly reality, is never quite pure. Above all, there is no association on earth that can claim to be the **one** church; the rise of this conception of a single visible church is a cardinal symptom of the error which upon its initial defeat in the Reformation even now continues active among Protestants as an earthly hope which drives toward external world improvement.

d.   It is an error too, dominant precisely in serious-minded church circles, to suppose that a dogmatic conception of church history is the right one. This error finds voice in the proposition that the actual chief content of church history is the formation of doctrine. Dogmatics is only one form of life. That it became the dominant form and that it assimilated all other life has regularly led to errors and to other deficiencies of life, also in the Lutheran church. A much better way to put it is this: the prime requisite for the understanding of church history is the governance of the Gospel. Wherever one finds this requisite, also among the sects, it is crucial to recognize it. In any case it is essential to understand how on earth, through the interplay of all forces, God regularly makes room for his Gospel, so that with greater or sometimes less clarity it touches individual hearts and there, however invisibly, yet effectively, cooperates in the great total enterprise of the life of the world to the end that the Lord gathers his elect congregation from all peoples, nations and tongues, and for and through her protects and maintains his Gospel, until the great day of Jesus Christ.

e.   Again, it is a mistake to suppose that the assignment of the study of history calls for a mere registration of facts without appending to them a subjective judgment. This approach can be correctly understood. Usually it comes to little more than reciting and learning the bare data, and thus the study of history becomes an exercise in memory. Since Niebuhr and Ranke established genetic historiography we take the subject of historical knowledge to be not the bare data (dates, names of men, nations and battles, etc.), but rather the evolution of things, the **happening**, the actual fact. Only in this way can the study of history become not merely interesting

but also worthwhile.

f.   The human mind, naturally, cannot directly access this evolution, but simply forms impressions of it, as of everything in general. If a person wishes to examine this in detail in order to understand it, he will have to apply his subjective judgment, which self-evidently rests on already established facts, to the new impressions. And in the last analysis, it is this process which the study of history tries to teach. Hence one must designate the purpose of the course of study as the endeavor always and more effectively to recognize and present the evolution of things, while at the same time frequently and necessarily establishing and acknowledging the deficiency of knowledge.

g.   Thus it is paramount to recognize and to present when, where, and how the Gospel has recognizably taken effect in all vicissitudes, and in fact not only in the particular community which is called church, but also in its whole environment, and how this effectiveness has also been limited by the environment. The objective of this type of presentation is to achieve a basic understanding of the present so that the Christian may do his work sensibly in the church and in the world.

§2. Method of Historical Research.

a.   Historical research has been denigrated on the grounds that it is not an exact science like mathematics and natural science. Mathematics works with numbers, and natural science deals with inanimate factors which in the last analysis can be reduced to numerical values, in so far as one knows them. Such things may be grasped altogether intellectually and be incontestably addressed to anyone.

b.   In history, however, the primary factor in human learning generally is the human spirit. Its free sway will never be viewed as objectively as numbers because in matters of the mind one cannot succeed with purely intellectual observation. The researcher's temperament and will play in too heavily. In historical matters therefore, such general agreement will never be attained as it is in the so-called "exact sciences." If such agreement, however, is unattainable in historical research in general, it is even more so in church history. Here the primary factors are sin and grace. If the workings of the human mind, which in this interpretation coincide with sin, elude a mechanistic judgment, so much the more do the workings of grace. If in the study of world history, subjective judgment must hold its ground, and, to the extent that it succeeds, relinquish the attempt at perfect agreement in judgment, then all the more so in church history.

c.   It is immaterial, and it depends on the prevailing view of the concept of science if on this account one is going to challenge the right of historical research to call itself a science. But there could hardly be room for argument about the fact that in historical research one cannot escape every presupposition, certainly not in church history. Anyone who tries to ignore God's grace, that is, anyone who tries to reduce the factor of grace as it acts upon the human mind to general intellectual concepts, is already himself operating with the strongest possible bias. Besides, the concept of grace is then removed from the subjective field where it properly belongs, and thus the conception of its workings must fall flat. Nor with this method can agreement in judgment be achieved and with it the establishment of what one can know.

d.   A real church history is a sermon, a proclamation of great truths. This presentation of church history will therefore adhere to the naive conception of Holy Scripture and of revelation, the same conception Luther had. It applies this criterion to all occurrences of ancient and modern times and seeks to understand past events not only by what has already come to pass but also, so far as possible, by the focal point of all happening. The reader, whether or not a Lutheran, will understand the book proportionately to his mastery of Gospel ideas.

§3. Sources of Church History.

a. The present church history was written mainly for theological students, yet also for those who are interested

in how ecclesiastical conditions originated and how they must consequently be evaluated. If reading such a church history is to achieve its actual objective, namely, the encouragement of an independent judgment, then a study of the sources must accompany it; not as if initially one must, like the professional historical researcher, extract the basic historical information from these—for this, even for a single unit of history, no one would have the time, what with other obligations—but rather, to help one to flesh out the presentation.

b.   Among the most important of these are the writings which have become the peculiar possession of the church and have played a role in the church, the confessional writings and the church hymn. Next in line are the epochal writings of the most significant leaders of ecclesiastical life such as Augustine, Anselm, Bernard of Clairvaux, Luther, Calvin, Spener, Wesley, Schleiermacher, and Walther. Only third in order of importance are compendiums of general church history or the history of separate segments and of individual personalities. The most important items in these categories are listed in the following selection.

c.   Confessional writings: A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*, 1807. H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 1888. J. Michalcesku, *Die Bekenntnisse der griechisch-orientalischen Kirche*, 1904. J.T. Müller, *Die symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche*, 1907. E.F.K. Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche*, 1903.

d.   Authors: J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina,* 221 volumes*,* 1884 ff. *Series graeca*, 161 volumes, 1857 ff. *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, 1860 ff., Wiener Akademie. *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jhh.*, 1897 ff., Berliner Akademie. *Kemptener Bibliothek der Kirchenväter* (Catholic). H. Lietzmann, *Texte für theologische Vorlesungen und Übungen*, 1902 ff. H. Rinn and J. Jüngst, *Kirchengeschichtliches Lesebuch*, 1906. Jos. Cullen Ayer, *A Source-Book for Ancient Church History*, Scribner, 1913. Pusey, Keble and Newman, *Library of the Fathers*, Oxford, 1839 ff. *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* by Ph. Schaff and H. Wace, New York, 1886 ff.

e.   General Church Histories: J.K.L. Gieseler, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 1824-53 (3 vols. in 8 parts; vol. IV, 1857 and vol. V, 1855; many source citations.) J. H. Kurtz, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 1849, published by N. Bonwetsch and P. Tschackert, 1906, 2 vols. (Still the richest collection of material and a reliable reference work. The total opus is subdivided into a series of independent units.) W. Möller, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (III, published by G. Kawerau 1894, 1907; VI revised by H. v. Schubert, 1902; detailed, richly researched presentation.) K. Müller *Kirchengeschichte*, 1892 and 1902. (Brief presentation of the historical contexts.) S.M. Deutsch, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 1909. (Brief presentation for general use.) F. Loofs, *Grundlinien der Kirchengeschichte*, 2nd edition. (Extremely rich in content, but arranged in lecture segments.) H. v. Schubert, *Grundzüge der Kirchengeschichte*, 1904, 1909. (Penetrating understanding of the principal contexts without detail.) R. Sohm, *Kirchengeschichte im Grundriss*, 1908. (Popular.) K. Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, 2nd edition, 1910. H. Appel, *Kurzgefasste Kirchengeschichte*, 1909. (The latter two books also because of their typographical scheme, very useful for review in a highly lucid style.) A.H. Newman, *Manual of Church History*, Philadelphia, 1900-1903. Cheetham and Hardwick, *Church History*, London, 1908.

Extensive particulars on individual works and editions of authors may be found in Kurtz and Heussi.

§4. Arrangement of Church History.

a.   The life of the church and its contact with the world is so multifarious that not only individual periods of time but also individual areas of life within these periods must be treated separately. The problem of irregular development in the various areas of life presents difficulties both in that the terminations fail to coincide and in that developments proceed in different directions. The extrinsic life of the church, especially as it mixes vigorously with the world, advances more swiftly than the intellectual and artistic life. In the latter the Gospel

in its deepest perception, both in individual persons as well as in the broad mass of people, finds better stead than the other general developments of the principal forms of life would permit one to hope.

b.   On the classification and treatment of the historical periods opinion consequently diverges widely. Agreement can be more readily achieved in reference to time. It is generally conceded that Constantine, Justinian, Charlemagne, Luther, and others deserve independent units. Differences of opinion probably obtain in the demarcation between the ancient church and the medieval, and similarly between the Counter-Reformation and the Enlightenment. It depends on the historian's particular interests. The justification of the classification adopted in this book is offered in the respective places.

c.   So far as the treatment of individual areas of life within the lesser periods is concerned, our uppermost wish in every instance was to sketch as complete a picture of the time as possible in which certain principal developments of church life in their influence should be brought to bear upon all accessible areas. Thus the history of such areas as government, art and folk mores has been reduced to smaller segments than one might wish if one were exclusively occupied with these. In order to make possible a coherent study of these particulars, every segment points to the next.

d.   We classify the history of the church under the familiar three parts:

Antiquity, 1-692. Christianity enters into the forms of the declining Greco-Roman culture, and the papacy takes shape.

The Middle Ages, 692-1517. Christianity in the shape of the papacy acquired in Antiquity passes to the Germano-Romano-Slavic peoples and in doing so determines the formative culture of these peoples which, however, attains to maturity only in the Reformation.

The Modern Era, 1517-1917. Christianity conquers the whole world in the educative forms of modern culture, but at the same time in the frame of ever increasing disintegration.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

Antiquity.

§5. General Summary.

a.   In the first 700 years, the ancient era in our chronology, church history offers an interesting picture of the influence of the most exalted thoughts, those of the Gospel, upon the entire range of forms of a declining culture, the culture of the Roman empire. The mainspring of this culture was the organizing of external force into laws and a legal system and its application in the administration of the state.

Within this culture the Gospel created many beautiful forms. The ones which have retained their general relevance are the ancient collects, the general scheme of the liturgy, the first two ecumenical creeds, and a number of church hymns. For the most part other forms were influenced or completely dominated by the idea of a visible power on earth, an idea that ended in externalizing all that pertained to Christendom.

One can summarize this entire history as an evolution to the point where the papacy began to take shape and set its sights on subduing the world. The concept did not lie at the surface, of course, and it was not until the Middle Ages that it emerged clearly as the papacy. Its ideas attached themselves in the ancient era to the concept of the single universal, catholic church. This evolution progressed in three stages: 1. the origin of the ancient catholic church, 33-324; 2. its flowering as an imperial church, 324-519; 3. its decline, 519-692.

I. Origins of the Catholic Church, 1-324.

b.   The church became a state or imperial church through the agency of Constantine the Great. This did not happen overnight. Under the circumstances, it was even then possible only because the church had already developed in a direction that departed radically from the Biblical norm in doctrine and life. The idea of a centralized administration had gained primacy as the principal consideration of the day. This was not the only idea constituting the intellectual concerns of this church; there were many others associated with it in doctrine and life. All were inclined in the same way to relegate the Gospel of salvation in Christ to the sidelines of external human activity. But the idea of an external and internal entity, tightly knit, with a delimited perimeter and narrowly defined external views and forms, which was called the Catholic church, is the operative one.

This development was fully rounded out only around 250. It occurred in three stages: the Apostolic Age, 33-100; the Post-Apostolic Age, 100-180; and the Ancient Catholic Age, 180-324.

A. The Apostolic Age, 33-100.

c.   The Christian church began with Christ's preaching. At that point, the time was fulfilled. Through the Apostles' preaching, congregations were established throughout the world and were held together by the sheer power of the Gospel. This primeval church had not as yet taken on any hard and fast forms. By the time it had, the process of miseducation had already begun. In this age, the preaching of the Apostles, fundamentally applicable for all time, worked its effect, and we still possess a sampling of it in the writings of the New Testament. But by now the first external principal problem had been solved, the problem concerning the transition of Christianity into the heathen world. The mystery of iniquity, as Paul lamented, had also already begun to stir.

To understand how, in the Apostolic age, the existing developments assumed the shape they did, it is

necessary to gain a perspective of the prevenient history. We may summarize it under the caption of "the fullness of time." Hereupon follows the history of the primeval church at the time of the Apostles.

1. The Fullness of Time.
§6. The Biblical Concept.

Paul refers in Galatians 4:4 and in Ephesians 1:10 to the fullness of time. This is the time of the New Testament down to the Last Day. The Apostle, however, means by fullness not merely a time mathematically reckoned, but a particular development of history, and in fact a development which saw heathens and Jews achieving their full significance in the world by enabling the Gospel to move into all countries (cf. Acts 14:16 and Romans 1). We see at once that the ancient world falls into two divisions. It requires a deep insight into the cultural differences between the nations involved, an insight which only a Christian could possess, not a heathen, nor even, profoundly considered, a Jew at that time either. For it was not only monotheism that distinguished Israel proper from other nations, as the New Testament Jew believed, but the wholly other conception of God and eternity in the teaching of salvation, which no heathen even thought of and which was strange even to the New Testament Jew.

In order to understand the New Testament as the fullness of time, we concern ourselves with the achievements of the heathen, which have come down to the beginning of our era principally in the form of Greek and Roman culture and with the significance which they still claim for universal history. The same question applies in the other division of the ancient world, namely, the Jews. When we arrive then at the great epiphany of the **Savior**, not only does the essential difference between Christianity and all other contemporary perceptions of salvation become clear, but the characteristic quality of Christianity, which thereupon moves forth to envelop the world, also stands out in sharp relief. (Confer the tremendous surveys in Romans and in Ephesians.)

a. The Pagan World.
§7. General Summary.

a. In the pre-Christian era the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Phoenicians, and Carthaginians, and then the Persians, Greeks, and Romans took the stage. In contemplating the relative significance of these nations and their culture for the collective history of the world, it is impossible to ignore **Noah's** prophecy inasmuch as he promises to the descendants of **Japheth** not only dominion over the world, but also accession to the spiritual patrimony of the Semites (Gen. 9:27). Ancient history in its entirety ran true to this prophecy. The Semitic and Hamitic peoples in North Africa and the Near East made the first move to conquer the world, not just with external force but also with their knowledge and mastery of the "elements." Even such profound problems as justice on earth and in eternity were addressed by them in their civic, social, and religious relationships with such care that the latest investigations in this field cause some modern scholars to lose their balance of judgment insofar as they interpret these facts to the disadvantage of Israel in its understanding of justice. It remains a fact that brutality governed these nations not only in their use of outward violence, but also precisely in their judicial, historical, and religious formulations, in their political and social institutions, and in their artistic perceptions. This brutality accords with the peculiarities of these nations as they were typified in Noah's prophecy. This judgment applies to Israel as well, when it comes to the outward forms of life.

b. The Persians, Greeks, and Romans, descended from Japheth's family, demonstrated a different character as soon as they entered history; and one sees at once why, and how, Noah's prophecy should move toward fulfillment. Humanly speaking, in strength of mind and ideals, in grasping everything that inwardly lifts and cultivates the individual and places him in a position to make of life an organic whole by means of his

intellectual, political, and social freedom, with all individuals freely contributing according to the measure of their gifts and capacities toward the building of an effective community in which all of the world's elements are employed in the service of man in order to achieve a beautiful and free life, the Japhetic nations from the first far surpassed the other two ethnic groups. Because of their close association with the Near East Asians, the Persians form the bridge to Greek and Roman history. These two nations in their achievements comprise the flower of ancient history. They created the models in law, science, and art which the world still uses and which therefore are doubtless based on the original order of things. A more detailed examination of these matters would belong to the field of ancient history. Here, we will summarize this history. Briefly, this highly cultured pagan world went bankrupt in the collapse of its religious and moral restraint brought on by intellectual, political, and economic developments.

§8. The Greeks.

a.   The Greeks instructed the world in the rudiments of freedom, art, and science. In their political development they defined the right of the individual to participate as a free and independent element in the collective work of the civic community. Still, all of this was limited to urban life. When, in the person of Alexander the Great, the Greeks committed themselves to the sphere of world hegemony, their chief cultural assignment had already been fulfilled; and yet not until the Romans did a rival arise who was destined to realize Alexander's ambition. Hence, too, to this aspect of the Greek cultural contribution there is attached the typical deficiency, namely, that the human concept of freedom never became operative in the fullest degree, but instead, led quickly to the internal disintegration of political communities (9 a).

b.   In **art**, the Greeks laid the foundation for human aesthetic concepts in architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, and music: the golden mean. To this day the world has not surpassed their **architecture**, except when the Byzantines and the Germans applied these forms in the Byzantine, Romanesque, and Gothic styles to the ideas of Christianity and in so doing further developed certain particularities. Even today, sculpture and painting, for better or worse, proceed along the same basic lines, and only the treatment of the technical media, not the ideal perspective, has experienced further development in modern times. In **poetry**, the Greeks established the foundational forms for epic, lyric poetry, and drama, and for scientific purposes developed the creative mastery of language. Only in music was it the Germans who shortly before the Reformation created virtually perfect and functional models. But a streak of sensuality from the first so influenced the entire productivity of the Greeks that it could not help but contribute to the disintegration of the ideal moral concepts of their entire culture (10 d).

c.   Following the example of the great historiographers and statesmen Herodotus, Xenophon, Thucydides, and Demosthenes, Plato (d. 348) and Aristotle (d. 322) set the standards for **scientific** investigation in the form of the two mainstreams of philosophy in which all scientific thought proceeds to the present day, that is, idealism and realism. Coming after the earlier naturalistic school of observation of the first Greek philosophers, Socrates' ethical style was superseded by **Plato's** orientation in directing his thoughts toward religion. Because he sought the soul's actual dwelling place beyond time and viewed all temporal phenomena as imperfect copies of the eternal **ideas** in God, he made the latter the starting point of his thought. He assumed (*a priori*) that the most exalted concepts, like God, etc., were immutable (aprioristic, deductive reasoning). This type of reasoning proceeds from given prevailing views on the deepest questions. Later on, consequently, his philosophy repeatedly appealed to Christians when they began to philosophize. His disciple **Aristotle's** speculation did not range so far. He limited himself to the investigation of perceptible real things on earth (inductive reasoning). His methods, therefore, later helped his imitators to weaken Plato's influence, and to lead philosophy back to earth. Inductive and deductive reasoning always go hand in hand for the untrammeled

person, but ever after Greek times, Plato's aprioristic deductive reasoning advanced initially in the scientific thinking of individual nations. Deduction then had to be replaced by Aristotle's empirical induction, and not until the nations had achieved a sober harmony of both, did they reach a point where logical scientific work could begin. In Zeno (270 B.C.), in Epicurus (270 B.C.), and the New Academy, however, philosophy led the Greeks to **skepticism**, to doubt, which denies everything, the typical route which all philosophy on earth must travel.

d.   The Alexandrian Age, named for the culture of the Ptolemies in the Egyptian city of Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.), could produce only an epigonic body of knowledge. Creative initiative there had ceased, and the age of the schoolmaster, or scholasticism, had set in, which formulates the ideas of the fathers into law and rule, a development which, to be sure, is necessary in human affairs but which casts the mind into servile bonds. This intellectual culture passed from the Greeks to the Romans, and they did little to expand on it (34).

§9. The Romans.

a.   The Romans taught the world authority and discipline and created the first defensible world empire. Intellectually and artistically they lagged behind the Greeks, and for this reason their intellectual culture was confined to the inferiority of Alexandrianism. The rule-bound structure of their language reflected their character, and they opposed with an earnest energy of will the sensuality and skepticism of the Greeks. This energy exercised itself in the life of family and state, and created the organism of laws and of the art of war. When later, Rome began to go downhill, law and regulation had the same general effect. For a while these maintained a certain restraint, in fact, for a longer time than intellectual meaning did among the Greeks. But then, as in Alexandrian scholasticism, they accelerated the disintegration through political and intellectual coercion. Discipline and morality went to pieces (10 a).

b.   The main reason why culture among the Greeks and Romans had to lead to disintegration was the fusion of religion and purely human cultural activities. **Religion** concerns the relationship between man and God. Because God is the Lord of the world, it is quite proper that he should be considered in government, art, and learning. If the religion is the right one, it can only render heroic services to government and to human culture. If, however, it is not the right one, its fusion with government must bring mischief along with it. Because the religion of the heathen did not originate in the Gospel, it bore all of the peculiarities of the works of the Law: this-worldliness, externalism, untruthfulness. As the main concern of life it also formed the character of the rest of life's activities. These in turn worked back upon religion in the same way. The ancient religions were state religions, and consisted in the apotheosis of nature and of the life of the soul. Their bad conscience correlated with their legalistic mindset. In this interaction the natural knowledge of God made itself felt. Allied with poetic fantasy the conscience saw divine revelation in all natural phenomena and peopled all of nature with mythical images whose genius reflected the soul-life of the respective nations. The worship of these divinities was everywhere the same—the works of the Law. For all of that, the proper evaluation of sin was unknown, not only in regard to what sin is but also as to how monstrous it is. So this exertion brought no peace to the heart, which is the only place where the right kind of life can bud. The religious life of the heathen lost itself so thoroughly in such mechanistic works that its untruthfulness soon had to become apparent even to natural man.

c.   Although the religion of the heathen was untrue from its inception, in the naive springtime of the nations it nevertheless provided a basis for the sense of the higher responsibility which it engendered. Scientific research presently exposed the untruthfulness of the content of heathen religion while the state maintained the religious practices. The more encompassing political life became, the less divine service occurred for its own sake until

consequently, even in its external forms, it became insincere. Once scientific investigation had exposed this untruthfulness, culture in its entirety, closely knit with religion as it was, had to participate in the dissolution. Thus at the beginning of our era one observes this collapse precisely in religion, as it met the principal ideas of the time in Rome, the empire and its activity (11 c).

§10. The Roman Empire in the First Century.

a.	The empire encompassed all of the Mediterranean countries. At its summit stood the *princeps*, and at his side, the senate. This division extended also to the administration of the provinces where some peoples were governed by the emperor through *legati pro praetore*, others by the senate through *proconsules*. In countries of indigenous culture such as Judaea and Egypt, and in barbaric countries like Mauritania, a third method of administration was in force, run by *procuratores* recruited from the order of knights. Cities had their own government. Provinces had their own diets, *concilia*. Yet all aspects of supervision were subject to one law, and Augustus (31 B.C.-14 A.D.) actually was the Caesar, that is, the monarch. In the same manner the unity of the empire, which carried abroad the Roman way, defined itself through its Greco-Roman culture, facility of communication, and the presence of the military.

b.	If Latin poetry flourished under the subsidy of the wealthy patron Maecenas, its model nevertheless was the Alexandrian training of the Greeks. This training was imparted to wealthy students from around the world at the **cosmopolitan universities** in Greek cultural centers in Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt, but it was further carried out into the whole world by **hired Greek savants**. Roman engineers moreover had laid military highways throughout the empire. The postal system made correspondence possible. Roman troops ensured safe transit on the roads, and businessmen could travel unimpeded from one end of the empire to the other.

c.	The empire represented, in spite of that, less than a perfect union. It comprised many nationalities which, on the one hand, reacted with considerable variety to the cultural influence of the Romans, but again, on the other hand, were unequally treated by the Romans. In the East, the Romans had continued Hellenizing after the pattern established by Alexander and the Diadochi. Here, Jews, Egyptians and the peoples of interior Asia Minor demonstrated a vigorous national tenacity. The coastlands yielded more readily to the new influences. In the eastern half of the empire, this Hellenic culture struck root. In the western half, the Roman way took precedence, even though the Greek language was universally understood. Here, the Celts in Spain, France, and Britain adopted Roman customs, while the Berbers in North Africa remained unapproachable.

d.	The Romans, however, allowed these peoples a good deal of latitude in their national peculiarities. With such flexibility they easily smelted together a union, really only a mishmash, a syncretism. Yet even in this fusion, though it actually signified a decline of ancient culture, the empire contributed to the expansion of Christianity. Augustus further augmented the empire, for under his rule it extended to the North Sea (11).

e. This epoch of the first emperor is called the **Golden Age**. The historians Livy, Pompey, Diodorus, Dionysius, Strabo the geographer, and the art critic Vitruvius represented scientific research. Virgil Maro, Horace Flaccus, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Phaedrus, the writer of fables, and Varus, the dramatist, provided the poetry. Still, this second period of Roman literature already trailed the first, the period of Caesar, Cicero, and Plautus, and never equaled the magnificent Greeks. After Augustus, the **Julio-Claudian House** (Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, and Nero) succeeded to power (14-68). The history of this house already illustrates the decline of the empire. In this era the philosopher Seneca and his cousin [nephew] Lucan, the epic author, were the leading men of letters. Upon an interregnum of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius there followed the Flavian House (Vespasian, Titus and Domitian; 69-96). Britain was subjugated and Jerusalem destroyed. While in this time Romanization pushed politically eastward and northward, Hellenism, the derivative culture of Greece, Asia Minor and Syria, spread from east to west across the whole empire, and with it dissolution. The

dissolution became evident principally, however, in the amalgam of religions (17 f, 21 a).

§11. The Religion of the Empire.

a.   Religion is a personal matter. But in the nature of things it is transmitted from parents to children, and in the time prior to the emergence of political states, it became the concern of the tribe. When states took shape, religion remained the concern of the most prominent families, of the kings. When the evolution of the state passed to democracy, the nobility retained the maintenance of religion as its last prerogative. But after science had destroyed the doctrine of the gods in the era of the republic, the empire, following upon democracy, again turned round to seize upon religion to undergird its power.

b.   At the time when Christ came to earth and throughout the first two centuries the Romans were in a manner of speaking a pious people. Their motivation was not, however, the original faith in the gods but a morbid pursuit of any and all of the innovative doctrines which entered the empire through the vanquished nations, adding up to a religious amalgam. This actually was an element of Hellenism which had conquered the Roman mind. Yet also for reasons of administration the Romans were more than tolerant, and in fact adopted foreign religions of subjugated peoples. They inclined particularly to the doctrine of the Egyptians and their cult of the dead. Next to take hold was the Phoenician cult of the sun and moon, the Babylonian cult of stars, the dualism of the Persians and their adoration of light. This naive conception of course no longer prevailed among the educated, but for these it was a philosophical piety which fed on the Neo-Pythagoreanism of Apollonius of Tyana (A.D. 96). In line with the Stoicism of Seneca (A.D. 65), Epictetus (A.D. 100), and Plutarch (A.D. 115), the educated no longer believed in a plurality of gods, but in one rather pantheistic divinity. And this **monotheism** bore a certain moral aspect.

c.   Although religious syncretism was predominantly superstitious, it turned, nevertheless, externally to profounder ideas. Some of the foreign cults were more earnest in character. Egyptian religion directed its thoughts toward the afterlife, the Persian cult to the idea of truth and moral chastity. Among the mysteries allied with syncretism, the cult of the secret societies of that time, the imperfection of earthly existence, and the subjects of sin and guilt and of its atonement were discussed, and hope was nurtured for the time after death. Because the simple truth, however, was missing and these ideas were viewed merely as mysteries used by the better educated in the perfunctory observance especially of cults run by the state, they could only induce disintegration and frequently hindered the penetration of Christianity, even when in isolated instances they seemed to pave the way for it (21 d).

d.   With few exceptions the emperors followed Augustus' example in aiming to restore national life by means of the religions, particularly the so-called **good emperors** from Nerva onward to Marcus Aurelius (96-180). In this milieu the **emperor cult** of Caesar originated as an imperial cult, since the head of the world empire was worshipped as a god at all public assemblies. This was also the rite with which Christianity later collided. The culture of Rome on the whole was Grecian. With this, intellectually, Christianity could come to terms. The emperor cult, on the other hand, was a state function of the Romans. Here a violent break had to occur. Originally it was the deceased emperor who was worshipped, since the senate had posthumously included Caesar and Augustus among the gods. Later, from the reign of Gaius Caligula onward, sacrifices were offered to the image of the living emperors. For this rite special organizations and separate hierarchies were provided. Its observance naturally was strictly enforced. Refusal to comply constituted *lèse-majesté*. It was the only religious rite, and as such the chief one, regularly promoted throughout the empire.

e.   The morality springing from such a religion, of course, could hardly amount to very much. Paul's epitome of it in Romans 1 agrees exactly with the accounts of Seneca and the Roman satirists and historians. In the cities among the nobility, within the imperial family, particularly too among the women, corruption controlled

everything. The lower levels of society were indolent and coarse. Reform movements, usually emanating from the emperors, demonstrated from the mere fact of their existence and from the asceticism which they enjoined, that vices were gross and common. As against these, the moral utterances of individuals stood out in all the bolder relief, and attested to the collapse of ancient heathen culture (21 c, d).

b. Judaism.
§12. External History.

a.   When at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (535 B.C.-434 B.C.) the collation of the Old Testament scriptures was inaugurated, **Israel's** positive objective, the transmission of the Law and the promise to the world, had been discharged. There remained the negative objective of demonstrating that her history was propaedeutic to the economy of the Law, so that the Law's significance as disciplinarian unto Christ might be recognized. While for its part ancient Israel had already taught as much, the plan was more distinguishable in the course of the history of Judaism from Ezra's time to the beginning of the New Testament.

b.   After Alexander had subjugated the Near Eastern world under the Persians, the Ptolemies, and Seleucids, the royal lines which descended from Alexander's successors, as guardians of civilization, shared the task of **Hellenizing** the Near East and Palestine particularly (323-167 B.C). While **the Ptolemies** in Alexandria actually did this work, did it in fact for Rome, principally in developing Alexandrian education as outlined above, they performed the major task for Palestine as well, with the production of the Greek translation of the Old Testament, which we know as the **Septuagint**. The **Seleucids** in Cilicia, and in Antioch, their capital city, made only a negligible contribution. Inwardly, their civilization could not overcome its Asiatic brutality, but rather retained it. Against their ruthless attempts at Hellenizing the Jews the **Hasmonaean** House, led by Judas Maccabaeus (167-137 B.C.), rebelled, and under this dynasty the Jews enjoyed independence. Once Hyrcanus II, the last Hasmonaean, had entered negotiations with the Romans, the glory of the kingdom was soon lost to the Romans. But internally, too, for that reason, the disintegration of Judaism progressed all the more rapidly. The elites in Jerusalem had adopted the Hellenic Seleucid culture, and under the dominion of the Idumaean House, which Antipas, the prime minister of Hyrcanus, had established after the latter's capitulation to Roman supremacy (Pompey in Palestine, 60 B.C.), a line of priests survived in Jerusalem who managed to blend the precepts of the fathers with the spurious culture of the Seleucids.

c.   Because the **priesthood** was hereditary in certain families, and the exercise of its office brought in large revenues, its members attained noble status in the land. From their ranks the high priest was elected, whose office for a time, under the Hasmonaeans, coalesced with that of the country's sovereign. At his side in Jerusalem stood the *synedrium* with its 71 members. Since the Romans had reserved to themselves, apart from this, only the power of taxation and of tribunal over life and death, this sacerdotal caste enjoyed nearly unlimited authority. Herodians and Romans alike were hated for all that; still again, the regents competed for their friendship because they shared many common interests with them. (13).

d.   Herod the Great, the son of Antipas (40-3 B.C.; current time computation is ahead by five years or so), the "romantic" representative of this politics of disintegration, remodeled the temple in Jerusalem and persecuted the Christ Child when he had been duped by the Wise Men. He raged at last against his own family and met a wretched end. His sons divided up the kingdom: Archelaus took Judea; Herod, Galilee; Philip, Iturea. Samaria was placed under Roman procurators. When Archelaus had reigned for eight years he was deposed, and Judea fell under the rulership of the procurator of Samaria, who resided in Caesarea on the Mediterranean. The fifth of these administrators was **Pilate** (26-36) (16 c).

§13. The Religion of the Jews.

a.   The **religion** of the Jews was hardly an integrated system even though it was founded on a fixed Scriptural canon. Hellenic influences had not after all remained without effect. Their fortunes since the deportation to Babylon along with the return from captivity and the predictions of the prophets had focused the nation's thoughts on one point, the emancipation by the Messiah. These prophecies were interpreted, however, in various ways, the more so since, by their very nature, they existed as yet in undefined imagery.

b.   The masses visualized the Messiah as a national hero who was to rescue Israel from the hand of temporal foes, just now the Romans, and place the chosen race at the apex of the nations on earth. But there were also the simple people who waited for the comfort of Israel. To what extent their expectation of the Messiah was colored by temporal illusions can scarcely be measured. Yet the essential of true religion, that is, the knowledge of sin, faith in the forgiveness of sins, and hope in the God of salvation in every situation in life, this the Old Testament prophecy had bred in them. They lived accordingly in the strict observance of the law as they had been instructed by Moses.

c.   These general conceptions, however, were further embroidered with particular interpretations, depending upon particular influences entering from the outside. Either the predictions of the prophets were taken in the proper sense and then translated in the contemporary idiom in the Hellenistic language. (The "proper sense" means that the "Kingdom of God" was conceived and stressed as the heavenly kingdom beyond time, and the Messiah as God, the advent of the Messiah in the clouds, judgment of the dead, world's end, a new heaven and new earth. The so-called Apocrypha and other writings contain these representations, which to a certain extent may very well have contributed to the formation of the idiom employed by Christ and the Apostles.) Or these ideas were embroidered with all kinds of fantastic notions about eons and daemons which were derived from Hellenic and Chaldean impressions. Writings of this type include the *Book of Enoch*, the third *Book of the Sibyllines*, the *Ascension of Moses*, the fourth *Book of Ezra*, the Syrian *Apocalypse of Baruch*, and the *Odes of Solomon*.

d.   During this time too the sects which turn up in the Gospels organized themselves. The priestly nobility, whose mainstay was the formidable *synedrium* in Jerusalem, represented the sect of the **Sadducees** which had dropped the Old Testament canon. They were the rationalists of that era, and together with the conception of the divinely inspired Old Testament they denied particularly the resurrection of the dead. So they allowed only the Torah to stand, and this because in it was transmitted the priestly constitution by which they maintained their control.

e.   In opposition to this group the **Pharisees** had organized the sect which adhered to the traditional conception of the canon. Since Ezra's collation of the canon, however, the **community of scribes** had come into prominence. Because the knowledge of Hebrew was lost during the Babylonian Captivity, the interpretation of Scripture had become the task of these scholars. But it may be observed how already in Ezra's time traditionalism, or human hand-me-down theology, became dominant among them. In their legalistic mindset they failed to understand the spirit of the Old Testament and at the same time lost their original sense for language and history. Thus a juridical interpretation of the ancient Scriptures evolved which exhibits all of the deficiencies of the mentality of small-minded lawyers, as we come to know it particularly in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5-7), where the Lord Jesus points out its errors. Free exegesis, treating language as the expression of a free mind, they knew nothing of. In this way the sophistic, doctrinaire style of interpretation originated among them, rendering service to the Law falsely apprehended. Five pairs of interpreters at this time transmitted their "Articles of the Elders." The last of these pairs, who in every instance represented both aspects of false interpretation, the lax and the stringent, were the lax Hillel and the strict Shammai. One student of Hillel's was Gamaliel, Paul's teacher. This legalistic interpretation of the Old Testament, amounting to

work-righteousness, the Pharisees had made their own, and they exhibited for the most part a hypocritical piety.

f.   Still another sect, called the Essenes, is mentioned by Josephus, the historian of the Jews living at the time of the Apostles, and by Philo, the Jewish philosopher, contemporary with Christ. This group seems to have been an order of monks which began under heathen influences, living withdrawn from public life, some along the Dead Sea, some in towns and villages, and cultivating especially the Jewish customs of abstinence.

§14. The Diaspora.

a.   Judaism thus described turned up all over the Roman empire since the third century before Christ in the so-called **Diaspora** (dispersion). The representatives of Judaism had found themselves far from home, through business interests or through emancipation from wartime captivity, and they met in congregations mainly in the great trade centers of Babylon, Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. Alexander and the Diadochi had favored them with privileges in the newly founded Hellenic cities, and when Rome attained to world hegemony, they emigrated from that point also into the western regions. Like other nations, Egyptians and Phoenicians, for example, they had their own civic organizations abroad. The Romans had granted them freedom of religion, with an exemption from the Caesar cult, *religio licita*. They had their synagogues and presbyters, and adhered to the Law of the fathers with the pertinacity peculiar to the Jews. They paid their temple taxes and came to Jerusalem for the Easter festival. But their religious conceptions were frequently influenced by the dominant Greek culture.

b.   Appearing chiefly in Alexandria at the time of Christ, **Philo** the philosopher presented his views in an interpretation of the Pentateuch. For him God is the unending, whose relationship to the world is mediated by the *logos*, the Word. This *logos*, a concept carried over from the Greek idea of the divine *nous* (reason) to the Old Testament expressions for the Word of God, is considered by him as not yet a person, but the ideas (Platonic), or the angels (Old Testament), or the daemons (Stoic) are comprehended in it. Through these God formed the world from the eternal material (*hyle*). In this sensuous world the minds of men are sunk, and they should again liberate themselves from it by subjugation of their sensuality (asceticism), and return to God. Here one can see how the combination of heathen speculation and Biblical ideas necessarily leads to gnosticism, a movement we will examine more closely in studying the second century in the church.

c.   Because of their peculiarities, the Jews were held in contempt in the heathen world. Some Gentiles, for all that, felt attracted to the Jews' adherence to the customs of the fathers and to their unchanging spiritual teachings on the entire range of pagan views. Such individuals in many instances had themselves circumcised and pledged themselves to observe the Mosaic law, entering practically all the way into the rights of born Jews. These were the proselytes, who appeared not only in Palestine but in the entire known world at that time. There were, perhaps, not too many of them. But then there were very many, especially women too, who, under the designation of "the God-fearing," took part in synagogue services and other Jewish observances without converting to Judaism. As the oldest book in the world, the Old Testament, in its exalted earnestness in sanctification so far surpassing every other Semitic mode, must necessarily have impressed especially the Japhethites at this time when they so generally despaired of their own religions. In this way even the synagogues in the Diaspora made a positive contribution in advance of the Gospel.

d.   Besides the Jews, only the **Samaritans** played any kind of role, though only a secondary one. Originating from the mixed stock with whom the Jews at Ezra's time declined to ally themselves, they had erected a sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim. They had their own Samaritan Pentateuch, and to the end were on such hostile terms with the Jews that these people, when en route between Judea and Galilee, preferred to take the detour across Perea on the east side of the Jordan.

c. The Messiah.
§15. Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Savior of Sinners.

a.   Into this world the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, entered, in that he became a human being like other humans, yet without sin. This is the light in which the synoptic evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, present him. But more than this, he was the true God. This is how John presents him in his gospel. So, there are more narratives depicting how the life of Jesus appeared to human eyes in the first three evangelists. In John's gospel, on the other hand, we hear Jesus discuss his divine sonship. The Son of God put himself under the Law in place of condemned sinners. And in that, like other men, he experienced temptation, misery, and death under this pressure, he paid the debt of sin for man and overcame the power which the devil, sin, and death exert on man. In doing so he saved, he rescued men, not merely from the Law and judgment, but also from the power of darkness and sin. Thus he removed the Law that walled off man from God and brought to light the actual essence of God: grace and love. Through the strength of the message of this love of God he recreates people as God's children who now live in the freedom of faith according to God's will in that they gain the upper hand over sin within themselves. This life and its strength is transmitted to them through the preaching of the Gospel and the sacraments of baptism and communion, both instituted by Christ. The Lord then ascended into heaven and now sits at the right hand of his Father as Lord of the world and as the head of his congregation. And when, through the activity of the Holy Spirit, he has at last rescued his elect company from the world to faith in him and to new life, then, on the Last Day, he will return to awaken the dead and, when he has rendered judgment on all, will lead his own into his Father's kingdom to eternal life.

b.   This conception of God, world, and eternity, which in fact was patent already in the Old Testament, foreshadowed and prefigured, but fully revealed in Jesus at the beginning of our era, is a wholly new phenomenon, something quite other than what the heathen and the pharisaic Jews at the time of Christ envisioned. All these remained caught up in the sensuality of this life, or contrived a spirituality which never arrived at clear conceptions. So they could get neither the holiness nor the love of God straight; and furthermore they created forms of life whose distortion into untruthfulness was always the next step, a development to which all Christian communities thereafter more or less also succumbed.

c.   It is hardly our business here to trace the whole labyrinth of historiography which disagrees with the conception of Christ as outlined above. But because this conception is basic in principle to all subsequent historical perspective, the following observations are necessary for comprehension. In the professional research of the past nineteen centuries, two concepts of the story of Jesus have repeatedly surfaced which even today still get in the way of the correct historical perspective. One is the history of religion school. It views the concept of revelation as outlined above to be a purely human result of an amalgam of religion which evolved in the first four centuries. The writings of the New Testament accordingly are, to a greater or less extent, not what they claim to be. This school of thought has never proven its propositions so that they can survive under sober historical scrutiny.

d.   The other concept, that of the conservatives of the Ritschlian school, allows the writings of the New Testament largely to stand as reliable witnesses of the time and of the persons under whose names they appear. But it distinguishes between the historical Christ as the critic conceives of him from the Gospels, and the concept of him as it passed into history later, especially from Paul onward.

e.   The historical Christ, as conceived by this school of thought, was a prophet, teacher, miracle worker, martyr, and he considered himself to be the Messiah. He adopted the religious concepts of his environment, then reconstituted and deepened them. He awaited the divine rulership, which to him was not of a national-political, but purely of a religious character. From the Old Testament kinship of God with his people he

advanced to the kinship of God the Father with his child (individualism). The kinship of man with his nation (national particularism) for him turned into the kinship with people as his brothers (love of mankind). The focus on temporality shifted to the hereafter, the world became the kingdom of Satan, morality was defined as flight from the world (asceticism). Insofar as he believed the consummation was realized in himself, he regarded himself as the Messiah.

f.   In this whole congeries the particular doctrine of salvation, of mediation, justification, and sanctification as Paul represents them, is not thought to be contained. Fundamentally, Jesus is supposed not to have claimed divine veneration for himself. A close examination, however, will show that this concept suffers from the failure to grasp clearly the presentation in the Gospels of the divine, as of the human, aspect of Christ's person and his entire work, and also the work of the Apostles. In this school of thought Christ's discourses remain caught up in the sensory conception of things throughout, so that the idea of his propitiatory death is lost in the process. Paul's representation accordingly seems a spiritualized speculation to be dismissed as spurious. What is left is a concept not essentially different from common human morality which dispenses with all that is true and actually Christian. Law and external works, it follows, have then won out, and the real essence of the Gospel is misunderstood. The greatest figure in history and his unique influence on the history of the last two thousand years and thus the conclusive, deepest understanding of subsequent culture, remain obscured.

g.   But if one reflects upon the intention of the biblical books, to sketch a thoroughly human image of Christ, and that Christ's discourses in their external form must consequently remain altogether at the level of a proclamation mediated through the human development of history in his time, the sober historian will have no trouble recognizing that Paul's presentation harmonizes from beginning to end with Christ's discourse and with Old Testament prophecy. Everything: Old Testament prophecy, Christ's person and discourses, Paul's preachment, the three most exalted phenomena in human history, and, with these, the whole of history since, must run shallow if one refuses to allow the naive conception which Old and New Testament beget in unbiased people to the present day. This, to be sure, is a conception which can be acquired only through a trusting investigation of the other representations in Scripture regarding God's Word, regarding its human and divine aspect, and regarding faith and the life that evolves from it.

2. Early Christianity.
§16. The First Congregation.

a.   Clearly the disciples of the Lord had often understood him not at all, because it is always difficult to visualize a prophecy concretely. But after his resurrection and ascension, thanks especially to the instruction which Christ had lastly imparted to them in the interval, their understanding had awakened. Even prior to his resurrection, Jesus had promised his congregation the Holy Spirit, who would lead them into all truth. This promise burst into fulfillment in an unprecedented manner at the first **Pentecost festival** on the 51st day after the Passover when all the disciples were filled with the Holy Spirit, insomuch that the beginning of the New Testament church has ever since been dated from that event. Thereupon the views of Christ's followers were largely revised. "The Twelve," earlier known specifically by the general terms "scholars" or "disciples," and later called "**apostles**," preached about the death and the resurrection of Jesus, whom God had now made Lord and Christ. Those who accepted his message received the Holy Spirit, were baptized, and formed a congregation, a body distinct from the Jews only in that they awaited the early return of Jesus as the Messiah, when he should implement the Kingdom of God. Also among these charter members were Jews of Greek education (Hellenists), from the Diaspora.

b.   At first, to be sure, these followers of Christ were in no hurry to leave their Judaic environment. They simply had their special fellowship when they forgathered for prayer and holy communion. Just as

unpretentiously, they maintained the care of the poor, a concern which after a while they entrusted to an elected committee of seven men so that the Apostles might devote themselves entirely to the ministry of the Word. Besides this work, they had a general fund to which many contributed all they possessed. But when in 34 a persecution broke out (Saul in Damascus) in reaction to the testimony of Stephen the Hellenist and one of the seven, the congregation was forcibly separated from the Jewish community. The scattered members began to engage in mission work (Judea, Samaria, Antioch; Philip and the chamberlain, Peter and Cornelius, the business with the *goet* (sorcerer) Simon Magus, who considered himself an incarnation of the "great power of God" and was put in his place by Peter in Samaria), and then in Jerusalem a congregation formed under a constitutional assembly of elders in which James (known as "the Just" after extra-biblical tradition; the brother of the Lord) played a leading role. The origin and nature of his position are unclear. It seems that he belonged to the presbyters, but as brother of the Lord was held in higher regard than others and figured as one of the Apostles. **Peter** too assumed a prominent place among the Twelve, owing to his temperament, as he had done earlier.

c.   Many kinds of further persecutions befell the congregation. Since 41-44, Herod Agrippa I, a nephew of Herod Antipas, had after the latter's fall received the whole of Palestine as a gift from Gaius. Toward the close of his reign, following a long season of tranquility, he persecuted the Christians anew, and ordered James the brother of John beheaded. After Agrippa's miserable death, Roman officials returned to Palestine. From 53 onward, however, Agrippa II (53-100), a son of the former king, had, as Prince of Chalcis in Lebanon, received the right of temple supervision from Nero and later, along with the royal title, a number of cities as well. In the year 62 (?) James, the brother of the Lord, was driven from the temple at the order of the high priest Annas. James' successor too was one of Jesus' relatives, Simeon, a son of Clopas. The regime of Roman officialdom and the fanatic elements of the populace pressed toward the **great war** (66-73), which saw the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 at the hands of Titus, the son of Vespasian, later the emperor. In this war the Jewish Christians had fled to Pella in the region east of Jordan. (22.)

d.   Christianity had long since spread out far and wide across the Roman empire. In Antioch, the capital city of Syria, a congregation composed of Jews and heathen formed through the efforts of Hellenists from Cyprus and Cyrene who had fled there from Jerusalem after the death of Stephen. These people received the name **Christian** from the heathen. About their mixed composition and their position on the Law of Moses they had no misgivings whatever, but rather lived their Christian faith without inhibition. When the congregation in Jerusalem heard about Antioch, they sent Barnabas there, himself also a Cypriot. He in turn, made it his business to look up Paul after a while and found him in Tarsus, his hometown, and brought him to Antioch. This congregation became a second mission center of Christianity, alongside Jerusalem.

§17. Paul's Mission to the Heathen.

a.   One cause of that first persecution in Jerusalem in 34 was **Paul's** conversion in Damascus. After sojourning for three years in Arabia and Damascus, he had gone to Tarsus, his hometown. Once in Antioch, he presently set out on his first missionary journey (46-49?) via Cyprus to Lystra and Derbe. Because he did not hold the heathen to circumcision, a discussion about this relaxation took place at a synod in Jerusalem (52?; often mistermed the "Apostolic Convention") which explained that Christians are free from the Jewish law, but entreated Gentile Christians to observe the Noachic laws, so-called since the Talmud, regarding adultery, eating strangled flesh, and blood. The synod took this opportunity too to recognize Paul as the called apostle to the Gentiles. From this time forward Gentile Christianity gained prominence. A second missionary journey of Paul's (52-55?) went by way of the cities of Asia Minor to Macedonia and Achaea (epistles to the Thessalonians), and on a third journey (56-59) he transferred the center of his activity from Antioch to Ephesus

(epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans). (18c.)

b. The progress of Paul's preachment to the Gentiles provoked a violent reaction. The Jews hated him, and some Jewish Christians excited opposition within the congregations. This antagonism penetrated even the Apostolic circle. Here however it proved but a momentary seizure. Peter had incurred Paul's censure in Antioch soon after the agreement in Jerusalem in that he and Barnabas withdrew from the Gentile membership in deference to visitors from Jerusalem. Barnabas too, with his nephew Mark, broke with Paul when he embarked on his second missionary journey. In his place Paul took Silas along. For this opposition to Paul's message to the Gentiles the Gentile Christians were themselves in part to blame. They brought with them their heathen ideas. These ideas announced themselves chiefly in an incautious exercise of their freedom from the Law. They later led also to deviations in doctrine.

c. The danger lurking in these contradictions was aggravated, as may be expected in human relationships, by the lack of firm **organization**. Disorder might make inroads leading before long to disagreements as well as to false doctrine and practice. There was initially no organization whatever in the first Christian congregation. The congregation reposed under the influence of the higher disposition of the inner life, called **enthusiasm** (from ενθεος, filled with God) in historians' parlance. It showed in the charismatic gifts, the gift of tongues, interpretation, miracles, prophecy, the gifts of administration and teaching. Yet, despite these gifts, embroilments arose, such as contention in dealings between Hellenists and Hebrews concerning the distribution of means of support, and confusion in the divine service. Hence at the first instance of this kind trustees were elected to care for the poor.

d. When, how, and why the additional organization evolved, the records fail to tell; it was owing, no doubt, as it usually is, to expanding relationships. The first leaders the records mention are teachers and prophets. Later, presbyters and bishops appeared at the head of the congregation. Whether the two terms designate the same persons is questionable. It may be assumed that this entire development derived from the pattern of the synagogue. How these elders attained to office, and in what manner their activity was delimited for any individual, can hardly be established except for the fact that Paul suggested the creation of these offices (shepherds, teachers; Eph. 4) in the formation of his congregations. Their collective task constitutes congregational leadership in every respect. In addition to these elders there were deacons and deaconesses, who were in charge of attending to the poor and the sick. The rise of the office of elders hence may bear some connection with the absence of the Apostles from Jerusalem following the first persecution. Harnack's opinion that a distinction existed between presbyters (pastoral care and discipline) and bishops (administration of property and care of the sick) seems unhistorical. Besides these incumbencies, apostles, evangelists, and prophets are discussed in Ephesians 4. It appears that these people were the founders and visitors of outlying congregations, and that their activity was initiated to meet the continuous expansion and the increasingly difficult administration resulting from it. Since this entire preaching effort was in general designated as a work of Christ the chief shepherd, and as a work of the Holy Spirit, it seems natural that these offices were seen as instituted by Christ, and, like the congregations, created through the work of the Gospel. (23 b.)

e. The **divine service** had two forms. The one consisted in sermon, song, and prayer, whose particulars remain unknown. The sermonic content turned on the death and resurrection of Christ and on his early return and was very likely largely practical and inspirational, as we can tell from the epistles of Peter, John, and James. In Paul's writing the first intimation of dialectics is already discernible, as it may also have been in Apollos' sermons in Corinth. This dialectical style, however, remained within the range of inspirational proclamation. People strengthened themselves in the thoughts of the Gospel by practicing the other form of divine service, the Lord's Supper, usually including the *agape*, the love meal. Members were accepted in the congregation through baptism. That children were baptized is nowhere expressly recorded, but that they were

may be inferred from frequent mention in the Acts of the Apostles that entire families were baptized. Communal halls were as yet unknown. But Sunday (Jewish Christians continued to observe the Sabbath) was already accepted as the Lord's Day. (23 d.)

f.   Use of the plastic arts at this stage was, self-evidently, out of the question owing to the conditions sketched out above. In Ephesians 5:19, however, we find reference to psalms, hymns, and spiritual odes. Of the external forms in this medium we know virtually nothing. These types refer no doubt to the artless folk song, made up of a rhythmic oral statement with, at most, from three to five applied tones in the cadences, a mode employed by the Jews and generally all of the then known peoples. (21b.)

g.   The life of the Christians reflected the proclamation of the Gospel, which could only work as a restorative in the spiritual wasteland of the world. The freshness of this life is expressed in the apostolic letters and the Acts of the Apostles. The letters of the Apostles were, clearly, understood in their great content just as they issued from the circumstances of this life. The Lucan narratives and random allusions in the epistles similarly suggest the intelligent reception and digestion of the great apostolic ideas, as of the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies. It was probably people from the lower levels of society who found themselves in fellowship. This did not prove detrimental to intellectual freshness, since the Gospel, like all great ideas, is always addressed to the simple, who accept the message, not in a limited fashion with their mind, but rather their heart, unfettered. With joyous expectation these believers looked forward to the Lord's return and prepared to receive him worthily. The life of the Christians accordingly was earnest.

h.   Church discipline was introduced by the Apostles and was practiced as a natural part of the proclamation of salvation. Already here, however, domination and its correlate, subordination, as in Corinth asceticism (rejection of marriage and the eating of meat), the most immediate manifestations of legalistic practice, must have set in in all manner of ways, which provoked Paul's prophecy of the **Antichrist**, and this already in his earliest letters (2 Thess. 2).

§ 18. The Roman Congregation.

a.   When Paul had completed his work in the East, he wished also to get to the capital of the empire, that is, to **Rome**. There, under **Claudius,** a pogrom occurred around the year 50, perhaps in the wake of public preaching of Christ, and in the meantime a congregation composed mainly of Gentile Christians had been founded (not, demonstrably, by Peter). On this account Paul wrote his letter to the Romans in which he set down in a broad synthesis the whole doctrinal wealth of his work thus far. With this epistle he intended to introduce himself to the Romans. Before long he arrived there in custody.

b.   During his stay in Jerusalem he made an offering in order to disarm the opposition facing him within the Christian congregation regarding his Gentile mission, was arrested by the Romans who were incited to act by hostile Jews, and was detained for two years in Caesarea. Here he appeared before King Agrippa and the procurator Festus and was then transferred to Rome because he had appealed to Caesar on the strength of his Roman citizenship. In Rome he remained in confinement. Whether he ever proceeded from there to Spain, pursuant to the wish he expressed in the letter to the Romans, remains at least doubtful.

c.   From Rome he wrote the rest of his letters: Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon and the second letter to Timothy. In the latter (along with First Timothy and the letter to Titus termed the "pastoral epistles"), Paul instructed his coworkers how to discharge their apostolic task. He referred in particular to the Gnostic heresy, already beginning to infiltrate, a development the church had to come to terms with in the subsequent period. In the epistles addressed to congregations he summarized his whole life's work in a marvelously exalted rhapsody on God and his work of salvation which, in its comprehensive view of theology, philosophy and history, and in its ideally beautiful presentation, finds an equal only in Isaiah's prophecies. (19a.b.)

d.   Paul, and perhaps also Peter, apparently lost their lives in the Neronian persecution in 64. The persecution lasted only a short while and failed to destroy Christianity in Rome. According to Tertullian's account, Peter is supposed to have been crucified, Paul beheaded. To the Christians for a long time thereafter Nero personified the Antichrist, for whose return they were on the alert.

§19. The Close of the Early Christian Era.

a.   A feeling of exhaustion will set in after intense exertion, and people require rest. This applies not only to individuals, but to entire communities, to nations, and to the church. Hence we frequently know little of what happened in such an era. This time set in for the church as soon as Paul had died. Little that can be attested about the other Apostles has come down to us. The following ideas in general emerge beyond dispute from the traditions, some unclear, some contradictory. Antioch, Ephesus, and Rome were hubs of church activity, and Rome, already at the century's close, appears to have assumed precedence. After its destruction Jerusalem at first withdrew and only later received a sort of honorary place, without achieving real significance. **John** worked in Ephesus. He is thought to have dealt with the heretic Cerinthus there. Also a presbyter named John is spoken of, and it remains unclear whether and how we must distinguish him from the Apostle John.

b.   At some time within this era, perhaps even before or soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, our synoptic Gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles were composed. It is worth noting that these writings say nothing of the destruction of Jerusalem as having occurred. Also other narratives of the life of the Lord were extant, as indicated in Luke 1. It was natural that now, when the Apostles were passing from this world, their narratives of Christ's life were put into writing. Later, the church included our synoptics in the canon because they were written by Apostles (Matthew), or by those in the circles surrounding the chief Apostles (Mark, the companion of Peter; Luke, the companion of Paul). John wrote his Gospel later. The other writings of the New Testament, the Epistle to the Hebrews, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, the Epistles of James and Jude, and the Revelation of John were accepted into the canon despite some objection. The content of these writings seems to indicate that they were composed toward the end of the century. (24 a.)

B. Post-Apostolic Era, 100-180.

§20. General Summary.

After the **Apostles** there followed the **disciples of the Apostles** and the **Apologists**. This era extends from the end of the first century to the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, 180. The pagan world was much astir at this time. In the church, the process of intellectual exhaustion appears to have dragged on a while longer. And this is why pagan influences could achieve definition and take shape in the form of Gnostic philosophy. Nevertheless, the disciples of the Apostles and the Apologists held the church intact against violence and heresy. And even though random customs had settled in, unobserved at first, which later proved to be the germ of heresies (asceticism and the idea of episcopacy), still, the doctrine had at least been preserved against the error of *Gnosis*. There, at the beginning of a new, vibrant era which gathered steam under the long peace after Marcus Aurelius, people began to speak of the Catholic church, and by it understood the external fellowship the world around, which in throwing out the Gnostic errors had discovered its common confession. This determines the time line of this period; how things led to this ecclesiastical concept is the question the following account must answer.

Because the exhaustion noted above continued, the sources dating from this era are accordingly very scant or critically inferior. The historian must in some respects rely mainly upon writers who at the beginning of the subsequent period summarized the events of this time. Four aspects require particular attention: 1. the resurgence of paganism; 2. the disappearance of Judaism and of Judaic Christianity; 3. the persecutions at the

hand of the government; 4. the internal development of Gentile Christianity in the confrontation with Gnosticism and related heresies.

1. The External Circumstances.
§21. The Resurgence of Paganism.

a. In the political world, this period coincides with the era of the so-called **good emperors** (Nerva, 96-98; Trajan, 117; Hadrian, 138; Antoninus Pius, 161; Marcus Aurelius, 180). These emperors tried to promote ancient Republican virtue, and with it the weal of their subjects (consideration for slaves, children, the sick, with a humanitarian touch). At the same time, there was oppressive taxation, impoverishment, decline in population, and a gulf between the masses (*panem et circenses*, "bread and circuses") and the educated. The empire was expanded northward, up to the Danube, where, only recently, the Marcomannic War had raged (167). The *Legio fulminatrix* is a legend. (25a-c.)

b. In literature, the Silver Age prevailed. Natural science was represented by the Elder Pliny, historiography by Tacitus, rhetoric by Quintilian, poetry by Martial and Juvenal. The Greeks also contributed with the historians Plutarch, Arrian, Appian, the astronomer Ptolemy, the archaeologist Pausanias, and Lucian the critic. These authors represented the vital scientific and esthetic vein of a paganism that aimed at the cultivation of ancient Greco-Roman ideals. (42b.)

c. Distinct from this vein are the influences of syncretism which advanced apace in the religious community. Here for a time the influence of Neo-Pythagoreanism was dominant. This philosophy, which had first begun around the year 50, hoped to repristinate the ancient doctrine of Pythagoras (570-500 B.C.). Pythagoras had done much to advance mathematics, but had at the same time regarded numbers as the measure of all things in moral and religious mysticism. His disciples believed they could hear the music generated by the heavenly bodies as they revolve round one another in their orbits. The Neo-Pythagoreans borrowed all kinds of ideas in addition from Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, as well as from the Oriental religions, and tried to ascribe these conglomerated ideas to Pythagoras. The star of this orientation was the fantastic **Apollonius of Tyana**, who, in company with his votaries around A.D. 100, wandered about as a miracle worker, and in the 3rd century was deemed a countertype of Christ among religious pagans. Approximating him in his conceptions was the Greek eclectic and historiographer Plutarch of Chaeronea (46-125). Later still, Numenius of Apamea joined them. These people caused the unwholesome mystic mood to be the dominant turn of mind among those who concerned themselves with religion.

d. Consequently, about this time the so-called **soterial religions** could play a role. In these, people hoped less for protection and prosperity, as they had done in the ancient pagan religions, than for deification, an immortal, trouble-free, blissful life hereafter. These religions were more or less the product of a philosophical digest of the body of religious ideas of pagan antiquity. This explains why they displayed two leading features, which we encounter again later within the church, on the one hand **denigrating**, on the other **sacramentalizing** created things. These apparently contradictory elements sprang from their common ground in the **temporality of pagan religion**. Very likely because people observed that all human behavior is perverse, but were unable to discern between sin and behavior neither permitted nor forbidden (a discernment possible only through a profound understanding of the Gospel), they considered things made by God, such as eating and drinking, the sexual instinct, etc., as sinful because they are physical. If this were true, it was accordingly thought possible to sweep sin, perceived as material, out of the body by mortification. On the other hand, they believed it possible to deify this human nature with outward consecrations and ceremonials, to unite it with God, and through knowledge of esoteric information alone to be able to take part in this transformation. Yet, right along with this spiritualized (to some extent) conception of the ancient religions, there appeared a quite external materialization of religion, which was as bad as the discarded rituals performed before wood and stone.

Mysticism (derived from μυω, meaning to close one's eyes) signifies the peculiar exertion among pagans to attain to direct and perceptible contact with the divinity. This was achieved, in the opinion of the pagans, in the secret cults, the mysteries. The initiates were called mystics. This mysticism was of cultic, and hence purely external, material character, because the union with God occurred by purely external means. Initially these ideas surfaced in the cult of the *Magna Mater*, originating in Asia Minor, in the *taurobolia* ["slayings of the bull"] generally practiced throughout the empire. In the mysteries of the secret organizations, the initiate would cause the blood of the bull to stream down over him. Through the energy of this sacrificial blood a complete rebirth was supposed to have been achieved. Accordingly, one finds on sarcophagi of that time the terms: *renatus in aeternum taurobolio* ["reborn into eternity by the slaying of the bull"], αφθαρσια ["imperishability"], αθανασια ["immortality"], and ζωη αιωνιος ["everlasting life"]. The myth of Amor and Psyche too was employed, in order to render these ideas pictorial. The soul, divorced from the human body, would, it was thought, be led to bliss by heaven's God of love. It was a fusion of Semitic, Greek, and perhaps also Christian ideas, and not the other way around, as if Christian literature had borrowed its ideas from paganism. (23 c, 34.)

§22. The Separation of Judaism and of Judaic Christianity.

a.   Meanwhile, this was a time of expansion for Christianity. One contributing factor was the **retreat of Judeo-Christian elements**, along with Judaism itself. After the destruction of Jerusalem, **Judaism** nevertheless recovered to such an extent that Barkochba ("Son of the Star," acknowledged by Rabbi Ben Akiba) was able to stir up a revolt (132-135). When this had been crushed, Jerusalem was transformed by Hadrian into a pagan city (*Aelia Capitolina*). The Jews fell back to Jamnia and Tiberias, where around the year 200 their legal tradition was put down in writing in the **Mishna** (repetition; 6 *sedarim*, 63 tractates). This work was explained in the **Gemara** (the Palestinian around 350; the Babylonian around 550; the explanations of the Amoraeans, "speakers"). The entire product is called **Talmud** (doctrine). It was at this time that they expelled Jewish Christians as heretics, and adopted the ritual of cursing them in the main prayer required to be spoken thrice daily.

b.   The **Jewish Christians** spread out from Pella in the territory east of Jordan as far as Coelesyria. Some returned to Jerusalem, and later, a congregation even appeared in the *Aelia Capitolina*, which however soon gave way to a Gentile Christian one as Jewish Christianity naturally died out, since Judaism did not rate any longer as a nation. A remnant that hung on a while clung to the forlorn notion of a national Judaism and to the stringent adherence to the Law. At last they fell apart again on the issue of the Christian ideas. They merged in part with the **Nazarenes** (Paul recognized as apostle to the heathen) and **Ebionites** (Jesus merely human, and Paul rejected), and were in part absorbed by Gnosticism in the **Elkesaites**. Their position was transmitted in the **pseudo-Clementine books**. The *Homiliae Clementis* relates the life of Clement of Rome and reproduce disputations between Peter and Simon Magus. The *Recognitiones Clementis* contains accounts of the mutual recognition which took place between Clement and his relatives whom he discovered among Peter's followers. The *Epitome* comprises excerpts from the two books just mentioned. The doctrinal content of these books is a combination of Stoic pantheism and of Judaic theism. God is the eternal being. It is through expansion and contraction that the world originates, and again through this process, the mixture of good and evil. Adam, Moses, and Christ preach the truth, through which the good elements are gathered for heaven. These Clementines in their romantic guise emerged, it seems, in Rome about 200. Somewhat different from the Elkesaites are the **Hemerobaptists**, a Jewish sect, adherents of John the Baptist.

2. Persecution by the Government.

§23. The External Expansion of Christianity and Its Corruption.

a. The **external expansion of Christianity** advanced through the great cities mainly toward Asia Minor, Southern Gaul, and North Africa. From 125 onward Alexandria became a central metropolis. The westerners spoke mostly Greek, one indication of the way the external forms of those who carried the Gospel into the world affected the evolution of the later church. The inner bond was maintained by itinerant teachers and through letters. It proved a disadvantage that the great figure of Paul, through whose activity chiefly this church had come to be, was missing. Now missing too was the intimate firm bond. It was but natural that variant customs at various centers should take hold, that variant influences from without should obtrude, which could not uniformly be withstood. This could only generate grave dangers.

b. Hand in hand with all of this an inner mistraining was in progress. This can be explained as follows. Already in Paul's time an unspiritual satiety had set in among the gentile Christians. This condition always pushes toward external works. Paul, who chiefly had represented the clear interpretation of justification by faith, had already been dead longer than a human life span. John's influence, in its pensive style, extended hardly beyond Asia Minor. Besides, his interpretation was more devoted to the ideas of the divinity of Jesus (as in his Gospel and Epistles), to the demonstration of faith in love (his Epistles), and the destinies of the church and the last things (eschatology in the Apocalypse). Then with the death of the Apostles, the charismatic gifts disappeared. As Judaic Christianity vanished, so did the definite opposition to the doctrine. The relaxation allowed doctrinal interest to dwindle. So now natural legalistic behavior began to spread among the Christian forms in two dimensions, and both in fact in the realm of the practical. 1. In the previous era, the forms of office had remained fluid, that is, they originated one after the other in response to necessity, and only the idea of service was attached to them. Now they crystallized into titles, and a doctrine of **authority and office** took shape, the first external impulse of papacy. Around the year 100, presbyterism still prevailed, with the bishop standing at the head of the college of presbyters. The bishop appeared as the axis around whom rallied the congregations left leaderless at the death of the Apostles. From this milieu the monarchical episcopate evolved, at first in Asia Minor and Syria, then around the year 160 in Rome. 2. In direct counterbalance with this development there was poised **a doctrine of works**, which on the one hand was unsatisfied with the natural works of one's office, but demanded renunciation (asceticism, that is, practice in the sense of physical training, fasting, abstention from flesh, wine, and marriage; external distinction of venial and mortal sins), and on the other, imputed merit to such abstention. The Pauline conception of Law and Gospel was lost; they talked instead about the new Law, and differentiated between divine commandments and evangelical counsels. (31.)

c. Of one piece with this mindset was the **traditionalism** natural in such a time, which to be sure makes the doctrine of the Fathers its foundation, but never reproduces the mind of the Fathers unalloyed. Thus doctrine too came to possess an intellectualistic and moralistic impress. Christ became the conveyor of the true perception of God and of the correct moral law. The gift of Christ was no longer the righteousness that counts with God, but the perception of the one God. Hence the lack of the certainty of salvation. Doctrine became a new law. Christians considered themselves the third race, the true Israel. Christ was accounted God, the Judge of the living and of the dead. His work was seen as having emancipated us from the Mosaic law, without a clear idea of how this might have been achieved. About Redemption people had a kind of physical-mystical notion. Christ, in becoming human, has united men with God. This is how we are redeemed from the fate of death, and now, by the indwelling of God, are deified and immortal. The Lord's Supper was medication for immortality. The expectation of Christ's early return still lingered on.

d. It is difficult here to draw a line between naive perception and philosophical interpretation. In the *Epistle of Barnabas*, in the writings of Ignatius, Polycarp, and in the *Epistle to Diognetus*, one finds expressions which

contain the great fundamental truth of the Gospel, that Christ, the Son of God, stepped into the breach for the whole of humanity. Through his achievement he redeemed it from the power of the devil and of death; thereby God is reconciled—although it is not clearly stated that we are redeemed from God's judgment—and mankind is sanctified, so that, united with God by faith, it possesses these properties, and partakes of them. In this entire operation God's love has shown itself to us.

e. These ideas were frequently expressed in such an innocent, cordial manner that one can understand how they could focus the hope, particularly of the simple-hearted, upon the Savior from whom, in the extremity of sin, they expected the forgiveness of all guilt. But because a clear doctrine of justification and sanctification was missing, indeed because through the mistaken idea of asceticism the doctrine of sanctification necessarily had to be dead wrong, the danger was not merely imminent, but one must take it as fact that the doctrinal views, precisely in this central point, were in a state of questionable confusion. The result then can only have been a passivity in the province of the moral life, which is exactly the condition asceticism points to. It will show up later that also the re-evaluation of doctrine, and getting the hang of it in the mind, could only go so far, all because of this ascetic passive streak. Asceticism is not the same as morality, but an external way of getting ready for physical-divine activities. For doctrinal definition it is enough, then, if the doctrines of the Trinity and the doctrines of Christ's person are secured, as long as the result is that Christ remains true God. Beyond this the Greek church never graduates.

f. Where this doctrine of salvation was a factor in philosophical elaboration, there obviously pagan influences took hold, as did Neoplatonism soon thereafter. This explains, too, why the ancient church never shed this element, not even in Augustine's theology; but rather that the other heathen elements, which along with the Neoplatonic had taken root in the same ground of materialistic temporality, that is, the disdain for and the sacramentalization of created things (21 d.), spread apace in asceticism, in the distinction between clergy and laity, and in the corresponding cultivation of divine worship and of church constitution. This, clearly, is "the mystery of iniquity," when the Anti-Christ sits right in the Temple of God. The mystery obtains not merely in the Anti-Christ's external local presence in the church, which itself also is perceived as being merely external, but that he himself belongs to the church, is occupied with God's Word, with the Gospel, helps build the church, and in so doing, at the same time, effects the opposite, ruining the Gospel by means of the doctrine of works, and wrecking the church. (27 d-f, 34 b, 37 b, c.)

g. Just so the fixed forms settled in the divine service, which in time acquired the character of legality. The two assemblies were retained, the preaching service and the celebration of the Lord's Supper (combined with the *Agape*). The *Agape* during this time was combined with the feeding of the poor, and the Lord's Supper with the preaching service, but in such a manner that the latter was public; the Lord's Supper on the other hand was closed (arcane discipline, originally probably because of the exclusivity of the private assembly, then later because of persecution. Now the service began to assume an external form, which was expanded to include the Lord's Supper liturgy, the Lord's Prayer, Baptism, and the *regula fidei*, the Baptismal Confession, in the style of the heathen mysteries). The liturgy developed under the influence of the synagogue. The form of the Communion prayers and the Great Intercession date from this time. The congregation would assemble on the Lord's Day (the name Sunday, first mentioned in Justin, perhaps derived from the Mithra rites). Wednesday and Friday were *dies stationum*, guard duty days of the soldiers of Christ, fast days. The baptismal rite was still open. Preceding it was a course of instruction, which culminated in the Baptismal Confession, from which (around 150) the *Romanum* evolved, from which later the *Apostolicum* evolved. (40 e.)

h. One glory of the ancient church is her charity. The gift of alms bore religious significance as renunciation of temporal possession. It was related to public worship in that the gifts intended for the congregational treasury were placed during the worship service upon the table of the Lord (*oblatio*) to be distributed by

officials. Widows, orphans, the sick, the aged, the incapacitated, travelers, and poor congregations were generously supported. The notion of **sacrifice,** however, readily attached itself to this custom, which later ruined the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

§24. The Apostolic Fathers.

a.   The still extant literature of that time consists of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and the New Testament Apocrypha.

b.   **The Apostolic Fathers: the Roman Writings**. Two epistles of Clement of Rome. In the first, the Roman congregation (around the year 96) intercedes for members expelled from the Corinthian congregation. The second epistle is a homily, composed most likely by an unknown lector. "The Shepherd of Hermas": 5 Visions of an aged woman (allegory of the church); "12 Mandates"; 10 parables of an angel of repentance who appears as a shepherd.

c.   **The Asia Minor-Syrian Writings.** The 7 Epistles of Ignatius to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Smyrnans, and to Polycarp (the divinity of Christ as opposed to the Gnostic heresies; bishops represented as vicars of Christ, presbyters as successors of the Apostles), written about 115 on the journey to martyrdom at Rome. The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians. In it (around 117) the Bishop of Smyrna replies with many admonitions to a communication from the Philippians. **The Alexandrian Writings**. The *Epistle of Barnabas*. A deeper *gnosis* is expounded in it, as against the literal interpretation of the Old Testament (unknown author between 96 and 138). The *Didache* ("Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles"; 3 parts: chaps. 1-6, moral regulations; chaps. 7-10, order of worship; chaps. 11-15, congregational organization). Sharing kinship with the *Epistle of Barnabas* (because unacquainted with the monarchical episcopate), it probably dates from the early years of this period (discovered in Constantinople by Bryennius, the Metropolitan of Serrae, and published in 1883).

d.   Besides these there were **the New Testament Apocrypha:** *Apocalypse of Peter, Gospel of the Hebrews, Acta Pilati, Protevangelium Jacobi minoris, Acta Petri.* (26 a.)

e.   In all of these writings there is a marked lack of understanding of the Gospel. But one can also trace in them how the references to the New Testament progressively led to the eventual establishment of a **canon** of the Holy Scriptures. Also the idea of inspiration emerged ever clearer. The discourses of the Apostles had always counted as God's word because they had from the first claimed to be just that. It was natural that now the concept of inspiration should receive a greater significance, inasmuch as since the death of the Apostles it had attached itself to the written word. Hence the formation of the canon and the doctrine of inspiration are not elements of miseducation and signs of the approaching papacy. But of course it was inevitable that the legalism leading to papacy should be associated also with these concepts.

f.   The church was in need of challenge in order to be shaken out of its atrophy. And presently challenge arrived in the form of external and internal conflict. The conditions of atrophy themselves brought on the challenge. Within this context the challenge amounted to a judgment as well. (26 b.)

§25. The Attacks of Heathenism in the Local Persecutions under the "Good Emperors."

a.   At first, **paganism** rose up against this Christianity in intellectual aggression and with the use of force. The general discontent with the new doctrine, because of its censure of the unbridled world and its claim to exclusive right as the doctrine of salvation, burst forth in vulgar gossip about obscene banquets, consumption of human flesh, and adoration of asses, and in the contempt of the educated. The latter is intimated in Tacitus and Seutonius, as well as in the writings of the pagans which issued from the struggle with the Christians. In these one can tell that they knew the Christians only remotely, but also that they were not interested in

approaching them more closely. Lucian of Samosata (c. 189) harassed the Christians derisively in his *De morte Peregrini* (a criminal is accepted by the Christians only to be excommunicated again for eating meat offered to idols). Fronto, teacher of Marcus Aurelius, and **Celsus** in his λογος αληθης ["word of truth"], known from Origen's rebuttal, wrote serious polemical attacks (because of its doctrines of miracles, Christianity contradicts reason; philosophy and pagan folk religion are better).

b.   On top of these literary attacks came the arm of the law, mostly at the hand of the good emperors, but always at the instigation of the populace, and only in isolated **local persecutions**. The persecution under Domitian (81-96) in Rome: because the Christians refused to pay the Jewish temple tax which was applied to Jupiter Capitolinus, Flavius Clement was executed, and his wife Domitilla exiled. John was on Patmos. The persecution under Trajan (98-117) played out in Rome, Asia Minor, and Syria. In Palestine, Symeon of Jerusalem was executed in 107, in Rome, Ignatius of Antioch in 115. In Bithynia, the governor Pliny the Younger submitted a request in 111 to the emperor as to how he ought to respond to the denunciations, and was informed by Trajan that he should not hunt down the Christians, nor acknowledge anonymous denunciations. Upon formal charges, however, he should proceed. Under Hadrian (117-138), a directive was issued to Minucius Fundanus, the proconsul of Asia Minor, in response to a request from the previous governor, Serenius Gratianus, that he should proceed against Christians only upon formal charges, not upon the demand of a mob. The apology of Quadratus in Athens; the martyrdom of Bishop Telesphorus in Rome. Under Antoninus Pius (138-161), Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna at nearly 100 was burned at the stake in 155. *The Apology* of Aristides. Under Marcus Aurelius (161-180), the ardent Stoic, Justin Martyr was executed in Rome in 165, and in Lugdunum, Southern Gaul, in 177, Bishop Pothinus was executed, along with the slave girl Blandina and the boy Ponticus.

c.   That the Christians must come into conflict with the government was a certainty. To refuse to worship the emperor was a crime against majesty or against the state. In Rome the *praefectus urbi* was in charge of justice, in the province, the governor. It was either a case of criminal proceedings (*judicatio*, with fixed penalty) or of police proceedings (*coercitio*, with discretionary penalty). The penalty was capital punishment (decapitation, burning at the stake, execution in the circus), or a life sentence of slavery in the mines or gladiator schools. In their rescripts the emperors consistently spoke in disparaging terms of the Christians, but they had the genuine Roman sensibility that justice must be protected in its external form. (33.)

d.   Through these persecutions a new trend set in within Christianity—**martyrdom**. It required a heroic temperament to be a Christian. But owing to the predominant legalistic mind-set, it soon turned into fanaticism. People could not wait to be martyrs. Martyrs enjoyed high esteem, and pretty soon they were in competition with the clergy. But for all that, there was a good deal of plain, exalted heroism, especially among the women, and not least at the lower levels of society. And that was often perceived by the pagans, and they were gripped by it.

§26. The Apologists.

a.   Against these forceful attacks of the pagans the **Apologists** stepped up and set forth the political harmlessness and the truth of Christianity. They were politically ineffectual, but they signified the transition to a "scientific" theology, in which, using a deficient representation of Christian doctrine, they declared it to be the authentic philosophy. The Apologists were Quadratus of Athens, the philosopher Marcian Aristides in Rome, Tatian, an Assyrian and student of Justin in Rome, Aristo of Pella, Melito of Sardis, Miltiades, a Christian philosophical itinerant teacher, Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Athenagoras, perhaps of Athens, and Theophilus of Antioch. The most important was **Justin Martyr**. Born in Sichem, he was introduced, while studying philosophy, to Holy Scripture by an unknown old man. After his baptism he came to Rome, and died

there in 165. He addressed two apologies to Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius, the *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, Συνταγμα κατα πασων αιρεσεων and Συνταγμα προς Μαρκιωνα. Pseudo-Justinian writings include two Λογοι προς Ελληνας and the *Epistola ad Diognetum*.

b. The content of these books is three-dimensional: 1**.** Refutation of the charges against Christianity: they defend the Christians against the charge of atheism, high treason, and unnatural vice. In their support they point to the piety of the Christians and also their loyalty to civil authority. 2. The proof that Christianity is truth: in this the actual Christian element fared poorly. Philosophy, that is, certain theistic and ethical concepts, seemed to them an acknowledged common possession of all educated people. In this they appealed to Socrates and Heraclitus, and these they approved as Christians of antiquity, on a par with Abraham. The *logos*, reason dominant in the world and in revelation, was to them the principal concept, from which they asserted a higher style of moral monotheism. For them, this was a doctrine which is really given with reason, but which, because of the dominion of the *daemones* over mankind, must be revealed with miracles. 3. In the contest against pagan polytheism and Greek philosophy, Justin and Athenagoras still defended philosophy, but later apologists abandoned it. Thus the Apologists took the first step in interpreting the object of faith for Christians as a **theory**, **an intellectually grasped** doctrine, **instead** of recognizing what it actually is, namely, **a message of salvation grounded in the historical works of God**. In this process, Law as well as Gospel were grossly misunderstood. Exegetical and historical work and corresponding understanding were thereby ruled out from the first. (31 d, e.)

3. The Attack of Gnosticism and Its Counteroffense.
§27. Gnosticism in General.

a. The internal and external transformation of Christianity, as related above, was accelerated and completed through an attack of paganism from within the church. This is **Gnosticism**. Already in pre-Christian times there had existed among pagans and Jews a *gnosis* (higher understanding). Now this threatened to legitimize itself in the church. Claiming to be the elite among Christians, its agents tried to draw Christianity into the syncretism of the mysteries of the secret societies. The church was in danger of shivering into pieces in subjectivity and destroying itself. In the struggle against disintegration, fixed confessional norms were drawn up. As proper and necessary as this effort is in the life of the fellowship, still it was done here in the context of the already developed legalistic temperament, and in the context of the forms of the church's constitution, of faith, of divine worship, and of life fully evolved under this temperament. When the struggle had been fought through to external victory, it served to confer more significance and authority than was right upon the episcopacy, whose representatives had had the leadership, together with all other peculiarities which characterized them. Once the Gnostic errors had been eliminated, the visible majority, now united in common confession, was called the Catholic church, the one holy Christian church, scattered over the entire globe. There was an externalized way of judging, guided by external factors and pursuing external goals.

b. No direct sources of Gnosticism are any longer available, except for a few Coptic manuscripts. Hence no direct sources exist from which the influence of the struggle upon the church might be evaluated. This must be determined from the conditions in which the church is found following the struggle. Familiarity with the struggle itself may be gained from the writings of notable authors who lived at the end of the second century, still acquainted at first hand with the struggle in its last stages, and who thus commanded an overview of the whole. Also in these authors the designation "Catholic" church appears for the first time. These authors are Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius. According to their reports, Gnosticism proceeds from a human predisposition which, not in itself incorrect, must lead to the worst aberrations unless great temperance of mind counterbalances it. This is the inclination to penetrate into the deepest mysteries of all being, and

where exact knowledge is missing, to contrive connections by means of fiction. Now, it depends on how the mind is otherwise attuned. If reason is in ascent, then, through sharp thinking philosophy takes shape. This happens in time periods when an extended historical interval comes to a close. If on the other hand volition is involved, along with extraordinary energy, it creates the external form of life for the new ideas, particularly in constitutions. This comes about usually at the outset of an historical epoch. Midway in such an epoch, and rather towards the end, when a great sequence of ideas has been intellectually elaborated, and has acquired its external forms as well, emotion comes into play. Emotion dreams up what it cannot know. In doing so it easily falls into unlimited abandon; not merely that it takes its fictions to be truth, but that the mind, as also otherwise in dreaming, easily happens upon distorted images. If then, besides, an aprioristic habit of mind, after Plato's style, is dominant, accustomed to forming constructs from general concepts using deductive thinking, then a mystic system of the universe is soon complete.

c.   All these presuppositions tend to converge when mysticism sets in. Thus also here. Neo-Pythagoreanism was already current among the heathen, a relative and forerunner of Neo-Platonism. The fusion of religions proceeded as before, and now fructified, especially from the East, through the Mithra cult, it was conceived on such mystic grounds and was cultivated particularly in secret societies.

d.   Into this fusion of religions biblical ideas entered. The Old Testament had already experienced such treatment through Philo. His perception of things was revived through New Testament teaching. The proclamation of the Apostles had, however, already been overpowered by legalistic transformation. Now in the church itself, unbounded emotion got busy, upon the basis of the distinction between πιστις [faith] and γνωσις [deeper knowledge], supposedly derived from Paul, concocting all the ideas of paganism, of Judaism, and of Christianity into one hideous brew. Since the Christian ideas, as legalistically attuned, no longer differed essentially from those of Judaism and of paganism, this was possible. And since the champions of Christianity were themselves not free of the Law and pagan philosophy, it happened that, in rejecting Gnosticism, they nevertheless assimilated all kinds of other pagan elements and filled them with a malformed content taken from Christian ideas, so that in this way the church took a long stride nearer to the realization of the Antichrist.

e.   Gnostic systems are exceedingly diverse, because of the **subjectivism** predominant in them. But for all that, they possess certain common characteristics. They were preoccupied in explaining the present world, and in it, the origin of good and evil. To achieve this, they appealed to revelation and to tradition. In the process the Old Testament was slighted, the New Testament explained allegorically. God is thereby thought of as the impersonal distant and indeterminate Good. Next to him, the material is perceived sometimes as without essence and shape (Platonic), and sometimes as evil and hostile to God (Persian dualism). The origin of the world does not happen as the creation of God, but through a series of **aeons** (poetically personified epochs of time and history) which emanate, flow out from God and with every additional **emanation** increasingly combine with the material (or *hyle*), and lose some of their luminous essence. Such an aeon is the Old Testament **demiurge**, who, against God's will, creates the world. Now it is paramount to guide the particles of light in the people of this world back to God. To that end **Christ** appears. He is either a man, Jesus, upon whom the upper Christ reposes (Basilides), or the body of Jesus descends from the aeon-world (Valentinus), or Christ has a fictitious body (Satornilus). Redemption takes place as a cosmic process, as a kind of physico-chemical metamorphosis. For in the world, the pneumatic elements of light and the hylic or sarcic (fleshly, carnal) elements are distributed in the widest diversity. There are Pneumatics, people of the light or mind, who work their way through to *gnosis*; Psychics, who are merely believing; and Hylics, who are coarsely sensual. These fall victim to damnation; the Psychics must content themselves with an inferior bliss; only the Pneumatics attain to total bliss. **Asceticism** is the means for shedding the *hyle*. But this frequently backfired into libertinism, the motive being to destroy the material by debauchery, a constantly recurring phenomenon in

mysticism.

f.   This form of Gnosticism exploited the itch for the mysterious, and tried by all means (pictures, lyrics, novels) to establish itself. Its main schools were those on the south-eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean Sea, and in Rome, the capital. It flourished in the reign of Hadrian.

g.   The **earlier *gnosis*** was a cloudy fusion of Judaic, pagan, and Christian elements. Perhaps for want of literature, its ideas have been only poorly transmitted. The first known figure is the *goet* (sorcerer) Simon in the Acts of the Apostles, still venerated as a god by the Samaritans at the time of Justin, while his companion Helen was recognized as God's first thought (the creative potential), both as incarnations of the male and female principle. Simon is thought to have had a precursor in Dositheus, successors in Menander and Saturninus, who were active at the beginning of the second century.

h.   In the Revelation of St. John, the Nicolaitans and the Balaamites are mentioned, and in the history of John the Apostle the heretic Cerinthus appears in Asia Minor. At the same time, the various systems of the **Serpent Gnostics** show up: the Naasenes, Sethians, Perates, Cainites, and Ophites, who point to a syncretism of Syro-Chaldaic serpent myths with Hellenic ideas. For these, the serpent was sometimes *Agathodaemon*, the good mind, or *Cacodaemon*, the evil mind. The Nicolaitans, Simonites, and Carpocratians were regarded as antinomian libertines.

§28. The *Gnosis* of Basilides and Valentinus.

a.   The **later *gnosis*** spread out from Alexandria, and in Basilides was based on Stoicism, in Valentinian on Plato. **Basilides** (133) in Alexandria, together with Satornilus [or Saturninus], is thought to have been a student of Simon and of Menander. He wrote 24 exegetical books on the "Gospel." There are two accounts of his system. The one is by Irenaeus and Epiphanius, and sets forth the system as dualistic-emanistic, descending from above to below. From the highest God emanates the ***Ogdoas*** (number eight), five Aeons and three stages of Angels radiating from the last Aeons. All together these constitute the highest Heaven. Now 365 Heavens emanate one from another, which together constitute ***Abraxas*** or ***Abrasax***, according to the numerical value of the letters. The lowest Heaven is that of the seven planets. From this one, *Hyle* snatches components of Light. Now from the amalgam of *Hyle* and Light components, the uppermost *Archon* of the lowest Heaven creates mankind, claims the Jews for himself, and apportions the other nations to the remaining planetary spirits. Thus strife originates in the world. In order to liberate mankind from the planetary spirits, the highest God transmits *Nous* (reason), who is supposed to help with his doctrine. The Jews wanted to kill him, but came upon Simon of Cyrene instead while *Nous* stood by in the guise of Simon.

b.   The other account is by Hippolytus and Clement, and sets forth the system as monistic-evolutionary, rising from below to above. The Non-god, or the *Pleroma*, creates Chaos, in which all of the spores of the world are contained. These consist of pneumatic, psychic, and hylic elements. Through the magnetism of the *Pleroma*, the pneumatic element ascends on high in three sonships *(filiationes)*. The first attains to the *Pleroma*, the second remains partly at the Firmament, the third cannot elevate itself, and must be redeemed. The psychic element too ascends in three sonships. The first arrives at the Firmament as the Great *Archon*. Presuming himself to be the highest god, he begets a son who is wiser than he, and establishes for himself, for the son and the other six Aeons, the *Ogdoas* of the upper heaven. The second sonship is the Nether *Archon*. He too begets a shrewder son, and establishes the *Hebdomas* (the number seven) of the planetary heaven. The third sonship remains in Chaos. The son of the first *Archon* recognizes the high intention of the *Pleroma*, and in it instructs the *Ogdoas* and the son of the second *Archon*. He in turn instructs his father, who now as God of the Old Testament paves the way for salvation. He sends Jesus. Jesus separates from himself the non-pneumatic elements. The hylic are destroyed, the psychic ascend to the *Hebdomas*, the pneumatic to the *Pleroma*. The

same happens to his adherents, till all are ascended. Then comes the great state of **ignorance**, in which one knows nothing of the lower stages, and in this state finds bliss.

c.   **Valentinus** was the most eminent Gnostic. He was active around 135 in Alexandria, in Rome between 136 and 165, and finally in the Orient again. His *gnosis* ranks as most significant, very likely because his system was transmitted most carefully and in the most detailed way in Rome. Fragments of his sermons, hymns, and letters have been preserved. In Italy, Heracleon and Ptolemy promoted his ideas; in the Orient Bardesanes was in Edessa (154-233); his hymns led to the beginnings of the actual church hymn.

d.   Valentinus' system allows the emanations to evolve in pairs in **unions of aeons (syzygies)**. The divine genius is already a syzygy conjoining *Bythos* (abyss) and *Sige* (quiescence) or *Ennoia* (deliberation). From them emanate *Nous* (reason) and A*letheia* (truth). From these, again, *Logos* (Word) and *Ecclesia* (congregation). Each of the first four pairs of Aeons forms two and two double *Tetras* (the number four), which together make up an *Ogdoas*. Five pairs form a *Decas*, six, a *Dodecas*, all together constitute the *Pleroma*. Then lastly, *Horos* (boundary), without female companion, emanates from the first Patriarch. He is supposed to guard the *Pleroma*. And this he does, as *Sophia* (wisdom), the female member of the latter syzygy, proves faithless to her spouse, and wants to join herself with *Bythos*. But now the harmony of the *Pleroma* has been disturbed. In order to restore it, the second syzygy brings forth the ***Ano*** (upper) **Christ** and the ***Pneumahagion*** (Holy Ghost). They cleanse *Sophia* and reunite her with her spouse. In gratitude for this achievement, all the Aeons bring of their best as an offering, and from it shape the *Ano Soter* (Rescuer). Thus in the *Pleroma* creation, fall, and redemption are already present.

e.   Hereupon the sensory world originates through the union of *Ano Soter* and *Enthymesis* (deliberation), or *Achamot* (from *Chokma*, wisdom), the daughter of *Sophia*, banished into the *Kenoma* (void, Chaos). The *Soter* eliminates the psychic and hylic elements from her. The **Demiurge** rules over the psychic, Satan over the others. The Demiurge creates first the seven lower heavens. Then he creates mankind from the pneumatic seed, which *Achomot* procures for him, and from material, the earth. Paradise and the Fall follow. Among mankind now there are Pneumatics, Psychics, Hylics. The Demiurge loves the Psychics. To them he sends Jesus, the Messiah. But upon him *Ano Soter* descends and fills him with his spirit. The Demiurge bows before him. Through *Ano Soter*, who remains on Jesus for only one year, the Pneumatics receive *gnosis* (the higher understanding); the Psychics, *pistis* (faith) through their Messiah Jesus. When everything pneumatic and psychic has been redeemed, *Achamot* returns with *Ano Soter* and the Pneumatics into the *Pleroma*; the Demiurge, with the Psychics, keeps the middle region, and all that is hylic, together with *Hyle* herself, is consumed by a fire issuing from *Hyle*.

§29. The Offshoots of *Gnosis*.

a.   Because of the predominant subjectivism in the Gnostic ideas, there were many gradations between those who later were still regarded as church teachers and those who had been expelled from the church. Also missing, because of inadequate coordination, was uniform procedure against Gnosticism. Hence the profusion of **offshoots of Gnosticism**, on whose position there is no prevailing agreement even today. Among these offshoots are Julius Cassian, a student of Valentinus, who had founded an encratic and docetic sect. Another, **Bardaisan** (Bardesanes) in Edessa (154-223), who occupied a prominent position at the court of Abgar IX, initiated with his hymns the Syrian church hymn, and was not regarded a heretic. Not until the beginning of the third century did the Bardesanians separate from the Palutians (Catholics). Here too there belongs a Coptic writing from the third century, *Pistis Sophia,* and the two books of Jeû. These contain ophitic ideas, but strongly approach the ecclesiastical conceptions.

b.   Another spur of Gnosticism in remission is **Tatian** (apologist in Rome 155 and author of the *Diatessaron*,

a synopsis of the four Gospels). He founded the sect of the Encratites, who disavowed the enjoyment of marriage, wine, and meat, following the principles of a Gnostic-dualistic world view. Marcion figures here as well, who, expelled in 144 from the Christian congregation in Rome, founded his own congregation. He was a wealthy ship owner from Sinope in Pontus, who came to Rome in 140 and, upon his admission, presented the congregation with 200,000 sesterces ($10,000 [in 1917] dollars), which was voluntarily returned to him upon his expulsion. He came by his views through Cerdo, the Syrian Gnostic, developing them in his own way. He discarded pagan cosmology (theory of the origin of species through emanation), and the theory of Aeons, but he retained the idea of the removal of the Old Testament as the revelation of the God of the Jews, and dualism, and likewise the distinction between *gnosis* and *pistis*. That is why he must be reckoned among the Gnostics. But his interest focused on soteriology (doctrine of redemption), and this in fact, as he thought, in the sense of Paul. Consequently, in his New Testament canon, he granted validity moreover, only to the Epistles of Paul and the writings of Luke. The God of the Jews created the world, and gave the Law, "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth." On this principle no man can be saved. So the good God has compassion, and without mediation (disavowal of Old Testament prophecies) sends Christ in a fictitious body for redemption. Only by faith in him can anyone be saved. The Judaic Messiah is yet to come, but he will stand opposed to the heavenly Christ. The Christian life must be accomplished under the most stringent asceticism.

The Marcionite congregations had bishops, presbyters, their own church songs and church buildings, and, in the south and east, expanded in large numbers, until they later merged with the Manichaeans and Paulicians (42 f.)

§30. Montanism.

a.   As against the secularization of the church, of which the rise of Gnosticism was a sign, another movement was in counter-motion, itself however embedded in the same general mental soil as Gnosticism, namely **Montanism.** The church had begun to find its place on earth, in the evolution of the external forms of constitution and of art in the worship service, and in the appointment of church buildings. The erstwhile expectation of the last things had died out. With the scientific exertions of Gnosticism, with which the same methodologies of the Apologists run parallel, enthusiasm had died out as well. The conditions bade fair to that result. At the same time, however, the criticism that this development stood in correlation with secularization was warranted. This criticism was now, around 155, expressed by **Montanus** in Phrygia, in legalistic-mystical exaggeration. He claimed to be the Paraclete (John 14:16), and in so far made himself out to be the representative of the third level of revelation of the "new prophecy" of the Holy Spirit. The first level of revelation was supposed to be the Old Testament, of God the Father, the second that of the Son in early Christianity. The end of the world, he said, was near, and all believers should foregather in Pepuza in Phrygia to await the kingdom. Hence in the meantime the Christian must dedicate himself to the harshest asceticism. Second marriage was deemed unchastity, and in any event, it was mandatory to observe total abstinence in marriage, as in eating and drinking (against meat, juicier fruits, and other things), and not to evade martyrdom through flight. With Montanus, the prophetesses Prisca and Maximilla emerged, practicing ecstatic prophetism.

b.   In a series of synods (the first known since the one in Jerusalem in Paul's time) the new prophecy was quashed in Asia Minor, and Claudius Apollinaris, Miltiades, and Melito of Sardis opposed it. Also one sect, which in the combat against the Gnostics abjured the Johannine writings because they took the *Logos* idea as deriving from the heretic Cerinthus, and were therefore called *Aloges* (=*Antilogos* people, also connoting dimwits), got into this fight on the side of the church. Contemporary orthodoxy came to terms with Montanism in Rome in 177, when the congregation of Lyons sent Irenaeus there in order to intercede with the Roman

bishop (Eleutherus or Victor) for their former fellow citizens from Asia Minor. But Praxeas, later condemned as a Monarchian, had come from Asia Minor and presided over the condemnation of the sect. But that did not do away with it. It continued not only in the East until the beginnings of the Middle Ages, but, in a milder guise to be sure, won over adherents in the West, particularly in North Africa, where the great teacher of the church **Tertullian** joined them, most likely because of their stringent asceticism, while in the Roman episcopal see, things were getting a bit lax.

C. The Ancient Catholic Era, 180-324.

The strengthening of Christianity under the universal persecutions, and the evolution of ecclesiastical identity in the conditions prevailing in that era.

1. Formation of the Ancient Catholic Church.
§31. Emergence of Catholic Norms.

a. In that the church had unanimously declared itself as against Gnosticism and Montanism (160-80), it stepped forward as the Catholic church. She had withstood the crisis which the disintegration through subjectivism had posed; but she also took a step farther into increasingly externalized custom. This transpired in conjunction with the emergence of definitive, fixed norms on the basis of which, from that time onward, one determined who was a Christian and who a heretic. These norms are the Apostolic office, the Apostolic canon, and the Apostolic rule of faith.

b. The bishops, drawn from the college of presbyters, had already risen to the top positions in the college. That came about perhaps as a result of the trend toward didacticism which, in the intensifying doctrinal controversy, made greater demands than formerly, and hence gave the recipient of those demands a predominant position over the other presbyters. By this process the bishop became the highest court of appeal, which guaranteed the fidelity of ecclesiastical tradition. Now the theory was proposed that the **monarchical episcopate** rests upon divine institution, and that through the Apostolic succession from ordination to ordination, bishops are the bearers of the *charisma veritatis* (divinely conferred gift of truth) and the successors of the Apostles. This idea is most likely of Roman origin. The first list of bishops, which establishes the succession of bishops in this way, was compiled in 170 in Rome under Soter: Linus, Anencletus, Clement, Evaristus, Alexander, Xystus (Sixtus), Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus. The latter was probably the first monarchical bishop. Peter was at that time not yet named the first bishop, but **Irenaeus** already ascribed to him and to Paul the founding of the Roman congregation, where they supposedly had installed Linus. (35 e.)

c. The second Catholic norm is the **New Testament canon**. Already early on, original Christian writings had been collected with the purpose of reading them publicly in the divine service. These were chiefly the Apostolic Epistles. Added to them were the words of the Lord and the writings which flowered around them, the Gospels. But because the Gnostics appealed to apocryphal sources, it was natural to analyze the problem of what kind the writings must be in order to qualify as authoritative for faith, and which ones these writings might be. This led to the answer that a canonical writing must have been composed by an Apostle or the student of an Apostle. Which writings these are became apparent from the attestation of the congregations to which the Apostolic Epistles had been sent. First the record of the single Gospel in the *Diatessaron* was accepted. Included with this was the *Apostolos*, the Apostolic Epistles, which multiplied in the course of time. Marcion took the lead in formulating the canon with Paul's Epistles. To his formulation the church appended the Catholic Epistles in order to allow the Twelve a hearing as well. Of the Apocalypses only that of John was selected. Around 200, all were agreed upon the Gospels and Paul's Apostolic Epistles. The Catholic Epistles (of James, Peter, John, and Jude) won through to canonicity only later. The closure of the canon was attained

in the Western church only around 400, in the Eastern church, not till after 700. (37.)

d.   Additionally now, the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures found emphasis. Practically, it had always been acknowledged, as of course it is natural to recognize the Scripture from which derives the certainty of the forgiveness of sins, as sent from God, the more so if it declares itself as such. And in fact, what at length was designated in the term "verbal inspiration," to wit, that every word in it can be relied upon, had always been understood. The characteristic feature of this era is that the concept of the legal code was melded with the canon, which naturally had to mechanize and externalize the doctrine of inspiration.

e.   The third norm is the **Rule of Faith**. In the face of the diverse false doctrines it was imperative to offer a brief synopsis of the propositions in which the church stood unanimous against the heretics. Suitable to this purpose was the Baptismal Symbol Formula, which in its tripartite arrangement derived from Christ's baptismal command. But because individual Gnostics had cited the Roman Formula, it was necessary to explain definitively the individual statements. Hence, to the name of the Father there was added the creation of the world from the void, etc., simple clauses negating Gnostic inventions, and retaining the simple intention of Scripture. Because it was certain that the Baptismal Formula embodied everything that could certainly be ascribed to the Apostles, the Apostolic authority for the clauses inserted from time to time, which explained the baptismal command purely according to Scripture, was assumed. The source of this authority was either never contemplated, or it escapes our conjecture. That the *Apostolicum* was wrought in this manner from the Roman Symbol is not the characteristic factor here. That was inherent in the nature of the matter, and would at any time have come about in the same way. The specifically ancient Catholic factor is that a decided external legalistic manner accompanies the conception of the *regula fidei* or the κανων της πιστεως. Interesting, and of grave consequence for the future it was, to be sure, that this work was again done mainly in Rome, in the controversy against Valentinus and Marcion. The composition of this Rule of Faith signifies the beginning of the fixing of dogma, of church doctrine. Accordingly, too, it was only natural that the ancient church never got beyond the doctrine of the Trinity and Christology, because the *regula fidei* went only so far. (36.)

f.   By around 180 the Catholic church was present in her essential profile. The individual congregations possessed in their bishop a visible court of appeal, round which they were consolidated in a legal union. The enthusiasm of the original church had subsided, as when in receiving Baptism and the Holy Spirit, whereby one called Jesus his Lord, one belonged to the church. Now it was required besides to acknowledge the Rule of Faith, the canon, and the bishop. The Catholic church represented, according to this perception, the external group in the whole Roman empire which stood as one in the exclusion of heretics, in the conception outlined above. The church had become a church of tradition, and maintained that sensibility with the educational philosophy then current, in that her doctrinal delineation established itself as the only one viable as opposed to all the rest.

§32. Rome's Initial Influence.

a.   How far Rome's influence had spread, although as yet it hardly represented a central court of appeal, may be observed in the **Easter Controversy**, which came up in several confrontations, occurring just at the time of all these developments. In Asia Minor they celebrated Easter as did the Jews, on the 14th of Nisan. The fast concluded toward evening with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Hence the appellation Quartodecimans ("fourteenth-day people"). In Rome and elsewhere in the West, but also in many places in the East, Easter was celebrated on a Sunday, the first after the 14th of Nisan, and on the Friday prior, the day of crucifixion. From then till Sunday morning the fast continued, and then followed the Lord's Supper.

b.   Around 155 Polycarp was in Rome, and the Easter conflict came under discussion. Polycarp referred to his teacher the Apostle John. But they could not agree. Still, Anicetus allowed Polycarp to celebrate the Lord's

Supper in his church in the manner of Asia Minor.

c. About twelve years later two apologetes, Claudius Apollinaris and Melito of Sardis, took issue with each other. Melito held to the 14th of Nisan since he regarded Jesus as the Christian Paschal lamb. Claudius defended the celebration of the death of Christ on the 15th of Nisan, and counted the 14th of Nisan as a continuation of the Jewish Passover.

d. Around 190, however, Victor of Rome (189-199) demanded of the Asia Minorites that they observe the Roman practice. He may have been annoyed at the agitation of the Quartodeciman Blastus. A number of Western and also Eastern synods declared themselves in agreement with Rome, but those of Asia Minor protested by appealing to the Apostle John. That is why church fellowship between Rome and Asia Minor was broken off. Even though the excommunication did meet with some disapproval in the West (Irenaeus representing the congregations of Lyons and Vienne), Rome had all the same come out on top.

e. **Asia Minor**, with its metropolis **Ephesus**, was the center of Johannine and also Pauline traditions. Here plain biblicism was the order of the day. But most likely it was here too that the notion of the monarchical episcopate had first arisen (Ignatius of Antioch). Yet again, it was the home of syncretism. Here a Christian philosophy gained currency. Montanism, and directly after it, Monarchianism, made their original home here. Asia Minor had initiated the first ecclesiastical measures against these heresies, and was a little ahead of others in this respect. (37.)

f. But in the course of the Gnostic, Montanist, and immediately following the Monarchian Controversies, **Rome** joined the game. And in the existing state of affairs, Rome possessed a variety of advantages. It was the world capital. A large congregation dwelt there. At this time, they believed the graves of the Apostles Peter and Paul were there and that the congregation was founded under the leadership of these Apostles. The congregation was wealthy and engaged in broad support of other congregations. Irenaeus, one of the most important writers of this era, already speaks of the *potentior principalitas* ("the more important pre-eminence") of this congregation. Added to this, the practical, solid, focused character inherited from ancient Rome and which Rome again evinced in after times, a character which consciously and unconsciously strove for dominion. Thus outweighed, volatile, unstable Asia Minor had to take second place. The church of Asia Minor withdrew for an entire century. (36 d.)

2. Self-assertion of the Church in the Time of the Empire's Decline.
§33. The Decline of the Empire.

a. Now conditions arose in the political situation of the Roman empire which proved favorable to the development of the church in the direction she had taken. On the one hand, the empire declined under the bad emperors, but on the other there were latent elements of progress in this milieu as well.

b. In the chaos brought on by these emperors, the church enjoyed a long season of repose, and was able to expand. Upon the so-called good emperors there followed a series of emperors under whom the Roman imperial idea was strongly weakened, and the empire reduced to **ruin**, insomuch that a military despotism arose which later led to an absolute despotism. Marcus Aurelius' depraved son Commodus (180-192) already spoke of the "Commodian Senate," and his two successors, Pertinax and Didius Julianus, purchased their brief reign from the Praetorians (the guardian troops in Rome). Then the African Septimus Severus (192-211), elected by his legions, acceded to the throne. His wanton offspring Caracalla (211-217), under whom citizenship was granted to all inhabitants of the realm in order to make possible a more equitable system of taxation, was murdered by Macrinus. But he in turn was done in after hardly a year by the sun-priest Elagabalus (218-222), who pretended to be a son of Caracalla's. Because of his incontinent immorality and his attempt to generate superiority for his god in Rome, he was assassinated by the Praetorians, and his cousin

Alexander Severus (222-235) succeeded him. At that time the Persians attacked the Parthians and founded the **new Persian empire** under the Sassanids, in place of the Arsacids. That led to a collision with Rome, which had simultaneously to fight against Franks, Saxons, Alemanni, and Goths along the entire northern boundary from the Rhine to the Black Sea. Alexander Severus was slain by Maximin the Thracian [Maximinus Thrax] (235-238), a Goth, at Mainz. This new sovereign wanted to have nothing to do with the Senate. So the Senate picked the party of the Gordians, who succeeded one another, of whom Gordian III ruled 238-244, but on a campaign against the Persians was displaced by Philip the Arab (244-248), the *praefectus praetorio* [praetorian commander]. In 248 he, in turn, celebrated the 1,000-year commemoration of the founding of Rome, indicating how much stock this imperial Rome still put in its future.

c.   Hand in hand with this external decline of the *imperium*, an inner economic and moral decline advanced apace. Provincials, mainly Teutons, joined the army. The Roman citizens steered clear of the army. Despite its continual defeats along the borders, this alien force retained control and maintained the Roman *imperium*, which with the steady decline of the ancient republican idea, increasingly exhibited absolute power. Internally, the culture grew rank and shallow. Economic imbalances intensified. The growth of cities nurtured capitalism, and with it also poverty within the cities, and in the country, rustification. All this accelerated the degeneration of pagan morality. Unmarried status and childless marriage became the vogue. In Italy especially, society declined in this way, and North Africa, Southern Gaul, and Spain came to the fore. (35.)

<h3 style="text-align:center">§34. Elements of Progress in the Decline.</h3>

a.   On the other hand, in all these portents there lay also elements which broke ground for Christianity. At this very time the great jurists Papinian and Ulpian, and the historiographer Dio Cassius, appeared. All free people had become Roman citizens through the Edict of Caracalla in 212. In the cities, bureaucracy prevailed, and while it promised better management, it purloined from the cities, in the same breath, their former independence. This resulted in a general change in the total intellectual life. The ancient religion vanished together with the ancient learning, and in place of the former national consciousness, cosmopolitanism gained head. This stimulated pagan humanitarian ideals. The rights of the individual, of women, slaves, children, invalids, the poor, uneducated, foreigners, were recognized in legislation. At the very end of this era, Neo-Platonism superseded Neo-Pythagoreanism, once the oriental mysteries (Mithras, Isis, Cybele, Dea Syria) had, by means of syncretism, especially in the era of the Syrian emperors, won preference in the royal court. Especially influential were the **four Julias:** Julia Domna, the mother of Caracalla, and her sister Julia Maesa, Julia Mamaea, the mother of Alexander Severus, who engaged Philostratus to write *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, and her sister Julia Soaemis. In the mysteries, the names of gods and their cults were venerated as forms without substance, and thus **Monotheism** was encouraged**.** To this movement the sun-worship of Mithras allied itself. Upon the whole agglomeration Neo-Platonism placed the crown. That is the final religious and philosophical achievement of later Hellenism, and at the same time betokens its decline. The elements of progress in the pagan culture served too, in some regard, to provide the church with means for further inner development, but they also influenced the further growth of detrimental elements that had crept in unawares.

b.   Neo-Platonism was not the philosophy of Plato. From his philosophy the later one inherited only the formal method of thinking, aprioristic deduction, and the construction of general concepts. Otherwise, it was an eclectic system, an adaptation of all the Greek systems of philosophy. Also Judaeo-Alexandrine influences played in. Thus the Neo-Platonic method of thinking, allied with a unique monotheistic piety, was represented already in the second century by Numenius of Apamea and Plutarch of Chaeronea. It was hardly a philosophy, rather actually a religion. All aspirations aim at God. But God cannot be known. One can attain to him only

through mystical ecstasy. For all that, thinking is necessary as the means to ecstasy. That is why philosophy is necessary, and this religion is privy only to the educated, the knowledgeable. Presently this doctrine distinguished itself with extraordinary vigor as the doctrine of a secret society. Ammonius Sakkas (245) in Alexandria was purported to be its author. He was alleged to have been an apostate Christian, and Origen his pupil. The actual founder is **Plotinus** of Egypt, in Rome since 244, who was active in the following period. (42 d.)

§35. Repose and Expansion of the Church after Minor Persecutions.

a.   Under Commodus, the pressure of Marcus Aurelius' animosity against the church subsided through the influence of Marcia, the emperor's concubine. But under **Septimus Severus**, despite his initial charity and his protection, a persecution had broken out in the Orient, in North Africa, and Egypt. The emperor in 202 enacted an edict against conversion to Christianity, and from this spark the pagan fury of the populace caught fire. In **Alexandria**, Leonidas, the father of Origen, was killed. The beautiful Pontamiaena and her mother Marcella were executed along with the soldier Basilides, who had led them to the scaffold. In **Carthage**, the young Perpetua and her slave Felicitas, both new mothers, died with their fellow-sufferers Saturnius, Revocatus, and Saturus.

b.   This persecution was still connected with the previous tumults, instigated by the populace. Hereupon followed a period of **38 years of rest.** To be sure, under Caracalla, Ulpian assembled all of the edicts issued against the Christians, but Elagabalus, as sacerdotal emperor, sought to integrate Christian elements in his worship of the sun. Under **Alexander Severus**, Christianity found access to the imperial court through the influence of the Julias. The Christus image was mounted in the imperial *lararium* (chapel of the guardian divinities). The empress heard the lectures of Origen in Antioch; the emperor decided in favor of the Christians a lawsuit brought by the Roman congregation against the chefs' guild. Under Maximin the Thracian, persecution resumed in Pontus and Cappadocia, on impulse of the pagan population. But **Philip the Arab** was fairly taken by some to be a Christian. Origen addressed a number of letters to his consort Severa. (41.)

c.   In these favorable circumstances Christianity advanced to the remotest marches of the empire, and also began to make contact with circles of the prominent in the interior of the realm. German congregations are mentioned by Irenaeus in 185. Bishops of Trier and Cologne and three British bishops attended the Synod at Arles (314). The church otherwise was mostly Greek, even in the West. In Rome, 250, Greek was the church language. As late as 400, most Christians still were Greek, even though since 200 Latin had gained currency in the West, so that by 400 Augustine could hardly understand a word of Greek. As yet, Christianity was found predominantly in large urban centers, and there, among the lower classes. But now educated and affluent Christians began to multiply. The reluctant senatorial and equestrian houses of Rome flung open their doors to the Gospel. Even in the army Christianity was advanced, despite the cult of the emperor, a decided hindrance. (Legend of the *legio fulminatrix* in the Marcomannic War under Marcus Aurelius.)

d.   All these channels led to **wider expansion**. Spreading outward from Alexandria, Christianity was at work along the entire Nilotic Plain among the Coptic peoples. From Antioch, the Gospel moved down to Mesopotamia. In Edessa, where Tatian and Bardesanes labored, the royal family under Agbar IX was converted to Christianity (legend of a correspondence between Agbar V and Christ). The new doctrine would penetrate even into the eastern provinces of Persia. In the West it made headway especially in North Africa, beginning with the immigrant Greco-Latin population and proceeding from them to the resident Punic population. From southeastern Gaul it advanced up to the Rhenish boundary, and across to Britain. All this helped the existing Christianity to affirm itself in the now established course of the early Catholic church.

e.   It was actually at this time that the gulf between clergy and laity developed, already a given factor in the

very idea of bishop. Constitutional development pre-empted the congregation's voice in that the congregations of an entire province were subject to a metropolitan. A Christian literature evolved, setting forth a Christian philosophy. Also Christian art flourished in sculpture and painting, and public worship achieved its rich structure. Penitential discipline and eremitism developed and became established practices. **All were phenomena which paved the path to papacy.** But again, there lurked in all this as well the provocation to persecution. Christianity assimilated all of the viable elements of its environment, the technique of pious syncretism, the organization and discipline of the Romans, the method of thinking of the Greeks. Thereby the political consciousness of the Christians was raised to a level where they formed a state within a state. And this the astute emperors were keen to note, and hence severe and universal persecutions followed under Decius and Diocletian. (40.)

§36. Invigoration of Christianity in the Monarchian Doctrinal Controversy.

a. Christian doctrine in itself hardly needs the scientific certification of its ideas. The biblical proclamation entirely suffices for all times, because in the doctrine of sin and grace it addresses itself to the heart. The mind comes into consideration merely as the organ for transmitting the ideas to the temperament. But because Christians in their formal thinking are exposed to the influences of the world around them, in time diverse apprehensions of all ideas crop up, which are not only not equally justified, but must lead to a diversity of religious perceptions. Hence it happens that, owing to these external circumstances, all biblical ideas must in the long run be logically worked through. The urgency behind the effort in this instance was caused by the wrong perceptions which had emerged from the pagan world.

b. This development had set in amidst the struggle of the Apologists against the power of the state and Gnostic false doctrine, and in consequence, the doctrine of Christianity turned academic in the sense that religious ideas were worked through to logically, exactly defined concepts. Till now, the question had always been the person of Christ, at first as against Judaism, then as against polytheism. Now another one of the results of the philosophical trend of the time was that the practical ideas of sin and grace did not come under investigation first, but rather the theoretical ones concerning the nature of God and the person of Christ. Nor did the ancient church ever get beyond this point; because, while they reached unanimity in dealing with the Trinitarian and Christological problems, the issues raised during the Pelagian controversy remained unresolved until the Reformation.

c. In the Gnostic controversies the ideas about the unity of God and about the three persons in their relationship to one another terminated in disagreement. The bone of contention particularly was the relationship of the *Logos*, less than that of the Holy Spirit, to the Father. For the most part the *Logos* was visualized as an independent person (υποστασις), but was subordinated to the Father (subordinationism). The *Logos* was imagined as reposing (ενδιαθετος) in God. At the Creation, and not before, he was thought to have emerged personally (προφυρικος) so that his actual nature resided in the Father (subordinationistic Hypostasianism). But because for all of that Christ was thought to be a divine nature, this conception seemed to jeopardize the presupposition of the unity of God (μοναρχια). Hence, on the one hand, Christ was viewed as a mere man, equipped, to be sure, with the most exalted divine wisdom and power (dynamistic monarchianism), or, on the other hand, the relationship was envisioned as one in which the *Logos* is identified with the Father (patripassianism), or one recognized in him only a different mode of the efficacy of the Father (modalistic monarchianism).

d. **The Monarchian conflicts** played out under the Roman bishops Eleutherus (174-189), Victor (189-198), Zephyrin (198-218), Callistus (218-222), Urban (222-230), Pontian (230-235), Anterus (235-236), Fabian (236-250), Cornelius (250-253), Lucius I (253-254), Stephen I (254-257), Sixtus II (257-258), and Dionysius

(259-269). (66.)

The first dynamists were the aforementioned alogists in the Montanist controversy around 170. Under Victor, the dynamist Theodotus the Leatherworker was excommunicated in Rome, himself under the influence of the modalist Praxeas, who also had opposed the Montanists. Among his disciples, who sought to found a congregation, Theodotus the Moneychanger and Artemon became the most prominent, into the time of Dionysius; Praxeas removed to Africa and there opposed the Montanists and dynamists. There **Tertullian**, a member of the Montanists, established his doctrine of the **three-fold Sonship** (*filiatio*): the immanent essence of the Son in the Father, the exit of the Son in the creation, and the entrance into the world of the Son through the incarnation. Then, in Smyrna the modalist Noetus appeared on the scene (the Son of God thought to be his own son). His disciples Epigonus, Cleomenes, and Sabellius advocated this doctrine in Rome, and were friends of the bishops Zephyrin and Callistus. Thus modalism was dominant in Rome from Victor to Callistus. Opposed to them, **Hippolytus** stood forth with his subordinationist hypostasis. Callistus excommunicated Sabellius and as a formula of concord propounded that God is indivisible Spirit, who as such is called *Logos*. The man Jesus is the Son, while the incarnate *pneuma* is identical with the Father. Hence one must say the Father has suffered with the Son (actually patripassianism). Later, the presbyter Novatian once again defended the ideas of Tertullian and Hippolytus, but still within the subordinationistic frame. In his time Theodotus the Younger, Natalis, and Artemon were active as a learned school in Rome. Around the same time at a synod at Bostra in Arabia, the dynamist Beryllus was converted by **Origen**. He had taught that Christ did not exist as a person before his incarnation. As opposed to this theory, Origen set forth the proposition of the **eternal generation,** but remained entangled in the subordinationist expressions (Christ, ποιημα, creature; ετεροτης της ουσιας, diversity according to nature or essence; even though this was only intended to contradict the patripassian ομοουσιος). At that synod too Christ was given a human soul. Meanwhile, Sabellius had come to Egypt. He had used the term ομοουσιος to describe Christ, in order to emphasize the unity of God. In so doing he denied the three-ness of the persons, and his disciples had asserted his modalism (the three forms of existence of God: Father, Son, and Spirit were names, or masks, ονοματα, προσωα) as against Dionysius the Great of Alexandria. Dionysius propounded Origen's idea, but with even more sharply defined subordinationist expressions (Father and Son like farmer and vine; Christ a creature who had no existence before he was born). But **Dionysius of Rome** rejected this proposition at a synod there in 261, and, in opposition to it, thought up the term **equal nature** (ομοουσιος). From then onward, that proposition remained fixed as the right doctrine. In the Orient, Paul of Samosata (since 260 bishop of Antioch) under the protection of Zenobia of Palmyra, once again defended dynamistic monarchianism (*Logos* and Spirit mere attributes of God). This question was dealt with in three synods held at Antioch 264-269, until at last the presbyter Malchion prevailed against the bishop. The ομοουσιος, as employed also by Sabellius, was rejected. It was a mighty endeavor of the mind, which over several generations clearly worked out the one concept in consonance with Scripture. One notes how, among the diverse opinions, the logical difficulty, because of the diverse logical perceptions, led to antitheses, while one can observe how on both sides the desire or the effort was more or less present to adhere to Scripture.

e.   In direct ratio, as the theologian stands distant from the Gospel and argues into priority the sheer interest of logical thinking, the apprehension of Christ is impaired; either his independent essence next to the Father, or his divinity. With the Gospel of redemption the correct apprehension of Christ stands and falls, and vice versa.

f.   But even now, the concept of ομοουσιος was not yet clear from every angle. What remained open to question was how his nature (ουσια) must be understood, and wherein the "equal" (ομος) subsists. ουσια can be understood from the aspect of the style of the essence. Then ομος means equality, similarity. But ουσια can also be viewed from the aspect of number; and then ομοουσιος means one in nature. In both instances, the

word can be understood wrongly and also aright. Sabellius, took the term as one in nature, and therefore denied the trinity of the persons. That is why the ομοουσιος was renounced in the East. Origen's way of thinking prevailed. Dionysius of Rome had taken the word to mean similar in nature, retaining the trinity of the persons, so that for him the meaning "one in nature" was still remote, not that he denied it. This lack of clarity led to the Arian Controversy. But that in these difficulties people were so prompt to condemn the opponent in his person, shows how far the idea of papacy had advanced. (42 e, 44 f.)

§37. Pervasive Miseducation Accompanies the Growing Strength in the Domain of Doctrine. The Asia Minorites. Irenaeus.

a.   Hand in hand with the labor of the mind sketched out above, a **miseducation** proceeded apace which led ever nearer to the papacy. In general, the trend, in consonance with the *regula fidei*, was to comprehend church doctrine as a palpable entity, and to grasp it intellectually. Not only the opposition of false doctrine, as with the Apologists, but also the scientific method in itself was the mainspring. On this account schools were already being founded, among which the Alexandrian catechetical school played a leading role. Also individual men, without engaging in professional teaching activity, formed **intellectual directions**, schools of thought. Thus particularly, there are three schools distinct from one another in fundamental outlook, method, and intent: the Asia Minorite-biblicistic, the Alexandrian-speculative, and the Western practical-traditional. None of these orientations had the right idea, which, in returning to Scripture, could achieve emancipation, but all proceeded farther along the path struck at first, which led finally to their demise.

b.   The representatives of the first, the **Asia Minorites**, were Irenaeus and Hippolytus. Irenaeus, born in 140 in Asia Minor, is supposed to have come to Rome with his teacher Polycarp. Thence he went to Lugdunum in Southern Gaul to the immigrant Greek congregation, and was then sent to Eleutherus in Rome around 175 in order to intercede for the Montanists against Praxeas. Starting in 178, after the death of Pothinus, he served as bishop of Lyons. His principal work still engaged the Gnostic controversy. Into this strife he introduced **Asia Minorite realistic biblicism** which adhered to the simple, down-to-earth perception of biblical interpretation, in particular contrast to volatile Alexandrian spiritualism, without bothering about other theories. This style at the same time reflected Western theology, and thus Irenaeus became the founder of Catholicism, just as he also transmitted this term.

c.   He stood up for the communal faith of the church, the tradition which he had established by means of the three exemplars: rule of faith, the canon, and office. Actually his views coincided with Gnosticism and the idea of salvation as promoted in the mysteries. Gnosticism proceeded from dualism, and viewed the present world as a union of hylic, psychic, and pneumatic elements. Hence salvation consisted in the separation of these elements. As opposed to this notion, Irenaeus defended the doctrine of one God, who is at the same time Creator and Redeemer. Creatures and Creator have been separated through sin, and thus the verdict of death has fallen upon men. Through redemption, men are in fact, *realiter*, reunited with God (ανακεφαλαιωσις, *recapitulatio*). By these means man receives again the lost gift of incorruptibility, for which he had been determined after the image of God in creation. The separation through sin, and the restitution through grace, however, remained undigested concepts with Irenaeus; in fact, in the style of that time he did not reckon them a part of the *regula fidei*. Consequently, the common perception remained entangled in the cosmological mystical perceptions of the day. Nevertheless, Irenaeus defended an evangelical truth against Gnosticism. Indeed, Irenaeus already interpreted the death of Christ, more exactly than before, as a free act of obedience, through which the disobedience of men is atoned, and the power of the devil overcome by a legal process. This interpretation of his had not yet returned of course to the clarity of Scripture. Particularly the physical doctrine of sanctification of the Gnostics was not vanquished; rather in the meanwhile the perceptions of asceticism had

merely congealed still more into a doctrine of works. Yet this pandemic notion sufficed for the simple, believing perception of that time, especially since the extensive hearing and reading of Scripture in church also played a more important role (larger than we know today) in the personal Christianity of the individual, particularly of the simple folk. Nevertheless, this perception of sanctification contributed to the result that the papacy remained deeper in the bonds of pagan views, and from that milieu, was further influenced in doctrine and practice. (42 b, d.)

d. The writings of Irenaeus are: Ελεγχος και ανατροπη της ψευδωνυμου γνωσεως; 2 letters addressed to the presbyter Florinus in Rome, who had turned Valentinian; letters to Victor of Rome regarding the Passover Controversy.

e. Hippolytus was Irenaeus' disciple, perhaps already in Lyons. Then we meet him in Rome opposing Noetus' monarchianism. In Callistus' incumbency, he was bishop of a **schismatic** congregation (because of the lax penitential discipline of the lax Callistus). He was supposed to have been exiled to Sardinia in 235 with the bishop Pontianus, making possible the reunification of the congregations after the election of Anterus, and there shortly to have died. His writings were done in Greek, among them a commentary on Daniel. They bear the same character as the writings of Irenaeus, except that they are less original.

§38. The Alexandrians. Clement. Origen.

a. Representatives of the **Alexandrian school** were Clement of Alexandria (ca. 160-216) and Origen (185-254). Through these two keen thinkers an ecclesiastical science came into being, in which Christian piety was transformed into a philosophical world view and melded with Greek scientific methodology. The catechetical school was founded by Pantaenus, about whom however we know nothing else. Rome was the capital city, and it attracted thither all genius of consequence. Yet this occurred only because of its externally powerful position. **Alexandria was the actual hub of intellectual culture**. There the schools of philosophers were at home. There the great library had already been destroyed by Caesar, but had been rebuilt and enlarged, so that Omar could later destroy it again. In the schools, instruction took place with the most admissive of policies, so that in Origen's classes, for example, Greeks, Jews, pagans, even women and virgins were auditors. (38.)

b. Clement was the disciple and successor of Pantaenus. Among his writings, the trilogy Λογος προτρεπτικος προς Ελληνας, Παιδαγωος, and Στρωματεις stand out. These works identify him as a Christian Gnostic. In the first book, ***Admonition to the Greeks***, he made the distinction between *pistis,* the simple congregational faith which accepts the doctrine of Christ out of fear and obedience and performs the good for the sake of obedience; and *gnosis*, the philosophical understanding of the doctrine, which inwardly grasps salvation and performs the good for its own sake (antithesis between congregational folk, and the higher educated, the clergy). Otherwise, for him faith was a stage in transit to *gnosis*. Central in his doctrine stood the *Logos*. He is creator of the world, trainer, teacher, and hierurge. He has given the Law to the Jews, to the Greeks philosophy. Accordingly, he procures salvation through cognition and religious consecration. On the highest rung of *gnosis*, tradition and even the *Logos* lose all significance. The rule of faith is not a complex of ideas, but an inner disposition of mind in the union of the finite mind with the Godhead in passionlessness and love (Neoplatonic). Aside from all of this, Clement nurtured docetic and dualistic errors, and traced them to arcane traditions. —In ***The Trainer***, he demonstrated how the *Logos* guides Christians to the Christian life. In this, under the influence of Cynic-Stoic philosophy, he ended up demanding Greek moderation in eating, drinking, dress, ornament, at table, in society, at gymnastic exercises, and in frequenting the public bath. —In ***The Carpets*** the discussion turned on the highest function of the *Logos*, that of leading the Christian to *gnosis*. It is without system, and abstruse.

c. Origen was born in Alexandria (185), educated under Pantaenus and Clement, and served for 18 years as

instructor at the catechetical school, while himself still a student of Ammonius Sakka. In a seizure of excessive zeal he emasculated himself. He visited Rome in 211 and made the acquaintance of Hippolytus. He traveled often, because of tension with his bishop Demetrius. En route across Palestine to Hellas in 230, he was consecrated presbyter by the bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem. On this account, at the instigation of Demetrius, he was dismissed from his teaching office, and then went to Caesarea in Palestine, where he opened a theological school. There, as earlier in Antioch, he enjoyed close contact with the imperial court. He died a martyr in 254 in the Decian Persecution. Because of his restless diligence (6000 publications) he was called *Adamantinus* by his contemporaries.

d.   Origen, viewed on the surface, is the most significant genius of the ancient church. His brilliant endowments, which rendered him competent for energetic, creative labor of the mind, realized in his achievement of applying the entire Hellenic scientific apparatus to the service of the church, and in so doing, himself outpacing this science, and lastly his particular achievements, justify this judgment. He created first of all, quite beyond the temper of the time, the foundation for a scientific interpretation of the Bible, and secondly, the first Christian, not dogmatic, but systematic doctrine of faith. Added to this is the fact that no other genius of the ancient church exercised such **fecund influence** upon continued thinking as did Origen. For the broad influence of Athanasius and of Augustine, which can also be adduced, was of a traditional dogmatic, that is, legalistic style, and was associated with governmental authority, which had defined the doctrine. As against this, **Origen** represented free thinking, and externally emancipated also his successors in their thinking, and succeeding in this had more independent disciples than any other teacher of the ancient church. Generally, the eastern half of the empire (for a time also the western) was influenced by him, and to some extent continued so.

e.   In Origen however, we also have an example which allows us to see how little mere external, formal proficiency avails to recognize and to retain the truth. The basic defect in Origen was that he did not actually understand the Gospel. This prevented him from properly pursuing the great idea of Scriptural interpretation, which did not at all match his philosophically oriented time, despite his having made the right beginning for the right kind of Scriptural study in his text-critical work. He remained the subjective Neoplatonist whom the pagan Neoplatonist Porphyrius claimed for himself. Hence he made the foolish allegorical method the method of Scriptural interpretation, and created the systematic doctrine of faith which is neither genuine systematic science, nor genuine doctrine of faith, but really an unbridled fantasy, similar to the nature of the disowned Gnostics. At the same time, one can observe here, as already in Clement of Alexandria, the enduring influence of Gnosticism upon its opponents, that is, upon the entire ancient church.

f.   Origen nurtured the same basic ideas as his teacher Clement, except that he expanded them and organized them into a system. But then, he was also more church-minded, and held fast to tradition, even though he intensely spiritualized it. He wanted after all to be a Scriptural theologian as well. Therefore, he developed the long-practiced theory of interpretation by allegory into the idea that Scripture has a three-fold sense: σωμα, the literal; ψυχη, the practical-moral; πνευμα, the mystic. Thus he established the hermeneutic for the Catholic church which she developed still further. Also in Christology, he expressed the main idea touched upon in the Monarchian controversy.

g.   To him, God is the pure, immaterial essence, source of all being and of the Good. God's working is eternal. Thus too he begets the *Logos* in eternity from his own nature. The *Logos* is the eternal *hypostasis*, proceeding from the Father, not merely power, but ετερος, an other, a ποιημα, a creation (a correct fundamental idea, but one that has a subordinationistic ring). Hence, to the Father alone is adoration due. For the sake of the Rule of Faith, Origen placed the Holy Spirit, as the third person, beside them as well. The rest of his ideas followed Alexandrian-Gnostic speculation. God created the world in eternity, immaterial beings

with free will (pre-existentianism). They fell away from God, and for this are banished to various bodies (angels, humans, demons), from which they must be redeemed. For this purpose the *Logos* enters the world. He unites himself with a spirit-nature not fallen away from God, and assumes a human body, by his death overpowers the demons, and buys man back from Satan. To him he pays the ransom with his holy obedience and with his death, so that Satan now has no more right to man. Then the *Logos* instructs mankind in this redemption. The congregation is in need of the *mythos,* the down-to-earth faith of the pew, in order to be accepted. The Logos too is truth in disguise, and his adherents attain to salvation. Higher, however, is *gnosis*, for with it one no longer needs even the *Logos*; rather, one is exalted in communion with God, purely by intellect, not ecstatically. God creates even more such worlds. Some day everything will experience bliss, even Satan (αποκαταστασις παντων, restoration of all things).

h.   Origen ploughed all the fields of theology: in textual criticism: the *Hexapla*, a compilation of the Old Testament Hebrew text with the available Greek translations and a critical apparatus; in exegesis: Σημειωσεις (brief), Ομιλιαι (devotional), Τοποι (scientific) commentaries; in dogmatics: Περι αρχων, 1. On God, the angels, the fall, creation, *apokatastasis*, and consummation; 2. On the present world and its creatures; 3. On the freedom of the will and the temptations of men; 4. On Scripture and its interpretation; in apologetics: Κατα Κελσον; in ascetic writings: Λογος προτρεπτικος εις μαρτυριαν. Heretics could hark back to this theologian for a long time to come. (39.)

§39. The Western School. Tertullian. Cyprian.

a.   As opposed to the Gnostics, the Asia Minorites and the Alexandrians stressed the freedom of the human will, and denied inborn, or original, sin. They accounted for sin rather from the evil influence of others, or the influence of demons. In the doctrine of salvation therefore they remained fixed in synergism. The Western School from the outset led, even if not expressly, to Augustine's doctrine.

b.   The representatives of the **Western School** are Tertullian and Cyprian. **Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullian**, ca. 150-ca. 222, was the son of a pagan centurion in Carthage, studied in Rome, and probably became a lawyer in Carthage. He became a Christian (195), joined the Montanists (202), ultimately broke with the dominant church, and died after 220. In his writings, the practical-moral style derived from the Romans and Tertullian's juristic training were immediately apparent. Not cosmology, as with the Alexandrians, but moral renewal was his central focus. The fundamental damage is sin. Original sin, *peccatum originis*, propagated from Adam, is transmitted to all mankind (traducianism or generationism). With this idea Tertullian led toward the doctrine of the sole efficacy of grace, but remained caught up nevertheless in synergism. For him, grace is not merely the forgiveness of sins, but also the infusion of the Holy Spirit, which after baptism works like medicine. The relationship between God and the Christian is a legal relationship, where the part of man consists in the performance of satisfaction with good works, which God in turn accepts as sufficient (*acceptatio*). For him, God is substance (capability). Father, Son, and Spirit are persons. One person can possess several capabilities, and several persons can possess the same capability. Thus explained, the Trinity and the doctrine of the two natures in Christ seemed clear to him. Regarding Christ, he had in addition the idea of the three *filiationes*, touched upon above in the Monarchian Controversy. The *Logos* is an emanation, not a creature.

c.   These ideas are recorded mainly in Tertullian's polemical writings against the heretics: *De praescriptione haereticorum*, *De anima, De carne Christi, Adversus Marcionem,* and *Adversus Praxeam*. Besides these he composed apologetic writings: *Apologeticus adversus gentes*, a popular revision of the same: *Ad nationes, De testimonio animae,* and *Adversus Judaeos*. For moral opinions, the most important are his practical-ascetic writings: in these, from his pre-Montanist period, he is significantly milder than he was later: *De baptismo, De*

paenitentia, De idolatria, De spectaculis, De cultu feminarum, De patientia, and *Ad martyres*. In the Montanist writings he is fanatically rigoristic, and bitterly mocks the Psychics (=Catholics): *De virginibus velandis, De corona militis, De fuga in persecutione, De exhortatione castitatis, De monogamia, De pudicitia,* and *De jejuniis.*

d. Tertullian was of "an uncommonly temperamental, contradictory, inharmonious nature; for all the earnestness in his view of life, a biting, cynical wit, his argument often colored by the sophistry of the advocate." He was in part dependent upon Irenaeus, in part he superseded him. With his physical doctrine of salvation, Irenaeus exercised a lasting influence on the entire ancient church down to Luther. But with his juristic conception of things and with his insistence on *auctoritas* and *ratio*, and as the teacher of Cyprian and Augustine, Tertullian became the father of Western theology. He wrestled with the physical doctrine of salvation while brushing over the efficacy of the Holy Spirit. But he failed to overcome his error, rather, he created the doctrine of justification as it holds to this day in the Roman church. With his dialectical edge, despite his stylistic steel, he gave the church the **Latin liturgical language** (in the Punic dialect). At the same time, the fact that the best in the Catholic church (Augustine and Anselm of Canterbury) could not see acts of God as other than judicial, derives from him.

e. His disciple **Cyprian** (ca. 200-258) advanced his theology further at this time. Born in Carthage around 200, he became a teacher of rhetoric early on, converted to Christianity, and soon, around 248, also became a bishop. In the Decian persecution he withdrew for a time from public view, causing the schism of Felicissimus, but then around 258 died a martyr. He is said to have called to his secretary every day: *Da magistrum* ("Bring the Master": the writings of Tertullian). He liberated the doctrine of his master from Montanist abuses, and polished his Latin, but he could not match Tertullian's speculative and dialectic gifts. His importance lay less in his theological achievements than in his struggle for the Monarchian importance of the episcopal office as the representation of the unity of the church, and in that he made salvation dependent on membership in it. In the doctrine of the appropriation of salvation, he gave the Catholic church the fateful concept of *opus operatum* (the meritoriousness of the visible performance of a good work), and the designation of the Lord's Supper as a cultic sacrifice. He wrote apologetic-dogmatic, ethical-ascetic, and ecclesiastical-political treatises. The most telling and important is *De unitate ecclesiae*, against the schismatics. (47 f.)

f. In these two Western theologians, the doctrinal position of the church, pre-determined by the rule of faith, the canon, and the office, terminated in **traditionalism**. The *ecclesia docens* [teaching church] is henceforth the plumb line in accordance with which doctrine evolves.

§40. Miseducation in the Life of the Church.

a. In the sphere of everyday life too miseducation in worship and morality had set in. The measure of this miseducation was the **distinction between clergy and laity**. The New Testament doctrine of the universal priesthood had fallen into disuse, with a corresponding relapse into the Old Testament idea of priesthood as superior to the immature congregation. A divine service without a priest was unthinkable. Tertullian first used this term for bishop and presbyter, and Cyprian enlarged upon it. The priest appeared as the essential mediator between God and individuals. He brought the sacrifice for the congregation, and administered grace in God's stead. For this function he was empowered by consecration, which also obligated him to a higher morality (celibacy and other regulations). Hence priests were considered as *clerus* (*ordo*, a status or class; *character indelebilis*, according to Callistus, unable to be dismissed from office despite mortal sin), while in the term *laos* (folk) lurked, unperceived as yet, a disparagement. The term "service" came to mean "office" invested with authority.

b. By this time the evolution of clerical super- and sub-ordination was a natural consequence. To the higher

levels (***ordines majores***) belonged: bishop, presbyter, deacon. Where one church was not enough in the metropolises, branch congregations sprang up, subordinate to the one bishop. So the rural bishops also came to be subject to the urban bishops, and the bishops of metropolises were superior to those in other cities. The term **metropolitan**, however, first appeared in the acts of the Council of Nicaea. Bishops were regarded as successors to the Apostles, and as such, as teachers, dispensers of salvation, and judges of the congregation. Here are the beginnings of the constitution of metropolitans, resulting from synodism. **In Africa**, there were unusual circumstances. In Numidia and Mauretania, the eldest bishop was the primate; in pro-consular Africa, the bishop of Carthage was the metropolitan. Subordinate to him also were the collective synods of Africa.

c.   The presbyters were subordinate to the bishop, and, under his direction, attended especially to the instruction of catechumens. The deacons were the administrators of congregational property and relief for the poor, and in the divine service performed all manner of duties for the bishop. Therefore, they stood closer to him than did the presbyters, accompanied him on his travels, and were frequently dispatched as his representatives. As a result, this estate raised itself above the order of presbyters, and the archdeacon had the expectation of becoming the next bishop, a natural development in this time of secularization, since, in the world, tangible management ability is always more highly esteemed than the mental exercise of teaching.

To the lower levels (***ordines minores***) belonged the subdeacons, exorcists (spiritual treatment of the possessed), lectors, cantors, *ostiarii* (doorkeepers), and acolytes (the assisting retinue of the bishop). (49.)

d.   In the **catechumenate**, those who were to be baptized were first taught the *regula fidei (traditio symboli)*. Through baptism (*abrenuntiatio, redditio symboli, immersio*, or for the sick, *aspersio*, unction with oil) they were then initiated by priestly mediation into the church, as if in a mystery society (*initiatio*). Sins previously committed were thereby cancelled, the Spirit and immortality conferred, a magical-sacramental idea. Now they participated fully in the divine service. Milk and honey, white garments, baptismal gifts were administered; baptism was postponed. The question posed to Irenaeus, whether infants of eight days should be baptized, and Tertullian's rejection of infant baptism, are evidence for infant baptism. *Sponsores*, godparents.

e.   The **divine service** now became a **cult**, that is, it was no longer an act of confession pouring forth directly from active believing, which proceeds out of gratitude to God and for mutual edification, but is turned into a cultic work, which seeks to influence God through the performance of sacrifice in the mummery of the Eucharist. The arcane discipline, with its division of the service into two parts and the separate celebration of the Lord's Supper, originally induced by the persecution, increasingly took on the character of the pagan mysteries. In the first part of the divine service, the *missa catechumenorum*, which was open to the public, the Scripture reading by the lector of the Old Testament, of the Gospel, and of the Apostolic epistles was a fundamental act. Linked to this was the address of the bishop, the presbyter, or even sometimes, a layman. Rhetoric saturated this. Then came the congregational prayer, to which the congregation responded with "Amen." Thereupon followed the closed *missa fidelium*. All the unbaptized, and those under penitential discipline, departed from the service.

f.   The **Lord's Supper** was the culmination of the mystery celebration. Already here the doctrine of sacrifice began to permeate the rite. Originally, the celebration was called *eucharistia* because of the prayer which was a significant part of the service (*epiclesis*, by which the elements were consecrated). Then too, the custom developed of congregation members presenting the elements, bread and wine (*oblationes*). Then the priest presented them once again; and in consequence of these three **sacrificial** transactions, the combined action was called a *sacrificium*, since the *passio Christi* is the object, at first as yet in the figurative sense. In partaking of the Lord's Supper, one entered into essential fellowship with Christ, because bread and wine had, through the priest's action, entered into mystical union with the body and blood of Christ. It was customary to take some of the bread home. As yet there were no fully developed theories on the Lord's Supper. Passover changed to

passio in the great week before Easter, and then during the entire *Quadragesima* prior to it, celebrated with fasting. With Easter morning began Pentecost*,* or *Quinquagesima* after Easter, as a time of rejoicing. January 6 was the Festival of Epiphany. After 200, there were churches, and with the concept of sacrifice, altars as well. In Italy and Africa, catacombs, with their niches and chambers, served as burial sites. There too were the first intimations of painting with symbolic figures: the fish, anchor, lamb, dove, ship, peacock, phoenix, cross, and the monogram of Christ; Christ in the image of Hermes as the Good Shepherd, Daniel in the lion's den, Jonah, Moses with the tables of the Law, and others. As yet there were no pictures of the Passion, martyrs, or saints. Sculpture and the crucifix were avoided, except on sarcophagi.

g. In other aspects of the **conduct of life**, loose behavior as a result of secularization had spread and could not be retarded through the wrong notion of flight from the world. Marriage among Christians still stood above the deeply rotted marital relationships of the pagans, especially in the Latin West. This improvement was further encouraged by ecclesiastical consecration, not, to be sure, as yet obligatory. But the unevangelical taboo on second and mixed marriage, which even at that was not enforced, merely aggravated the deadening process still further.

h. The same was true in regard to secular professions and worldly amusement. Gladiatorial games, theater, dance, sports, painting, taverns, handicrafts, incense trade, banking, military service, governmental offices, and agriculture were uncritically muddled. Rigorism was enforced only on the clergy (even there not altogether, as Pope Callistus is supposed, before his election, to have gone bankrupt as a banker), and thus served only to encourage the wrong distinction between clergy and laity.

From Paul the church had learned that one ought to treat slaves as brothers. And this really happened. Slaves had equal rights with others in the church. But with increasing wealth, segregation set in again, owing to the cruelty of Christian slave-owners, and when anyone emancipated his slaves, it often counted merely as a "good work."

i. **Asceticism** too, practiced the more fervently by the few, underwent deterioration. It was considered as binding now only upon the clergy, and as it raised their status in the eyes of the common people, it made them feel inferior, lowering them in their own self-esteem. Above all, virginity was now highly regarded, and was at the same time degraded by spiritual betrothals, intentionally to put ascetic practice to the severest test. In these betrothals, individuals of both sexes lived in the closest association. This invited moral lapses, and, among the pagans in Antioch, provoked the slur *virgines subintroductae* for the women in question. They appeared already in the *Shepherd of Hermas.* Paul of Samosata supported the arrangement, Cyprian protested against it, and it took a hundred years before the outrage was done away with.

k. Rigorism was falsely oriented also with regard to **penance**. That is why it could not win through, but was obliged to relax its requirements. For all of that, it created no evangelical temperament, and, in fact prevented evangelical charity, when it did show up, from being appreciated as such, and thus simply encouraged worldliness and cosmetic make-believe in moral matters. Originally, the penitent could repent but once. Then the practice was mitigated to permit a second penance, and allowed the penitents in the outer court for the rest of their lives, in association with the church; in fact, it was now possible, by extraordinary mortification, to regain full church membership. Sins were categorized as light (forgiven by the general church prayer), relatively serious (requiring stern admonition from the congregation), gross, yet still venial (exclusion only temporarily), and mortal sins (murder, adultery, apostasy; liable to lifelong penance). In 218 the disreputable Callistus of Rome declared himself agreeable to absolution for sexual misconduct.

l. Around 200, congregations themselves still practiced church discipline. Then by degrees this was relinquished to the **bishops**. With them the martyrs and confessors now found themselves at rivalry. Until now, they had had the privilege to intercede with recommendations for leniency. They expanded this to the claim to

be able to accomplish re-acceptance by virtue of their own merit. But in this presumption they came into conflict with the bishops. Every thing conspired toward negligence in discipline. This led to negligence in the severity of penitential discipline. While in some instances this relaxation proved all right as a token of evangelical charity, as occasioned in the anguish of persecution, as in the cases of Cyprian and Cornelius, there were, on the other hand, morally questionable people in office, like Callistus in Rome. This in turn gave the rigorists occasion for criticism. The struggle against relaxation brought on the schisms in the period immediately following. (48-53.)

3. The Test in the General Persecutions.
§41. The Decian Persecution.

a.   Developments under the last emperors after 180 signaled the beginning of the disintegration of the Roman empire. In this era, the church had taken a giant step forward. But that was external. Inwardly, she had fallen a step backward. Now with the **general persecutions**, the last hour of the pagan Roman empire struck. Reacting to the decline thus far in progress, competent men now entered the field, who intended to emulate the ideas of ancient Rome, Decius and Diocletian. But they could not delay the collapse. Hence they also conducted their affairs during a time of chaos all the more appalling, until at last Constantine terminated pagan government once and for all. But because Christendom had always been regarded as the actual opponent of paganism, the universal decline was laid to her charge. So it happened that, as in the times of the so-called good emperors, so now again under the most competent regents, persecution broke out against the church. And in fact this time that attack proceeded not from the populace, but from the emperors. As a result, the persecution was not local, moreover, but general and carried out deliberately and systematically.

b.   Decius (249-251), a competent man, had displaced Philip the Arab, and at once began to restore the empire in the ancient Roman sense. Accordingly, he also organized a **general persecution**. The Christians refused to render offerings to the emperor, and often even to perform military service. That is why the edict was published to the effect that all Christians must render offerings. Offering commissioners were appointed to superintend the enforcement of the law. This measure was taken with the bishops in particular in mind. In Rome, Fabian died a martyr's death, in Jerusalem, Alexander, and in Antioch, Babylas. Cyprian of Carthage fled, but kept up correspondence with his congregation. Once returned, he faithfully cared for the flock in pestilence and starvation. There were many apostates, because secularization rendered martyrdom especially grievous. Such *lapsi* fell into three classes: 1. *sacrificati*: those who had rendered offering; 2. *thurificati*: those who had scattered incense; 3. *acta facientes*, or *libellatici*: those who had allowed themselves to be entered in the lists of the obedient or who had produced a *libellus* which falsely certified them as having rendered offering.

c.   Decius fell in battle against the Goths, and his son Gallus (251-253) continued the persecution till 253. This, and the internecine divisions, stimulated the barbarians to attack the empire from all sides: Goths, Alemanni, Franks, Persians, even the Moors in Africa. Amidst these disorders, Valerian (254-260) was proclaimed emperor by the troops, and he took his son Gallienus as co-regent. Although under Decius he had been the soul of the persecution, he nevertheless maintained peace at first. Soon, however, he turned against the clergy and Christians belonging to the upper classes. In 257 he issued the edict forbidding congregations to assemble and driving the clergy into exile. By 258, the clergy were to be immediately executed. In Rome, Sixtus and his deacon Laurentius died. In Carthage, Cyprian died. (42)

d.   Things were happening in connection with the persecution which had a bearing on the discipline and constitution of penance. These were the schisms and the controversy over the baptism of heretics, which drew closer attention to and created greater respect for the episcopal office, especially for the one in Rome. The first

was the schism of **Felicissimus in Carthage**. Many of the *lapsi* soon wanted to be taken back into the congregation. Because in Carthage the bishop was far away in exile and on the run, people turned to the confessors (who had remained faithful and survived the persecution). These people exploited the recognition accorded them in order to accumulate all manner of rights in their own interests. They offered such fallen ones a *libellus pacis* to certify their repentance. Now, as they were duly accepted, Cyprian saw in this transaction not merely a laxity, but also an affront to his episcopal authority, and from afar denied the recognition. Against this prohibition the presbyter Novatus rose up, who in consecrating **Felicissimus** as deacon had already put himself and others on a collision course with the bishop. They elected Fortunatus bishop, and thus founded an independent congregation. Cyprian, however, excommunicated them, and at once returned from exile. It was decided at a synod that the *libellatici* were, upon repentance, to be accepted, but the *sacrificati* only when near death. The Roman bishop concurred in this decision. Novatus then went to Rome, and there instigated a wider breach, the **schism of Novatian in Rome**. In an episcopal election, the strict **Novatian** lost out to the mild Cornelius. Novatus joined him to create a schism. In this controversy, Cyprian of Carthage defended the milder practice of Cornelius, and the episcopacy itself. Novatian was excommunicated with his adherents, and regarded as a schismatic. (43 c.)

These two schisms concerned not merely penitential discipline, but also the position of the bishop as opposed to presbyters and confessors. In this controversy, the bishop had won through.

e.   Now in Rome, as a result of the ongoing situation, the **controversy over the baptism of heretics** came up. Till now, the baptism of heretics was denied validity. In such an atmosphere Novatian baptized apostate Catholics. In opposition to him, **Stephen** of Rome (254-257) accepted repentant heretics without re-baptizing them. Cyprian of Carthage, Firmilian of Caesarea, and Dionysius of Alexandria in 257 took issue with him. But Stephen stood fast, and thus his practice established itself in the church. Nearly all of it was external rigamarole.

§42. The Peace.

a.   Valerian was captured in 260 in the war against Sapor I of Persia. His son Gallienus (260-268) was not quite equal to the circumstances. Under him "the 30 Tyrants" arose, who assumed the purple in the provinces. After his assassination there followed the **Illyrian emperors**. The first was Claudius II (268-270). He smote the Alemanni and the Goths. His successor Aurelian (270-275) also conquered Zenobia of Palmyra, and established morality in the country, for which he received the name *restitutor orbis*. After his assassination there followed two senatorial emperors, Tacitus and Probus. The latter employed the soldiers for peaceful projects after his victory over the Alemanni, Franks, Vandals, and Burgundians. On that account he was assassinated by them, and **Diocletian** ushered in a new era. (43)

b.   During the era described, Christianity expanded over the whole empire, also across the northern sector of Italy, Gaul, Spain, in Germany and Britain, and particularly in Pontus, where Gregory Thaumaturgos was active, and Gregory the Illuminator in Armenia. Around 300 some Christian governors were exempted by the emperor from participating in the state religion. In ever greater numbers, the upper social circles were drawn in. But secularization also advanced apace, in the East more than in the West. Increasingly, the church accommodated itself to the world. The veneration of saints was part of the accommodation. There were chapels for apostles, patriarchs, archangels, and martyrs. Pagan heroes and divinities were transformed into Christian saints, and their local cults and annual festivals were retained under Christian forms. Added to this was the materialization of religion in the form of relics, bones of saints, amulets, patron saints for varied spheres of life. All of this accompanied a preconditioning for the "victory of Christianity" in the era following.

In this era too, the sacral structure of the **basilica** evolved, not merely in imitation of the marketplace and

court house, but as an original creation of the Christian mind. The larger magnificent basilicas were designed first under Constantine. (51)

c.	Ancient **chiliasm**, the expectation of a thousand-year dominion of Christ before the end, appealing to Revelation 20:1-10, did not jibe with this turn of mind. Advocated by the Ebionites, and then by Montanus, Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, the notion was opposed by the Gnostics and by Origen. Now this idea flared up once again. Nepos of Arsinoë in Egypt, who abjured Origen's allegorical method and defended a literal reading of Scripture, especially of Revelation, left the church with his supporters on this account. But Dionysius the Great led them back again. In the West, the idea held out a while longer. (44 e.)

d.	In **theology**, no new men of consequence appeared. Other than those already named, there were also Pamphilus, presbyter in Caesarea and founder of the library there, and Methodius of Olympus in Lycia. They were under the influence of **Neoplatonism**, which was on the rise. The actual founder of this movement, **Plotinus** from Alexandria, taught in Rome (244-270). His doctrine is as follows: There is a sensual and a supersensual world. The first consists of the original essence, whole, good, and interminable. From this the *nous* [mind] proceeds, which, again, radiates the world-soul. The world-soul calls the sensual world into existence. This is a multiplicity, and appearance now takes the place of true being. The sensual world therefore is material, formless, evil, and succumbs to lust. Through aceticism one attains to the *nous*, and through ecstasy, to the original essence. Plotinus' most notable disciple was **Porphyrius**, who later emerged as the enemy of Christians. This philosophy, actually monistic-pantheistic, simply led back to the introduction of divine mediators of the ancient pagan faith in the gods. Hence the Neoplatonists considered themselves the defenders of the ancient legitimate religion of the Greeks, while they dismissed the Christians as representatives of barbarism, and the Christian divine service as un-Greek. From here, too, came the strenuous mental struggle of this line of thinking in the Diocletian persecution. Porphyrius' *Fourteen Books against the Christians* were later singled out for destruction by the dominant church.

e.	This era saw the end of the Monarchian controversy. Paul of Samosata, under Zenobia's reign, was later condemned by Aurelian. Moreover, already in this era there began the evolution toward **monasticism**. Till now, there had been ascetics in the congregations who led a life withdrawn and dedicated to piety. Already around 300, they had in fact formed an ascetic community in Leontopolis in Egypt, which regarded εγκρατεια (abstinence) as the actual requirement of the *Logos* (the Origenite Hieracas). Now the anchorites (disappearants), monks (solitaries), eremites (desert people) came forward. Their religion was visionary, that is, they fantasized the demons they were inwardly fighting off as animals, satyrs, centaurs, nude women, etc., and wanted to conquer desire. The story of Paul of Thebes, to be sure, is probably one of Jerome's fictions, but one learns from it when this church father dated the beginning of monasticism (259). Saint **Anthony** for his part, according to Athanasius' account, went out in the desert (285) and thus became the originator of this type of asceticism. Born around 250 in Egypt, he gave his wealth to the poor, from a wrong understanding of the rich young man [Matt. 19:16-22], and went into the desert around 285. Already around 305, pilgrims were making their way to his inhospitable abode. He made appearances in Alexandria in 311 and 351, and died in 356. (52.)

f.	More significant precisely at this point is the rise of **Manichaeism**. Mani was born in 216 at Ctesiphon on the Euphrates. Already early on, he belonged to the Mogtasila, the Mandaeans, or Elkesites. In his twelfth year he received the revelation that he should found a new religion. For such a notion he found no sympathy on the part of Schapur I. After twelve years he left with his idea. So he traveled abroad to India and China. Returning at the end of Schapur's reign, he found favor with the latter's brother Hormuz, but was crucified in 276 by Bahram I. His doctrine is as follows: light and darkness, God and Satan, stand opposed in mutual enmity. Satan instigates the war. God sends the original man; and when he succumbs, the new living spirit must rescue

him. But there are particles of light mixed with the darkness. In order to redeem them, God creates the world from the mixture. Sun and moon attract light particles to the realm of light with a waterwheel (zodiac). Perversely, Satan begets Adam and Eve, and entices them to the sensuous procreative urge, whereby the light in them splinters to pieces. False doctrines, including those of the Old Testament prophets, make the corruption worse. Hereupon Jesus steps forth in a make-believe body and instructs mankind in the truth. Through asceticism one gets around to returning to the realm of light, after death. Paul and Mani are the authentic successors of Christ. The confessors are *auditores* and *electi*. The former observe only ten customary commandments, are obliged to serve the *electi,* and for this earn the benefit of their intercession. The latter are sealed by the *signaculum oris* (vegetarian food), the *signaculum manuum* (protection of the animal- and plant-kingdom), and the *signacalum sinus* (abstinence from every kind of carnal desire). At the head of the system stood the Imam in Babylon, followed by elders, bishops, and teachers. Sunday and Monday were holy; the main festival, the death date of the founder, was in March. The sect spread across Persia and North Africa.

g.   Manichaeanism represents a continuation of ancient Gnosticism. It derived its principal forms, however, not from Neoplatonism, but from Parseeism, and from Babylonian magi wisdom. Moreover, in accord with the advanced time, it had no desire to remain in the corporate church as did ancient Gnosticism, but desired to form a new church like the last previous spur of Gnosticism, Marcion. That it spread out to such an extent as late as this in Persia may, perhaps, be explained by the founding of the Sassanid empire.

h.   At this time too, the Persian **Mithras cult** had spread to its limits in the Roman empire. It had been in existence already since Caracalla's time, but could not penetrate the provinces where Greek culture predominated, until at this time it allied itself with the cult of the emperor. Now it rapidly shot up, especially in Italy. Yet it seems to have affected Christianity but little, as Christianity had already fallen prey to Hellenism.

§ 43. The Diocletian Persecution.

a.   In order to consolidate the empire, the Dalmatian **Diocletian** (284-305) completely overhauled the government. He divided the imperial authority (two Augusti with two Caesars). This provided for efficient administration. Under this plan, the empire was organized into four provinces. The capital was relocated in Asia Minor in order to escape the influence of prominent Romans. The Augusti were insulated from the multitude by the fact that there were so many intermediate officials. This promoted absolutism, Byzantinism. The last vestiges of republicanism were done away with; in lieu of it a ceremonial for the emperor instituted, already rather resembling a cult. This could not fail to lead to the persecution of Christians, the more so because there were so many Christians in the army and in the palace. On the other hand, paganism was at this moment in the ascendant thanks to Neoplatonism, and two chief protagonists of this brand of paganism stood near to the imperial house, Galerius, his son-in-law, and his friend Hierocles, the governor of Bithynia. Diocletian chose **Galerius** for his Caesar, and himself moved to the East. To the other Augustus, Maximian, he relinquished the West, and joined to him Constantius Chlorus as Caesar. (44.)

b.   Eighteen years the peace had lasted, and Diocletian had not thought of persecution, despite having issued an edict in 287 against the Manichaeans. His consort Prisca and his daughter Valeria were friends of the Christians. But his son-in-law Galerius plotted persecutions in the East. Four edicts were issued: 1. Demolition of churches, seizure of sacred books, loss of civil rights; 2. Arrest of clergy; 3. Compulsory sacrifice for clergy and compulsion under torture; 4. In 304 universal compulsory sacrifice. In this action Galerius was supported by Plotinus' disciple **Porphyrius** and the governor of Bithynia, Hierocles, who together immediately initiated a literary campaign against the Christians. In 305 Diocletian and Maximian resigned from office, and **Galerius**, as the incumbent Protaugustus, named the anti-Christian Severus and Maximin Daza as Caesars. In 306, however, Constantius died, and his son **Constantine**, with **Maxentius**, the son of Maximian, elevated

himself to Augustus. Both put a stop to Christian persecution in their domain. In consequence, Galerius also, terminally ill in 311, was obliged to issue an edict of toleration with the entreaty that Christians would pray for the empire. After Galerius, there followed Licinius in 311. In 312 Constantine moved across the Alps against Maxentius and defeated him near Rome. Already now, Constantine promulgated laws that favored the Christians; he had won the victory under the sign of the cross, and not only showed himself to be grateful, but also rallied the Christians under his banners. Now Constantine became confederate with Licinius, and gave him his sister Constantia in marriage, and in 313 they issued the **joint Edict of Toleration** at Milan. The same year, Maximin Daza died in battle against Licinius. He had stuck with the persecution until he died. But already the next year, war broke out between the two new rulers, on the issue of sole dominion. Licinius now dedicated himself to the persecution. In 323, war broke out anew. Constantine gave his soldiers the labarum, the cross-emblazoned banner, and the monogram of Christ on their shields. The campaign ended in 324 in victory and in the **sole rulership of Constantine**.

c.   During this persecution three **new schisms** developed, in part because yet another kind of *lapsi* was added to the old, the *traditores* [traitors] who had handed over the sacred books. The first schism was that of Meletius of Lycopolis in Egypt (306-325). He had consecrated bishops and also otherwise had resisted the permissive metropolitan Peter of Alexandria. In 325 in Nicaea, the rights of the metropolitan were recognized. The second schism was that of Heraclius of Rome (307-309). He rebelled against the permissive bishops Marcellus and Eusebius, and not until Melchiades' tenure (310-314) was the split resolved. The third, and most significant, schism was that of **Donatus of Carthage.** The issue there was not only the reacceptance of the *lapsi*, but the condemnation of the wild-eyed quest for martyrdom. Mensurius and his impetuous archdeacon Caecilian enforced this condemnation. A widow, Lucilla, an enemy of the archdeacon, with her adherents, protested against it. After the death of Mensurius in 311, Donatus of Casae Nigrae, under the chairmanship of Secundus of Tigisis, was elected episcopal administrator of Carthage, but Caecilian opposed the election, and was himself elected bishop, and consecrated by Felix of Aptunga. At a general synod in Carthage under the chairmanship of Secundus, however, the lector Majorin was elected, and after his death Donatus succeeded him. But Rome and the Catholic church recognized Caecilian, and Constantine had already decided against the Donatists when, in response to their complaint, a Roman commission under the chairmanship of Melchiades had voted against them. Constantine, however, in 314 convoked a western synod at Arles in Gaul, and when it sided with the Romans, the emperor in 316 decreed conclusively against the Donatists. He nevertheless rescinded the decree with an edict in 32l.

d.   The **Donatists** soon found themselves in the majority in North Africa, and accordingly established a church which operated, with externally similar ideas, like the Catholic church and all schismatic groups. The Catholic church regarded itself as the one holy Christian church because she possessed the episcopal office, the canon, and the rule of faith. The Novatians considered themselves the holy Church because their members were more pious than those of the megachurch. The Donatists based their holiness on the personal holiness of their clergy. They claimed they had no mortal sinners among their bishops as their Catholic counterparts did. (68 d.)

II. The Flowering of the Church as Imperial Church, 324—519.

A. Evolution of the Imperial Church, 324—380.

1. External Developments in the Arian Controversy.

§44. Foundation of Constantine.

a.   **Constantine** subsequently fashioned the church into a **national church**, and with it introduced caesaropapism. The organ he used to influence the church was the imperial synod (Arles 314; Nicaea 325). His

political objective was the unified church in the unified, single world empire, representing the papal notion already prevailing. In this period the ancient church brought to maturity its most superior products. The most important doctrines were defined and established for all time in a normative manner. In the process, the most consequential men of the ancient church came forward. The external ecclesiastical forms achieved finished development in the direction, not always the right one, already taken. Withal, the church externally was not alone involved, it happened rather through the cooperation of the government, of the empire. Thus the church became the **imperial church**.

b. Constantine had given the church tranquility. But only insofar as he interfered in the **Arian controversy** just breaking out, and in that his successors continued to do so, until Theodosius terminated the controversy with the so-called second ecumenical council, did it become tangibly clear that the interests of the church had become muddled with those of the state, that the church, already before the end of this period, amounted to an institution of the state, and evolved as such in all areas. Moreover, the later opposing interests of the papacy were already asserting themselves; but it was precisely this muddling of church and state which necessarily helped these interests to develop, and helped to strengthen them for future action.

c. Originally, Constantine had, for political reasons, allied himself with a Christianity grown powerful under his hegemony, no doubt without inner persuasion. The fact that he allowed pagan worship rites and customs to continue (himself represented as *Pontifex Maximus* on coins, pagan emblems, et al.), reveals as much. He later inclined to Christianity, however, also inwardly. His baptism attests to this (as witness also, that he postponed it in accordance with prevailing custom), as does his participation in ecclesiastical developments, and a considerable number of federal laws which bear evidence of a mitigating influence of Christianity: clerical exemption, sabbath rest, abolition of penal crucifixion, prohibition of divination by pagan priests (especially from the entrails of animals killed in sacrifice), prohibition of required home sacrifices and immoral cults, destruction and confiscation of pagan temples, restriction of state sacrifices, easing of conditions of Christian slaves, restoration of exiles, and repeal of laws affecting the childless. It should be added here that he allowed his penchant for architecture to benefit the church (basilica style). Related to this, perhaps, as sanctioned by contemporary customs, was the outrageous cruelty he visited upon Licinius, his wife Fausta, and his son Crispus. As for the rest, Constantine was vain withal, and power hungry, but equipped with magnificent talents of leadership. He founded **Byzantium** as the new capital city in 320, since 326 called **Constantinople**, a more Christian metropolis than perpetually pagan Rome.

d. For political reasons, Constantine involved himself in the **Arian controversy**, and under western influence decided in favor of the **Nicene Creed in 325**, and pushed it through by legislation. This lent the doctrinal controversy an even keener edge than it already had. But the church now received uniform doctrine, and with it further cultivated the unevangelical tone already in evidence.

e. Within the church, all manner of **unsettled, commonly held views on theology still obtained**. The neo-Alexandrians fostered the Monarchian interests in defending the divinity of Christ. Everything hinged on the premise that through his divinity, imperishability was supposed to be communicated to mankind. In Asia Minor, the martyr Lucian, a partisan of Paul of Samosata, had founded the new Antiochian school. This school advocated, in opposition to Alexandrian spiritualism, the matter-of-fact conception of human history contained in Scripture, and therefore, the humanity of Christ. At the same time, Antiochian rationalism played into their hermeneutic. Christ is the model of life, and the truth about Christ dared not be beclouded by annulling his humanity. The western church maintained these practical-soteriological interests. All three trends were synergistic, except that this element was variously integrated. At the same time, most of the eastern bishops were Origenists as were the Antiochians, but in the sense of Samosatian adoptianism, while the western theologians were averse to the admixture of philosophy.

f.   Thus **Arius**, a disciple of the Antiochian Lucian, and a presbyter in Alexandria, now taught that the *Logos* was created out of nothing according to the Father's will, and that there was a time when he was not, ην οτε ουκ ην. He is unlike and alien to God, capable of suffering, and not of absolute moral perfection. The bishop Alexander (eternal generation, and essential equality with the Father), spoke up against this view; Eusebius of Nicomedia and Eusebius of Caesarea (Syllucianists) defended Arius. Arius was excommunicated in 320 by the synod at Alexandria. The emperor, determined to have but one church in but one empire, sent the western bishop **Hosius of Cordova** to Alexandria for clarification. He defended Bishop Alexander against Arius, and the emperor convoked the **general council to Nicaea in 325**. Three hundred bishops attended, among them six western, and not the Roman bishop, but two presbyters as his delegates. The Arian confession of Eusebius of Nicomedia was rejected, and the moderate one of Eusebius of Caesarea was adopted on the strength of the Alexandrian term ομοουσιος, which here means, not merely of equal substance, but of the same substance. *Symbolum Nicaenum*. Arius and Eusebius and a number of others were banished. The East was, nevertheless, Antiochian. Another supporter of **Athanasius**, who was present at the council as deacon, and who now succeeded his bishop in Alexandria in the episcopal dignity, was Marcellus of Ancyra, whose doctrine was Monarchian, to the effect that the unity of God developed into trinity in the course of creation, redemption, and sanctification, but in this manner, that the Son became Son only in becoming man. The emperor's sister Constantia, took a median position, and Arius and Eusebius were recalled in 328. Eustathius of Antioch was deposed, giving rise there to a Nicene division. When Athanasius refused to agree with the emperor in the recall of the heretics, he was condemned in 325 by the synods at Tyre and Jerusalem, and banished to Trier by the emperor. Arius was scheduled to be solemnly reinstated in Constantinople in 337, but died suddenly, and the emperor soon followed. (45 b, c.)

§45. The Politics of the Sons of Constantine.

a.   The three sons of Constantine divided the empire among themselves after they had killed all the male relatives but two, Gallus and Julian. **Constantine** received **Gaul and Britain, Constans** Italy and western North Africa, **Constantius** the East, with Egypt. In 340 the first fell in battle against his two brothers, in 350 the second fell, against the usurper Magnentius, and after he had defeated Magnentius, the third ruled as monarch (353-361). These **epigones** exercised their authority more stringently than had their father. In 343 Constans proceeded against the Donatists in Africa. They had incited a rebellion, and the *circumcelliones* (runaway slaves and impoverished farmers under the leadership of one Donatus of Bagai) in their vagrancy had made the countryside insecure. **Donatus the Great** was banished, divine service prohibited, and Donatus of Bagai executed. Also against paganism, proceedings became more severe in the edicts of 341, 346, and 356, intensified through the writing of Julius Firmicus Maternus: *De errore profanorum.* **Now, instead of the earlier persecutions of Christians, persecutions of the pagans and heretics occurred through state and citizenry.** But it was mainly in the Arian doctrinal controversy that court politics interfered. Constans and Constantine II were Nicaean–minded, Constantius, in keeping with the current times in Constantinople, anti–Nicaean.

b.   The opposition of the two western brothers to Constantius led to **mediations** (337-50), and in fact at two intervals: in 337-343 there was the persecution of Athanasius, mediation, and reunion; and in 343-350 similarly. Upon Constantine the Great's dying wish, the banished were recalled, but with the agitation of Eusebius of Nicomedia, who then became bishop of Constantinople, Constantius again banished Athanasius and Marcellus (338), and replaced Athanasius with Gregory. But the western emperors, together with **Julius of Rome**, inclined toward Athanasius. In 340 a synod in Rome had declared Athanasius and Marcellus orthodox. This prompted the mediation of the **Antiochian church–dedication synod in 341**, delivered in four separate,

long formulas, circumventing the actual point in contention, but otherwise not incorrect. They circumvented the confession of the ομοουσιος and the three hypostases, in part, obviously, because these terms were not yet equally understood. To achieve a complete settlement, a synod was convoked at Sardica in 343. But because Athanasius was present, the factions immediately left. The orientals withdrew to Philippopolis, and banished the westerners. These in turn, under Hosius, condemned the Eusebians, and casually recognized the **personal right of appeal** of Julius of Rome for western affairs. But because the tension between the halves of the empire was undermining the war against Persia, Constantinus now, in 344, at another synod, ordered the fifth, so-called long-sentenced formula (εκθεσις μακροστιος, κατα παντα ομοιος; "in all points similar") drawn up in Antioch. Also Photinus of Sirmium, a disciple of Marcellus (the *Logos* in Jesus merely an impersonal power; Monarchianism), was banished by the westerners here in 344, and again in 345 at the synod of Milan. Then in 346, after the death of Gregory, Athanasius was allowed to return to Alexandria.

c.   Constantius, absolute monarch since 350, now sought **forcibly** to assert **Eusebianism** (350-361). Again, this happened in two intervals (350-356 and 356-361). This was the time of the Sirmian synods. Sirmium was frequently the place where the court took up residence. At court, Ursacius and Valens, the court bishops, set the tone. In 351, the first synod of Sirmium revived the fourth formula of Antioch, and in 353 at the synod of Arles, and in 355 at Milan, Constantius compelled the westerners to disavow Athanasius and the *homoousius*. In 356 Athanasius again was banished. Likewise, Liberius of Rome, Hosius of Cordova, Hilary of Poitiers, Eusebius of Vercelli, Paulinus of Trier, and Lucifer of Calaris. Now, however, secured by these precedents, **radical Arianism** came out in the open. Aëtius, deacon in Antioch, and Eunomius of Cyzicus taught that the *Logos* was created from nothingness, unlike the Father, as created from another substance (Exucontians, Eunomians, Anomoians, Heterousiasts). But this, the **centrist party**, the Origenist Asia Minorites under Basil of Ancyra, did not want at all. So they posited the formula ομοιος κατ' πατρι ουσιαν, in essence similar to the Father (Homoiousians).

That is why, in the second Sirmian formula of the court theologians, the ουσια was in opposition entirely crossed out, and the position returned to the pre-Nicaean point of view (Homoians). In 358 at Agennum the westerners protested against this reversal, and again, at Ancyra the Asia Minorites, but were outwitted by the court bishops at the synods in Ariminum and Seleucia in 359, and overpowered by the emperor; and in Nice (361?) the Homoian confession was adopted in the third Sirmian formula (ομοιος κατα παντα, ως αι αγιαι γραφαι λεγουσιν; similar in all points, as the Holy Scriptures declare), the **Nicenum**. The opponents, including the Homoiusians, were banished. But now Julian, the emperor's cousin, proclaimed emperor as commander-in-chief of the northern troops, marched up, and Constantius fell in battle in 361. (46.)

§46. The Pagan Reaction under Julian.

Julian was brought up by clergymen. But prompted by hatred because of the murder of his relatives and personal inclination, he secretly educated himself in the writings of the philosopher Libanius in Constantinople and Nicomedia, and in association with the Neoplatonists, and in Ephesus with the theurge Maximus. He had himself covertly inducted into the Eleusinian mysteries, but publicly posed as a Christian. As Caesar in Gaul he fell under the suspicion of Constantius, but was proclaimed emperor by the troops. Now, as emperor, he was bent on **restoring paganism**. To that end, he enacted religious freedom, even for the banished, the Donatists, and the Jews; he borrowed for pagans the order of priests, the worship service, and penitential discipline; and he enacted **school legislation**, barring Christians from literary education (**362**). Yet it was in vain, if for no other reason than the dishonesty of the undertaking. It had the opposite effect, since when the imperial pressure and politics subsided, the doctrinal parties found it easier to come to terms. The banished parties returned, Athanasius in 362. Now Homoians and Anomoians united on the one side, Homoiousians and

Homoousians on the other. **The Synod in Alexandria 362** adopted three *hypostases*, including that of the Holy Spirit, but with one substance instead of equality of substance, as formerly; they were out to win over the Homoiousians. Only Lucifer of Calaris prolonged the tension in Antioch by consecrating the Nicaean Paulinus, in his western zeal, in opposition to the Homoiousian Miletius. Athanasius, however, was banished again by the emperor, clearly because of his success and because of the failure of the emperor. This was no matter, as Julian fell in battle against the Persians (the phrase *Tandem vicisti, Galilaee* ["You have won finally, Galilean"] is legendary. The church stigmatized him with the sobriquet *Apostata*. (47.)

§47. Victory of the Young Nicaean Party.

a.   Julian's successor was the general Jovian (363-364). He ceded the subjugated provinces back to the Persians. He was Nicaean-minded. For this reason, he recalled the banished Nicaeans. The vigorous Pannonian Valentinian I (364-375) conferred the administration of the East upon his brother Valens (364-378), while he made his son **Gratian** (367-378) co-regent for the West. Just when the Germans were launching a major offensive against the empire, Valentinian died; Valens too, three years later, fell in battle against the Goths. Gratian thereupon named the Spaniard **Theodosius I**, a tough general and statesman, as co-emperor (379-395). Valentinian II (383-392) succeeded Gratian in the West. After 392, **Theodosius** ruled as **absolute monarch.**

b.   The Western emperors were Nicaeans; Gratian was a friend of **Ambrose**. Valens, however, was an Arian and in 365 he again banished Athanasius, but after a few months allowed him to return. Athanasius was then left undisturbed until his death in 373. The Homoians more and more eliminated the Anomoians. The young Nicaeans were increasingly influenced by the three great Cappadocians. The first of these was **Basil the Great**. Born in Caesarea in Cappadocia, he became, upon completion of his studies in 364, first presbyter, and then metropolitan in his native city. From mother and grandmother he derived his yen for asceticism, and accordingly became the father of Greek monasticism. He died in 379. Basil was a dominating personality contrasted with his vacillating friend **Gregory of Nazianz**. This churchman, brought up in Nazianz by his episcopal father and his devout mother Nonna, went to Athens to study, where his companions were Julian and Basil, and where he felt drawn to Basil as a friend. But he was a vacillating character, lived long in solitude, and in 379 permitted himself to be made bishop of the small Nicaean congregation in Constantinople, was then named bishop in residence by Theodosius, and presided at the so-called second ecumenical synod at Constantinople, but resigned in the face of hostility and died in seclusion in 379. The third Cappadocian was the younger brother of Basil, **Gregory of Nyssa**. Unlike the rest of his family, he did not have an ascetic bent, but married, and, as lector, was about to change professions to that of rhetorician, when his friend the Nazianzan dissuaded him from this decision. As a result, his brother named him bishop of Nyssa. As a dogmatician, he exerted considerable influence upon the synod at Constantinople. He died in 394.

c.   Along with the Cappadocians, other figures of the time who merit mention are: the Syrians Diodorus of Tarsus and Ephraem Syrus of Edessa (d. 378), both neo-Nicaeans, and Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), a Homoousian; the Egyptian Didymus the Blind (d. 395), who, blind from his fourth year, nevertheless acquired a comprehensive range of knowledge, and was for fifty years the leader of the school in Alexandria. Added to these in the West there were: the inflexible old Nicaean Lucifer of Calaris (d. 370); the charitable Hilary of Poitiers (d. 366); and particularly **Aurelius Ambrosius of Milan** (340-384). He was born in Trier, trained for the bar in Rome, and in 373 became consul in Milan. Because of his even-handed administration he was elected, it is said, at the cry of a child, the successor to the Arian bishop Auxentius. He distinguished himself through conscientious care of souls and relief of the poor, encouraged monasticism, and energetically stood up to the court (of the Arian emperor mother Justina, and also to Theodosius on account of the bloodbath of Thessalonica). He enriched the divine service with original hymns and antiphons, and wrote a number of

significant works. Damasus of Rome (366-384) was a contemporary.

d. Regarding the ομοουσιος, a **compromise of views** between the Westerners and the Asia Minorites had been reached. The **Westerners**, with Athanasius in the lead, in their perception of the word stressed the **unity of substance** between the Father and the Son. For them, this guaranteed that men were reconciled with God through Christ. The reconciliation of mankind with God was, to them, according to the ancient soterial doctrine, the principal concept of the Gospel. This demonstrates that they were chiefly interested in salvation. The **Origenist Asia Minorites** feared that behind this interest the doctrine of patripassianism might possibly lurk. Therefore, they preferred to take the term ομοουσιος to mean **equal** in substance. In this way, they supposed, the Father who they still conceived to be God in a peculiar sense, would not be drawn into the changeableness of the world through the operation of Christ and the Holy Spirit. To be sure, they too possessed the ancient soteriological doctrine, but for them, the metaphysical-speculative interest took priority, as transmitted to them from Origen, which was less concerned with soteriology than with Christology, less with practical than with philosophical thinking. Athanasius had now, at the synod in Alexandria in 362, adopted the view of equality of substance, in order to meet the cooperative Asia Minorites halfway, without abandoning the other view, unity of substance. Nor did the Asia Minorites any longer take offense at this view.

e. The **old-Nicaeans** opposed this agreement. In Antioch there still were the adherents of Meletius, the successor of Eustathius, hence called Miletians or Eustathians, whose schism Lucifer of Calaris had prolonged by consecrating Paulinus instead of recommending peace. Also Lucifer, and his later schismatic adherents the Luciferians, stood pat in the old Nicaean view. Moreover, the adherents of Macedonius of Constantinople (Macedonians or Pneumatomachans), who did not want the Holy Spirit represented as equal with the Father and the Son, now came forward again. To cap it all, a heresy played in, delaying (at least) the union. Apollinaris of Laodicaea (d. 390) taught that the *Logos* did not possess a perfect human nature, only body and soul. The divine nature was supposed to have entered in place of the Spirit. Thus explained, he wanted to make the *homoousios* plausible. With this argument Apollinaris anticipated the later Christological controversy. But Athanasius, and then the Cappadocians, and Damasus in the West, and a series of synods (362-381), had previously rejected this error.

f. Yet now the union materialized anyway, thanks to various influences: the pressure applied through the Arian Valens lying heavy upon both parties; and the influence of two emperors, Gratian and Theodosius, both dependent on Ambrose and Damasus; the capital importance of the three Cappadocians, who combined a consequential Greek education in the Origenist sense with fidelity to the Nicaean confession. Particularly the last named researched the ideas at hand, and helped to get them unanimously adopted at the **second ecumenical council in Constantinople in 381**. Theodosius had convoked this council as an oriental one. Because, since then, a single persuasion was dominant in the whole empire, the bishops in the capital city had designated the synod as ecumenical. Accordingly, this designation is incorrect. Also the so-called Constantinopolitan symbol does not belong here. It is the confession edited by Cyril of Jerusalem, issuing from his congregation, which he perhaps read publicly in Constantinople. The second ecumenical council of Constantinople established the **orthodox Catholic state church**. From this time forward, heresy, like paganism, was a state offense. In the West, the Empress Justina carried on a futile struggle for Arianism until her death in 388, but her death terminated Arianism in the Roman empire. (59.)

g. Literature of this age. **Athanasius** wrote *De incarnatione verbi*; *Orationes contra Arianos*; *De decretis synodi Nicaenae*; *Historia Arianorum ad monachos*; *Apologia ad Constantium*; *Vita Antonii*; and many Easter epistles. **Eusebius** wrote historical works: a chronology down to 325; a church history (10 volumes); a history of the Palestinian martyrs; *Vita Constantini* (4 volumes); dogmatic writings: *Praeparatio evangelica*, *Demonstratio evangelica*; apologetic writings against Hierocles, Porphyrius, Marcellus of Ancyra, and others;

exegetical writings: *Onomastikon*; biblical manuscripts and commentaries. **Cyril** wrote exegetical commentaries; 17 books on worship in spirit and in truth; 13 books of refinements, γλαφυρα; dogmatic writings against the Arians, the Anthropomorphites, Julian, Nestorius; 40 homilies; and 87 epistles. **Epiphanius** wrote Παναριον against 80 heresies; Ανακεφαλαιωσις (*recapitulatio*); Αγκυρωτος (*ancoratus*). **Basil the Great** wrote 365 epistles; *Against Eunomius*; exegetical homilies; Ασκητικα (rules for monks); and Φιλοκαλια. **Gregory of Nazianzus** wrote 45 speeches; 5 Λογοι θεολογικοι for the Trinity; a Christmas sermon; 243 epistles; and poems. **Gregory of Nyssa** wrote polemics against Eunomius and Apollinaris; Λογος καταχητικος, a dogmatic guide; Διαλογος περι ψυχης και αναστασεως ο λεγομενος, a conversation with his sister Macrina after the death of Basil; 26 epistles; and exegetical works. **Didymus** wrote 3 books Περι τριαδος; and *De spiritu sancto*. **Hilary of Poitiers** wrote *De trinitate libri XII* and church-political and exegetical works. **Ambrose wrote** ascetic works: *De officio ministrorum*; dogmatic works: *De fide ad Gratianum*; *De spiritu sancto ad Gratianum*, and others; and exegetical homilies and commentaries. (53 f.)

h.   The Arian doctrinal controversy is a compound of honest mental work and vulgar politics. But it is difficult to pin down the motive forces in the individual personalities. The influence of court politics and of the opposition to each other of the three variant theological schools is apparent. One can recognize, too, the power-striving of Rome. But because none of the schools was pure in its doctrinal position, the historian must guard against judging hearts. One cannot casually ascribe the evangelical interest exclusively to the Nicaeans. It would be even more incorrect to explain as chance the victory of the Nicene Creed, so epochal for all subsequent history. The believing Christian here takes note of God's dispensation, which, straight through all errors, held his church to the principal truths of Scripture.

i.   The most congenial figure in the controversy is **Athanasius.** Even though, as a child of his time, he was not free from the dominant legalistic behavior, as he no doubt took the lead in propagating the rise of monasticism in the West, and was most likely also trapped in the prevalent views on episcopal prerogatives, but still the evangelical charity he displayed in coming to terms with the Homoiousians is arresting. It would be rash to ascribe this disposition to diplomacy, or unionism, or the mental lassitude of old age. The steadfast confessional fidelity and mental elasticity in Athanasius does not convey that impression. Hence it is in any case more correct finally to acknowledge in his style the influence of the Gospel, which, transcending the dominant theological academic opinions, safeguarded in Athanasius the believing interest in his heart for the doctrine of salvation. This enabled him to overcome the difficulties of thought and language which in fact obtained in the existing schools. Also the unembarrassed explanation of redemption through Christ indicates the same. Even Athanasius does not escape the sphere of ideas circumscribed for the individual by the absence of a doctrine of justification and sanctification. Nonetheless. on the one hand he does not entertain the lopsided explanations of some of his predecessors, while on the other hand, he arrives at a clear definition of individual cardinal points. Athanasius does not share Origen's notion that Christ paid ransom to the devil, which was further developed, even after Athanasius, by the Cappadocians, especially by Gregory of Nyssa, to the level of caricature. For Athanasius, Christ's suffering and death are substitutionary penal suffering, whereby Christ redeemed us from the judgment of the Law, and from the wrath of God, and thus reconciled us to God. To do this, God must become man. For that reason, in the atoning death of Christ rests also the conquest of death's nature, and in the alliance with his resurrection, the victory of life, and the means to impart the grace of immortality to all. Despite the physical-cosmological echoes of the Gnostic controversy, the evangelical impulse in the Athanasian interpretation rises above them, through the emphasis on the divine-human suffering of Christ, whereas the Antiochians preferred to hold to the exemplary human aspect of the life of Christ. Thus Athanasius became one of the greatest figures in the ancient church and in history overall.

2. The Inner Morphology of the Imperial Church.
§48. Relationship to the Pagans.

a.   Theodosius and Gratian had enacted laws against paganism, and the Christian people themselves had raged furiously against paganism. In 381 Theodosius forbade sacrifices and terminated federal benefits for pagan worship. In 382 Gratian removed the *Ara Victoriae* [altar of victory] from the senate chamber in Rome, against which action Symmachus, one of the last pagan rhetoricians and a relative of Ambrose, petitioned. In an edict of 389 Theodosius required the orthodox faith of all subjects. The Olympic games were terminated. The Serapeium was destroyed by the populace in Alexandria in 391. Nevertheless, there were many pagans still in the country. They withdrew from the cities, hence the term *pagani* [*pagus:* village, country people]. In Alexandria and Athens, there were still Neoplatonic schools, Libanius (d. 397), and Themistius (d. 391), friends and teachers of Julian. (54.)

b.   Around this time there lived the last two great heresiologists, Epiphanius (d. 403) and Philaster (d. 391). The Arians succumbed at last, from their own untruth. But the Marcionites, Montanists, Donatists, Novatians, and Manichaeans were still around. There was also a new heresy in Spain, the **Priscillianists** (380-385). Priscillian, a wealthy man, was won over to encratite and gnostic asceticism and attracted a numerous following, mainly women, and also two bishops. His opponents were Hyginus of Cordova and Idatius of Emerita. Excommunicated in 380 by Ithacius of Sossuba at the synod of Saragossa, Priscillian counted also the emperor Gratian, Damasus of Rome, and Ambrose of Milan as his opponents. But he was elected bishop of Avila by his partisans, and thanks to the bribery of the minister Macedonius and the proconsul Valentinus, remained unbothered. After the assassination of Gratian, however, he was accused by Ithacius before the usurper Maximus, condemned by the synod at Bordeaux in 385, and executed with many of his adherents, despite the warning of **Martin of Tours**. The charges of witchcraft and immorality were no doubt unjustified. This heresy represented, rather, a wrong-minded protest against the actual secularization of the church. It survived, especially under the Arianism of the Goths in Spain, into the 6th century.

c.   The **Donatists**, associated with the Novatians in North Africa, were envigorated by Julian's policy of religious freedom; but they fell into division among themselves, Maximianists against Primianists. One of their number too was the grammarian Tichonius, who expanded the hermeneutic of Origen from the three-fold to the seven-fold Scriptural sense. Augustine was still struggling against them in the disputation of 411 in Carthage. The imperial commissioner decided against them, but it was only through the Arian Vandals that they were eradicated.

§49. The Constitution of the Church.

a.   The church was now in fact an **imperial church**; the empire lent her unity; her administrative structures, even dogma, came under state law; heresy was a state offense. The emperor held the ultimate authority in courts of law, administration, and doctrine, whereas bishops frequently were assigned to the administration of the secular court, but this was taken from them again in 398 and 408.

b.   The internal **constitution** of the church was influenced by the doctrine of the clergy as the actual church. To the clergy belonged these privileges: exemption from taxes, non-professional status and sustenance from church income, collections, oblations, tithes. Requirements included extraordinary piety, celibacy. To the number of their assistants were added *parabolani* (stretcher-bearers, later a formidable bodyguard of the bishop), and grave diggers, legal advisers, notaries, archivists, etc.; to the upper ranks, archpresbyters and choir directors. Now also the **metropolitan** made his appearance. Admission to the clergy was effected by ordination (unction, laying on of hands for the bestowal of the *character indelebilis*). Canonical age for the deacon was the 25th year of his life, for the presbyter, the 30th. As yet, the bishop was elected by clergy and

congregation. But the congregations in the East, except for the prominent ones, lost the right of election beginning in the 5th century. From 325 on (Nicaea), changing dioceses was considered spiritual adultery. Ordination of bishops was the right of the metropolitan. The higher consecration came only after graduation from the lower ranks. *Clinici* (those baptized on the sickbed), penitents, the possessed, eunuchs, slaves, actors, soldiers, etc. were excluded. In the Orient, marriage at first was still allowed for the clergy; in the West, thanks to Siricius of Rome in 385, celibacy became a fixed rule for the higher ranks. Leo the Great required it also of deacons.

c.   The **external constitution** followed imperial administrative divisions. The five highest districts of administration in the East, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Caesarea, Constantinople, paved the way for the **patriarchate**. Already in Nicaea, special privileges were conceded to Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and then additionally to Rome in 343 in Sardica, the right of appeal in the West. Jerusalem enjoyed honorary preeminence. Constantinople was given equal status with Rome in 381. Here in **Rome**, the following were bishops from 269 onward: Felix -274, Eutychian -282, Caius -295, Marcellinus -304, Marcellus 308-309, Eusebius -310, Melchiades -314, Sylvester -335. At the time of the latter, the 6th canon of the Nicaean council decided that the Roman bishop should occupy supremacy over the ten suburbicarian provinces of middle and lower Italy. (Marcus -336, Julius I -352.) Right of appeal was decided by the council of Sardica in 343. Liberius (-366) was banished by Constantius in 355, but acknowledged by the populace despite his having subscribed in 358 to a Sirmian formula. But he withdrew his signature after his reinstallation. Damasus I (-384) was dismissed by the rigorists, and Ursinus elected in his place. But Damasus reclaimed his right with bloodshed. From Siricius (-399) comes the **earliest decretal**, in which he claimed the right of decree and supervision of the entire church. In the Origenist controversy he sided with Rufinus. Anastasius (-401) took the opposing side. In the most serious subsequent quarrels the Roman bishops for the most part took the right side, thus adding to the importance of this see. Under Innocent I (401-417), the claim to issue decisions was expanded to all *causae majores*, and later, the Sardican canon was declared to be Nicaean. Rome, as an ancient capital city, without the imperial court, was peculiarly suited to **world primacy**.

d.   There were two kinds of synods, **imperial**, or **ecumenical**, and **provincial synods**. The former were conducted by bishops delegated by the emperor, with the assistance of imperial commissioners. Their resolutions were imperial law. The provincial synods possessed only moral, but often great significance.

e.   Through synodism, the following legal sources gradually took shape for the church: 1. The resolutions of the synods: *dogmata* for doctrine; *canones* for the practical life in worship, constitution, and custom; *symbola*, the confessions; 2. *Epistolae canonicae* of individual bishops; 3. The imperial church laws: *leges, edicta, rescripta*; 4. The so-called Apostolic ordinances. **Forgeries** included: *Didascalia apostolorum*, composed in the second half of the third century; the so-called "Apostolic Canonical Ordinance," compiled in the third century by utilizing the *Didache*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, etc.; the "Apostolic Constitution," eight books composed around 400 in Spain from the sources named above, unknown in the West and abjured by the council of Trullanum in 692; the "Apostolic Canons" compiled around 400 in Spain (85 recognized in the East, but only 50 in the West). (72.)

§50. Public Worship.

a.   As the constitutional habitude of the church in this manner absorbed not only the external forms, but largely also the mind of the pagan Roman empire, the same thing happened in **public worship**. The imperial church wanted to vie with the world in the display of wealth and pomp, and at the same time it seemed essential to define the dominant position of the clergy, even though the latter may have been unintentional. In many instances, these external manifestations were not wrong in and of themselves when the intention was to

adorn the divine service. But then it is inherently natural, and in those circumstances it was unavoidable, that externality and sensuous sophistication should gain the upper hand. It went so far that it may be rightly said that the imperial church did not so much overcome paganism as, for the most part, merely overplaster it. The increasing veneration of saints and ingraining them as patrons in the Christian consciousness were not just reminiscent of the pagan guardian divinities, and the martyr festivals with their occasionally abandoned jollification, the veneration of heroes and *manes* [spirits of the dead], but local pagan services with divinities, temples, and festivals were actually transformed into Christian services, with saints, churches, and festivals. Lighting of candles, incense, and processions, although clothed in Old Testament precedent, were adopted from the pagans, in many cases heedlessly, often intentionally, in order to ease conversion for the pagan masses. Clearly, given the legalistic temper of the time, the result had, for the most part, to remain pagan. This observation is important, on the one hand in order to understand the evolution toward the papacy. On the other, it is interesting and elevating to recognize how, in just these circumstances, the Gospel remained active.

b. Negatively, it was hardly to be expected that the physical-mystic **doctrine of redemption** should experience a change. On the contrary, it promoted the magical-sacramental-ritualistic mystery-ridden character of the ancient church, and this in turn more and more materialized religion. Whereas on the one hand everything, even a legitimate earthly calling, was excessively disparaged, owing to the world-fugitive mood, the divine, on the other hand, was now supposed to saturate and tangibly sanctify the temporal (relics, pictures, pilgrimages, masses). Characteristically now, East and West differed in individual forms, as we have noted already prior to Constantine with regard to doctrinal method. Liturgy, fasting ordinances, perception of the church year, all differed widely, even though the Christmas festival (since 354) gained headway from Rome throughout the church.

c. **Baptism:** Not until the 6th century did infant baptism become the rule. The reason for this was that, previously, so many conversions still came up which attracted attention, while the baptism of children took place in quiet. Accordingly, these converts often preferred to be classed as catechumens because they wanted to avoid the asceticism to which baptism committed them. Moreover, with their externalized perception of the sacrament which assured them of the forgiveness of all previous sins by the mere external ceremony, they had it easier than they would have had under ascetic discipline.

d. In the **catechumen class**, external forms crowded instruction into the background: handing out consecrated salt, exorcisms, making the sign of the cross, breathing upon the catechumen. Also at baptism, incidentals became so important that the meaning of the ceremony was necessarily obscured, and novel sacraments appeared out of nowhere: *abrenuntiatio,* addressed to the devil; promises made to Christ, turning each time toward sunset or sunrise; consecration of water; *interrogatio,* addressed to the unclothed child to be baptized; thrice repeated immersion; anointing with oil; recitation of the Lord's Prayer by the baptized while turning toward the East; attire in white linen clothes; presentation of burning candles, of milk, honey, etc. Later, unction evolved into confirmation.

e. **Divine services:** At the main divine service, bipartition continued as long as the catechumen class was going on. The sermon was at its apogee 350-450, in the East with brilliant rhetoric, and applause from the congregation, in the West there were straightforward *sermones*: Chrysostom, Cyril, Ambrose, Augustine, and Leo the Great. For the Eucharist the term **mass** was beginning to be used, first in Gaul; it was employed till then to designate all kinds of divine services. *Missa=leiturgia*, public performance, sacrifice, public worship. **Liturgy:** difference between the East (theatrical symbolization of salvation history) and the West (dogmatic character). In the Greek liturgy, its formation completed, to be sure, only after the icon controversy, the individual acts of the Lord's Supper celebration symbolically represent the life, suffering, dying, rising, and ascension of Christ, in meaning and sequence, and the course of the Gospel on earth. I. Preparation of the

elements with reference to prophecy and fulfillment. II. Antiphonal service: the long *ecteneia* (general church prayer); antiphons expressing praise for the incarnation of God's Son; the short *ecteneia*; the prayer to Mary and the saints; Epistle and Gospel lections with the hallelujah response, and the response "Praise to Thee, O Christ"; blessing of the three-armed and two-armed candelabra (symbolic of the Trinity and of the two natures of Christ, and of the victory of these doctrines). III. Preparation of the altar in order to symbolize the burial of Christ; *credo;* benediction; *anamnesis* (prayer of thanksgiving for creation and preservation; *sanctus; hosannah;* praise of redemption; presentation of gifts and consecration); *epiclesis* (prayer to the Holy Spirit); commemoration of the saints and *Marias*; prayers for the living and deceased; remembrance of the church militant and triumphant. IV. Receiving the Lord's Supper: prayer for the communicants; Lord's Prayer; taking the elements with reference to the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ; prayer of thanksgiving; benediction; Pss. 34 and 113, to direct attention to the glory of the church. The sequence of confession, absolution, antiphons and lections, sermon, and simple celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Western liturgy reflects rather the dogmatic sequence of the doctrine of sin and grace. The well-known liturgies were: Roman, Milanese, Gallic, Byzantine, Jerusalemite, and Alexandrian. Ceremonials in the divine service included making the sign of the cross, washing of hands on entrance, lighting of candles, the fraternal kiss, kissing the portal or threshold, relics and icons. For the rest, the congregation was passive.

f.   Festival times: With regard to the festival sequence of the church year, a significant change took place in the second half of the third century in connection with the Arian controversies and resulting from the lively intercourse between East and West. The ancient views on how the week revolved remained the same: Sunday (*dies solis*) established since 321 by state law; stational days on Friday and Wednesday in the East, but on Friday and Saturday (since the third century) in the West. Then additionally there came the three daily hours of prayer (*horae*), but these were only for the clergy and monks.

g. Since the doctrine of incarnation, and with it in the West also the doctrine of Mary, had moved into the foreground thanks to questions concerning the divinity of Christ, the former Easter festival had been shifted from the position it had held, and the **Christmas festival** made its way triumphantly through the entire world. Till now in the East, the 6th of January had been the festival of Christ's baptism and then the festival of Christ's birth. In Rome since 354, the 25th of December was considered the birthday of Christ, since Hippolytus had already established March 25th as the day of Christ's incarnation. The pagan Saturnalia and Brumalia (17-24 December, and 25 December), and the winter solstice of *deus invictus* (*Sol Mithras*), were thereby easily pushed aside, and the exchange was completed, with January 6th now celebrated as the Epiphany festival in the West, and December 25th as the festival of Christ's birth in the East. It should be noted how in this exchange on the one hand, crass and unrefined pagan sensuality expressed itself, or made itself the mode, and on the other, the Gospel was able to take the opportunity to reach the people.

h. Simultaneous with this exchange came the change of the **Easter festival**. It was now no longer the approach of Pentecost, but a part of Passiontide. Passiontide was now divided into Quadragesima (Lent, beginning with Ash Wednesday, and lasting six and one-half weeks (for the monks, nine); then the Great Week: Palm Sunday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday (the great sabbath as baptismal festival); and then the Easter week: Easter Sunday now Passover, a vigil service the night before. Holy week—*Charwoche* (*Karen*=lamentation) and Easter week (Ostara, ancient Germanic goddess of spring), with the daily divine service. **Pentecost** was now the fiftieth day after the Passover, with the vigil preceding and the octave following as festivals of martyrs; the festival of Ascension with the preceding vigil was midway between Passover and Pentecost. Before Quadragesimatide, the carnival season (January 6 till Shrove Tuesday) substituted for the joyous Lupercalia, when, as the name indicates, the flesh might indulge itself. From this time forward this development of church festivals occurred more energetically, and therefore also more

externally, and because East and West were now diverging otherwise as well, politically and in church matters, they did so also in this respect.

i.   The **adoration of saints** too, now experienced a strong impetus. Martyrdom had ceased. Asceticism took its place and was held in high regard by the people. Monks, clergymen, and bishops now became saints, as did **Mary** with her perpetual virginity and motherhood of God. Already in Arabia, the Gnostics had transferred the adoration of Demeter to Mary. Now Epiphanius was still protesting against it, but in the time immediately following, **Cyril of Alexandria** was the chief protagonist of Mariolatry. Now too the invocation of angels, especially of Michael, emerged, and likewise the changed perception that saints qualified not only as heroes of martyrdom and of asceticism, but also as patrons, guardians (the doctrine of supererogatory merit and protection against demons). In doctrine, the distinction between *latreia* (*adoratio*)*,* only for God, and *douleia* (*invocatio*)*,* for the saints, became popular, a kind of polytheism. Directly allied with it there flourished the veneration of relics and icons (legend of the discovery of the Cross by the emperor's mother Helena), with candles, incense, kissing, prostration, and miraculous power. There were pilgrimages to sacred places after Helena's journey to Palestine in 326 (baptism in the Jordan; Jordan water), and to the Apostles' graves in Rome and to that of St. Martin in Tours, Sinai, etc. Synod of Elvira and Eusebius of Caesarea: the final opposition to icon veneration. Apostles' and martyrs' festivals, festivals of Mary, angels, and relics.

§51. Christian Art.

a.   The 4th century was the blossom-time of Christian **art.** Ancient art had ceased, but had yielded its forms to the church. The basilica, in certain forms, was adopted from the judgment hall. The outer court with its covered colonnade and water basins was frequently replaced by empty vestibules. The nave (rectangular main aisle) took its name from the semicircular apse, elevated by a number of steps at the end, where formerly the tribunal was located, but now the bishop's chair with seats for the presbyters. The triumphal arch rose between nave and apse. In front of it was the choir with the altar, separated from the sanctuary by dividers and curtains, for the service of the clergy. Alongside the central nave, there were often two to six aisles. In the West, between apse and triumphal arch, there was a transverse nave; in the Orient, choir lofts or galleries in the side aisles [secondary naves]. **Painting** too, particularly mosaic, came into vogue. Christ was depicted in the image of the beardless Hermes. Until now these developments followed the ancient forms where moderation was the norm of beauty. From this time onward, the sense for beauty faded out, and unbeautiful proliferation of ostentation and garishness took its place, reflecting the decline of ancient art and the rise of mystical-sacramental-papistic interests. Already now these features appeared in architectural design where in authoritarian style the clergy, situated in choir and apse, presented itself with its liturgical mummery to the miracle-hungry multitude.

b.   **Music** too, allied with hymnody, now began to flourish. Hymnody was introduced by Ephraim Syrus in imitation of the Gnostic, Bardesanes. These hymns, however, were not folksongs, and this was the same in Constantinople; hence early on, complex choral arrangements. But in the West, in Rome and Milan (**Ambrose**), there appeared a genuine, original, popular poesy which proved useful for edification also in the divine service: Hilary, **Ambrose***,* Augustine, Prudentius, Ennodius, Fortunatus, Gregory the Great. The four authentic Ambrosian hymns are: *Veni, redemptor gentium*; *Deus, creator omnium*; *Aeterne rerum conditor*; *Jam surgit hora tertia.*

c.   The music of this time remains foreign to our sensibility since the rhythmically defined diatonic scale was unknown as yet. The Greeks had long since discovered in the hexameter and pentameter a defined rhythm for the rhapsody, which, further developed through iambic trimeter, had already led to stanzaic formation. In the Alexandrian era this creation was malformed through the multiplication of meters, as can be recognized

particularly in Horace, and through contrived versification. But the tonal stresses did not harmonize with this model as yet. The four authentic Greek scales of eight tones were of course already in use. But we know too little of their application in sophisticated music. Folk song was most likely still content with ancient psalmody, where cadences were marked out with only three to five tones. The more advanced art had now however discovered the application of half steps in the scale. This style must have forced its way, in the Orient, into the church until only a trained choir could manage the singing. For that reason, the Council of Laodicaea in 367 prescribed that singing must be left to the choir. **Ambrose**, however, protested against chromatic theater music because it is effeminizing and stimulates sensual love.

d.   From this we can assume that through Ambrose in the Western church of his time, **the folk song** was again elevated, along with the simple, popular hymns, perhaps with the application of those four tones. But the difficulty inherent in the evolution of music concurred with the clerical inclinations of the church, so that the common people were soon again deprived of a chance to sing, and were condemned to serve only as spectators and audience. On the other hand, this development, to us partly incomprehensible, indicates that the common people came somewhat into their own again, in that from the reading of biblical excerpts, which contained the childlike, simple Gospel, they drew a simple understanding of the Gospel, relatively untouched by the hairsplitting theology (again, in many instances to be sure, also not), and ever and again in singing recovered a personal participation in the divine service, and in so doing in this time preserved their universal priesthood, even if not sufficiently, and in the long run, in vain. (53.)

§52. Monasticism.

a. **Hermit colonies** had organized already in Anthony's environment. The Copt Pachomius transformed these loose communities into a more thoroughly organized and firmly established monasticism when by and by, beginning in 322, he founded nine monasteries at Tabenisi near Thebes, and joined them in a congregation. In 345 his sister Maria founded a convent for nuns nearby. These communities were called **coenobia** ("shared life"), and *mandrai* ("folds") from the architecture of the buildings. In 330 such colonies gathered around Ammonius in the Nitrian desert, and around Macarius in the Scetian desert, in Egypt.

b.   At first the clergy opposed this innovation. But after **Athanasius** defended it, and during his banishment recommended this mode of asceticism in the West, and later, when the three **Cappadocians** developed monasticism in Asia Minor to make it a regular activity, reflecting the temper of the time, it came to occupy a prominent place in the practice of piety. In the West, in 370, Eusebius of Vercelli founded his monastery in Milan, **Martin of Tours** (d. 400) another in northern Gaul, Honoratus (around 400) the acclaimed monastery Lerinum on the unpopulated isle of Lerina in southern Gaul, and **John Cassian** the even more widely acclaimed one in Massilia. At first in the West, the common folk too were opposed to this kind of asceticism. But in the following period, through the intervention of the great church fathers Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, this mode of piety prevailed. (58c.)

§53. Influence of the Church on Culture in General.

a.   It is astonishing how little the imperial church, though full flourishing, affected the general culture. The reasons for this lie probably on both sides. The legalistic character of the Christianity of that time, and its close association with Hellenic behavior, hindered it from really working effectively from within to educate and to beget anew. On the other hand, ancient paganism in its culture was in a state of decline. Already now the Germans were coming on apace, and the Mediterranean nations of necessity collapsed. Thus these three influences worked hand in hand: Greco-Roman paganism had petered out; Greco-Roman Christianity with its peculiar ecclesiastical idea in any event could create no exalted world culture; Teutonic might externally broke

down the ancient world.

b.   Legislation was somewhat influenced by Christian ideas. Apart from the Constantinian laws named above, (observation of Sunday, abrogation of crucifixion and of gladiatorial combat, forbidding of celibacy) divorce was not at first prohibited. Mixed marriages between Christians and Jews were forbidden in 388, but sanctioned between Christians and heretics or pagans. Marital impediments in line with the ideas of the church were recognized. Union of uncle with niece, of children of siblings with each other, and of brother-in-law with sister of deceased wife and with widow of deceased brother, were prohibited. The churches were granted the court of arbitration, presided over by the bishops, along with the right of intercession and the right of asylum.

c.   The morality of the common people was nevertheless not generally improved. Even the moral life of the clergy seems often to have been very questionable. The reason for this was that the position of the church on natural living was wrong, because unevangelical. That natural living, according to ascetic concepts, was accounted as unsanctified, is actually a pagan-gnostic tendency, and easily reverts to libertinism. Of the high esteem for vocations in everyday life, as **Paul** proclaimed it, and as (and not until) **Luther** in his doctrine of adiaphora brought it back, that age was ignorant. Added to this, there was the magical-sacramental trend of worship which externalized and sensualized Christianity; likewise, the influences of monasticism depreciated marriage and family life.

d.   Also the **institution of penance could only have a ruinous effect. The arrangement common in Asia Minor of the penitential stations *(proclausis,* exclusion from divine service; *acroasis,* readmission to the sermon; *hypoptosis*, readmission to the sermon; *systasis,* participation in the entire divine service including the Eucharist, but only as spectator) is repugnant to the Gospel, and exercised only an externalizing influence. This system merely increased the power of the priesthood, and robbed the people of every impulse (along with their moral and external freedom) to raise themselves inwardly out of sinful behavior. In these circumstances, the institution of **confession** could only have similar effects. This usage originated with the monks' custom of confessing every evening to their companions. This custom was accepted by the laity too, and thus began a pastoral process against secret sinners. But it was left optional, and for that reason at that time, ineffective.

e.   So it is hardly surprising that other **everyday habits not only did not change at all, but under the regulation of the church kept right on, and in their degeneration kept getting worse. The abandoned roistering, the wedding and funeral customs, theater and circus attendance, gladiatorial combats and chariot races, offered the chance, after as before, for the wildest endemic passion to become commonplace and flaunt itself. Much the less could science and art make any headway. The church of course claimed a substantive literature. In it philosophy, history, and poetry had earned their place. The exegetical theology of the Antiochians, even though, dependent on Paul of Samosata, it took the offensive against the spiritualism of the Alexandrians and defended the "historical" sense of Scripture (emphasis on the human, natural aspect), remained Origenistic, as did the philosophically inclined theology of the Cappadocians. Neither school ever attained to the actual historical treatment of Scripture with genuine understanding of history and exegesis, especially with regard to the person of Christ and the doctrine of inspiration. Not until **Luther** could this evolution take hold. Consequently, the Antiochians and the Cappadocians alike resorted to the expedient of allegorizing like Origen, as in general all theologians at that time did.

f.   Only in **Eusebius did intellectual freedom show up, as inherited from Origen, since he researched the sources in his historical works in the human history of the church, although even in this effort we can hardly expect to find actual historical method. The Western writers Hilary and Ambrose too, in their exegetical works, were clearly influenced by Origen insofar as they pursued systematic Scriptural interpretation. They too were incapable of anything but allegorizing, but in their systematic digestion of doctrine the practical and traditionalistic style of the Westerners replaced the Greek philosophy of Origen. Accordingly, in every

instance some element or other of the declining culture of that time clings to this work in whole and in part. (65d.)

g.   The single really great product which this epoch brought forth is the **poetry** from the Ambrosian circle, which burst into bloom around 400 in Prudentius and Paulinus of Nola. It remains as the final fallout of the Arian controversies and in its Christmas hymns coincides with the rise of the Christmas festival in the West. This poetry sings the Gospel of the Son of God become human in such childlike, single-minded manner, in popular speech, expressing the understanding of the single-minded folk and doing it for their understanding, in a style found nowhere else in that era. Therefore, down to our days this hymn has remained alive in the speech of the people. That miracle Origenism did not bring about. The poetry of the East (Ephraim the Syrian, and later, under Chrystostom in Constantinople) has a philosophical ring and so was bound to fall into oblivion. The Western hymn is an immediate fruit of the Gospel as plain folk understood it. But it was confined to a limited circle.

h.   There was nothing then in this Christian literature for profane culture to expect, because it was religiously oriented like the culture from which it sprang; and such was the lack of understanding of the Gospel, which might have saturated the expanse of life, that the false culture of the time cast it aside and substituted for it a new one. Consequently, the clergy and bishops were in many cases, even theologically, uneducated, and barbarism soon broke in upon them.

i.   The profane culture of the ancient Roman empire survived alongside the church. By far the majority of children from Christian homes attended the pagan primary, secondary, and advanced schools where the ancient classics were taught, even though the monastery school already existed in its beginnings (Pachomius, Basil, Jerome), because for training in philosophy this preparatory schooling was indispensable. The spokesmen of pagan scholarship were Libanius and Themistius, the philosophers named above, and historiography was represented by Ammianus Marcellinus and Zosimus. Neither did **plastic art** experience an enduring turn for the better. From the fourth century onward it sank abruptly from its first exalted beginnings, as later the Byzantine dome construction particularly demonstrates.

k.   When all is said, the church exerted the strongest influence in the **field of business**. Through the *latifundia* practice (large land ownership) she relieved the pressure of taxation, and was in a position to administer charity on a grand scale in her **shelters** for aliens, the impoverished, widows, orphans, the infirm, the aged, and foundlings. Renowned was the *Basilias* standing before the gates of Caesarea and founded by Basil the Great. But soon the church, mainly in the West, became the largest of *latifundia* proprietors. And because this business constituted the actual economic evil of the ancient world and of the declining culture in that it led to the impoverishment and dependency of the masses, the imperial church also contributed to this impasse. It was the same with slavery, directly connected as it was with the *latifundia* system. The church actually opposed the emancipation of the slaves. Only in the monasteries did another idea prevail.

§54. The Church outside the Empire.

a.   Catholicism restricted itself on the whole to the empire, and in so doing fulfilled its external conception of church. **Armenia** had, since 363, joined the Persians, and her church become a national church; yet in church matters she was still in some degree allied with the empire. Sahak (d. 439) and his associate Mesrob were *katholikoi* [bishops of the highest rank in the Armenian church]. They put their efforts into Bible translation and monasticism. Connected with them were the Iberians in Georgia and the Albanians. In **Persia**, persecution of Christians broke out under Schapur II (345-380). Nevertheless, the strong Syrian church was represented there; James of Nisibis (d. 338) founded the school in his native city. There Ephraim Syrus (d. 373) taught and later came to Edessa (chief exegete: commentaries, homilies, articles against heretics, hymns). In **Ethiopia**

Frumentius and Aedesius were active; in Arabia, the Eunomian Theophilus of Diu.

b. Among the **Goths** in Dacia at first the orthodox Audius was active. Present at the Council of Nicaea was the bishop of the Goths, Theophilus. The Arian **Ulfilas** (d. 383) was bishop from 341. He removed to Moesia with the Christian party of the Goths. There he translated the Bible (the **Silver Codex** in Uppsala). The pagan Goths in Dacia too were converted. One party of them, pushed to Thrace, were drawn into war with Emperor Valens, in which conflict he fell in 378. In the peace of 382, Thrace and Moesia were ceded to them, and their confession, together with their law and constitution, were recognized. Their divine service was held in the Gothic language, and asceticism made no inroads among them. Thus Arian Germans and Catholic Romans stood side by side. The Goths were tolerant toward Catholicism. They smashed the empire, but themselves then perished. **In the North their later culture would revive**.

B. The Flowering of the Imperial Church, 380-451.
§55. General Summary.

a. The dissolution of the imperial church began already in the partition of West and East in the **Christological controversy**. Yet it was precisely in this era that the church brought forth her most luxuriant blossoms in the presentation of the most important doctrines and of her greatest men, and even externally, unfolded her broadest power. The development of both halves of the empire turned out now to be different. The West saw folk migrations which subjected the Westerners to Germanic domination; but the Germans were spiritually subdued through Christianity even as Christianity melded with Roman ideals. This did not happen in the East, but church and state there succumbed to a severe overstrain which, in conjunction with the later trouble from the Saracens, brought on the end.

b. Yet in this period communal action still took place, thanks to the single dynasty of Theodosius. The union of church and state was more firm than ever. That **women** held the reins of government points on the one hand also to the decline, particularly as they made their power felt with the help of Germanic chieftains. On the other hand, it is worth noting that by this agency the power of the church in the state emerged as starkly as it did. A further step in the direction of the evolving papacy was the fact that the Western church henceforward grew increasingly Latinate and at the same time Augustinian in the process. This accelerated the cleavage, linguistically and theologically, of the two halves of the empire, thereby weakening the empire, but strengthening the Western section of the church.

1. The Sundering of East and West in the Collapse of the Empire.
§56. The Collapse of the Empire.

a. The two halves of the empire were apportioned to the sons of Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, by their father, the Eastern with Constantinople, and the Western with Milan, and during their minority their guardians were Rufinus and Stilicho.

b. **Arcadius** (395-408) was dominated successively by Rufinus, Eutropius, and the Frankish general's daughter Eudoxia his wife, who, to this end allied herself with the Gothic general Gainas. The envy that rankled between the two halves of the empire, and the withholding from the Visigoths of the annual tribute, provoked Alaric in 396 to invade the Peloponnesus and in 401 Italy. Here he was defeated by **Stilicho**, and thereupon named *dux Illyriae* by Arcadius.

c. The Arian peril inherent in the presence of so many Goths was forefended by a bloodbath of Germans resulting in the death of Gainas. In Constantinople Chrysostom had opposed this violence, as had Synesius the Neoplatonist (later bishop of Ptolemais), a disciple of the brilliant pagan female philosopher Hypatia in Alexandria. Now there ensued laws against heretics and pagans. This action however was somewhat mitigated

by the conflict between Chrysostom and Eudokia in connection with the Origenistic controversy.

d. Arcadius was succeeded by his son **Theodosius II** (408-450). He at first acted under the influence of his highly gifted monastic sister Pulcheria when in 414 the guardianship of the two children had terminated. Till then, toleration toward the pagans prevailed. But now Pulcheria herself seized the reins. Again, laws were enacted against the pagans, and the noble Hypatia in 415 was murdered by the Christian canaille in Alexandria. In 416 all pagans were excluded from imperial offices. In 421 Pulcheria personally gave to her brother as wife the philosopher's daughter Athenais, who changed her name to Eudocia. Under Eudocia's influence the pagans again enjoyed tranquility until 444, whereupon the Empress, pressed out of favor with her husband, spent most of her time in Palestine.

e. Thus **Pulcheria** was again in command, and when her brother died she succeeded him on the throne (450-453). For masculine support she took the general Marcian in ostensible marriage, and he governed after her until 457. So the pagans were persecuted again from 448 onward, and externally the church stood in full bloom.

f. **Honorius** (395-425) was at first entirely subject to the influence of the Vandal **Stilicho** who had rescued Italy from Alaric and the Ostrogoth Radagais. During this time the Franks, Burgundians, and Alemanni settled on the left bank of the Rhine. The Franks on the Lower Rhine were still pagans. The Burgundians on the Middle Rhine before long turned Catholic. But, beaten by Aëtius in 436, they established the Burgundian kingdom farther south on the Rhone and the Saone, and through contact with the Visigoths, became Arian. To the north of the Burgundians, the pagan Alemanni founded a kingdom and at once devastated the existing Catholic organizations. Also the Roman armies were comprised mostly of Germans. That is why Stilicho did not proceed energetically against Arianism, and in general prevented the church from playing a role in the state. But when the church exerted itself here too, the state official [Stilicho] lost the confidence of the weak emperor, and was assassinated in 408.

g. Now in 410 Alaric set out to plunder Rome, but died before that year was out. His successor Athaulf married Placidia, the captive sister of Honorius, and founded the Visigoth kingdom with its capital at Toulouse. When he died here in 415, Placidia married Honorius' minion Constantius, and lorded it over her brother. During this time, in 409, the Suevians and Alani crossed the Pyrenees to Spain. They were Catholic at first, but after the founding of the Visigoth kingdom of Toledo, became Arian.

h. On the death of Honorius, Placidia and **Valentinian III**, the son of Constantius, ruled (425-55). Valentinian later married Eudoxia, Theodosius II's daughter, but allowed himself to be dominated by his mother and her favorite, Aëtius. At this time, 429, the Vandal Geiseric set out for Africa from Spain, and the Angles and Saxons wrested England from the empire, and Attila joined the Huns from Hungary in war against the western empire. To be sure, Aëtius smote the Huns in 451 on the Catalonian fields at Troyes, but upon the assassination of the emperor, Eudoxia herself, betrayed, summoned the Vandal Geiseric against Rome in 455, and the empire visibly approached collapse. (68.)

§57. The Intellectual Revolution within the Empire.

a. Where all external circumstances were thus in flux, the entire mental and emotional life had to be sympathetically involved. And as the violent transformation created violent men, so also in the province of the mind, which, at this time, was the church. There too, unnoticed, shifts of opinion occurred, beneath the surface, in the network of external circumstances. In consequence, the least provocation was all it took to expose the differences to full view, and then the conflict caught on fire, of the kind that always precedes compromise or breach.

b. After a fairly prolonged season of intellectual drought, the West experienced a revival through contact

with the East. Here Athanasius and other banished men had exerted a lasting influence. Hilary of Poitiers and other bishops had been banished in the East. There, Julius I and Damasus of Rome had gained recognition. Oriental monasticism had already begun its victorious course westward. Ambrose had disseminated Hellenic-ecclesiastical scholarship among those who spoke Latin. Christianity had passed from the immigrant Greek population to the Latin population, and had received a Latinate stamp. Tertullian had provided them with their ecclesiastical language; from Jerome they now received the **Vulgate**. Even though they digested and imitated the speculation of the Greeks, they nevertheless brought with them the practical style of the West, and cast their dogmatic ideas in still bolder relief.

c.   The squabbles which now again occupied half a century can be traced not only to intellectual and spiritual causes, but as always, also to very secular ones. The first is usually the **notion of progress**. This idea in itself is justified when a mentally astute person wants to get clear on viewpoints confronting him on every side. This will lead to a progressive interpretation and, if this interpretation remains under the discipline of the Gospel, to more luminous clarity. For the most part, however, the frenzy for innovation and inquisitiveness become part of the process.

d.   In the Arian Controversy, the Origenistic lines of thought were to some extent disengaged. **Origenism** at that time, however, was synonymous with "intellectual freedom" and scholarship. Young Nicaeans and Neo-Alexandrians like Didymus the Blind, the fellow-combatant of Athanasius, and Evagrius Ponticus, the friend of Gregory of Nyssa, were themselves Origenists. Even many Western theologians aspired to the Greek culture of the great exegete. It is hardly surprising that the early Alexandrians and the Antiocheans clung all the more tenaciously to the ancient idea of subordinatianism and the grammatical-historical sense, and even extended them.

e.   Standing opposed to this trend then, was **conservatism**, manifesting itself in traditionalism. Anything that has come into existence in a great era, and has established itself, cries to be preserved. That is a natural interest of state and church. But when, in the ecclesiastical domain things come so far that intellectual life loses its fresh originality, and then restricts itself to preserving what has been transmitted simply because it has been transmitted, it is called traditionalism.

f.   **Traditionalism** allies itself with external control, here through the development of the patriarchates. Originally, the East fell into four **dioceses** according to Diocletian's classification of the states: the Orient with Antioch as capital; Asia with Ephesus; Pontus with Caesarea in Cappadocia; Thrace with Heraclea. Now in addition the eastern half of North Africa, with Alexandria as its capital, had become a diocese. The Antiocheans retained Syria, Arabia, and Cicilia. The other three capitals, however, were subordinated to Constantinople. This city was awarded the rank directly behind Rome at the second ecumenical council. This elevation fueled the envy of Alexandria, and inflated in turn the claims of Constantinople as addressed to bishop and emperor. Rome too, which alone in the West held this position, already now was at the point of raising its theoretical claims to supersede Constantinople.

§58. The Difference between East and West.

a.   At length, in the course of time, a major general difference developed between East and West in respect to theology and piety. Only in respect to **synergism** and **asceticism** was there a shared sensibility. Otherwise, the **East** was **philosophically** oriented. Consequently, speculation was their way of knowing. The objects of knowing were suited for this kind of approach: the doctrine of God, of the Trinity, and of the two natures in Christ, the Logos become man. They leaned toward a pantheistic conception, on that account holding fast to the ancient ideas of the physical redemption, of the deification and of the imperishability of man through the incarnation of the Logos and union with him as a logical consequence. Speculation and asceticism were

deemed the means of achieving this union. So, man as such was seldom discussed. While the concentration on God encouraged the certainty of salvation along with the consciousness of possessing salvation here and now, what was missing was a positive moral urgency. Only negative asceticism was supposed to prepare one for the influence of the divine.

b. In the **West**, however, Tertullian's ideas were becoming more and more current. The relationship of God and man was seen as a legal relationship. As a result, the conceptions of God were anthropomorphic. The doctrine of man (anthropology) and of salvation (soteriology) came to the fore. The impulse became practically, psychologically, and ethically more immediate. Satisfaction through good works was a central idea. In consequence, there was an urgency toward morality, but the certainty of salvation disappeared, and salvation was conceived as something in the future. This notion spawned a peculiar **conception of the church** which allowed officials to assume the sovereignty of judges, and the doctrines of faith the sovereignty of the Law.

c. Of further importance for the understanding of subsequent conflicts is the development **monasticism** underwent in this period. The monks were mostly laymen, but by dint of their asceticism they attained the authority of a recognized ecclesiastical class on a par with the clergy. Hence a decided tension prevailed between priesthood and the community of monks which has persisted ever since, even now, when monasticism is entirely merged with the spiritual class. At that time, however, these trends were still developing. The ascetic ideal of monasticism spread throughout the Orient. And it went to fanatic extremes. The Syrian **stylites** lived on pillars (Simeon Stylites for 30 years, d. 460); the *Boskoi* (derived from "grazing") subsisted in the desert on herbs and roots; the Euchites (Messalians or fanatics) believed themselves possessed of a demon whom they wanted to exorcise with prayer; the **Achoimets** (the sleepless ones, especially in the renowned Studion monastery in Constantinople, founded in 460) took turns in perpetual prayer. (73c.)

d. In this period cenobitism grew, along with the steadily intensifying distress of the empire. In upper Egypt, Schenute*,* the leader of the large cloister of Atripe, was at once the voice of Coptic Christianity and of Coptic literature. Because of the perils lurking in the ever expanding growth of monasticism, the state church was now obliged to consider the **regulation of monastic practice**. Hence the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon: founding monasteries only with permission of the diocesan bishop; supervision of bishops; restriction of monks to their religious duties in the cloister; lifelong obligation to vows.

e. There were many uneducated people in the communities who, because of their reputation for holiness, fancied themselves particularly called to participate in the development of doctrine. But frequently it was other interests that induced them to take sides with one or another teacher of the church. And in such instances the doctrinal controversy was fought out not only by intellectual means, but also by the raw violence of these ranks, still further swollen by the lower clerics, the parabolans, etc. in the retinue of the bishops. The monks, most of them, hated Origen above all. But now this was about to change. **Literary activity infiltrated the cloisters**, and with the rise of a monastic literature, the monastic mode became congenial to the clergy. Biographies of monks, tracts, apothegms (maxims of renowned monks). Definition of the monastic doctrine of virtue and vice. The 8 cardinal sins. All these ideas converged on one another in this blossom-time, and spurred minds to fresh activity, but also paved the way to the **sundering of East and West**, and to the **predominance of Rome**. (59.)

2. The West Moves to the Forefront in the Origenistic
and in the Soteriological Controversy.
§59. The Victory of Western Traditionalism in the Origenistic Controversy, 394-438.

a. **Jerome** (340-420), born in Stridon in Dalmatia, received a classical education in Rome. After his

conversion he turned to asceticism in the desert in the Orient. By 382-385 he was back in Rome as a confidant of Bishop Damasus and adviser to a prominent **circle of women** (Paula and her daughters Blaesilla, Paulina, and Eustochium), who strove after asceticism and virginity. Following the death of Damasus, he founded in Bethlehem a cloister for monks and nuns, the latter for Paula, and emulating Origen's methodology, devoted himself to studying the Old Testament in the Hebrew and Aramaic languages. The crowning product of his studies was the **Vulgate**, an improvement on the ancient Latin Bible translation, the *Itala,* for which he prepared an original translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew. Because it was universally approved, it received the name Vulgate. Jerome distinguished himself in exegesis by his sense for grammar and history, while his dogmatic works are marred by want of originality and by immoderate polemic.

b.   In Bethlehem Jerome joined his boyhood friend **Rufinus** (a friend of Melania) of Aquileia in a similar pursuit of Origenism, under **John of** Jerusalem. When in 394 the Westerners Aterbius and Vigilantius spoke up against this Origenism, Jerome became concerned about his reputation for orthodoxy, and began preaching against Origen's doctrine of the Resurrection. Rufinus, on the other hand, and John maintained their initial position. While they were thus embroiled, **Epiphanius** of Salamis came to Jerusalem. He was a Palestinian Jew, baptized at 16, who had spent a number of years with the anthropomorphistic monks in the Scetian desert. Then he founded a cloister in Palestine, and presided over it for thirty years until he was called as bishop to Salamis on Cyprus. He was an honest, devout, somewhat limited man, who combined the severity of traditionalism with his practical earnestness. He was the last heresiologist (d. 403). He raved vehemently against John, actually condemned anthropomorphism, but then also demanded the condemnation of Origen. The upshot was that even the two boyhood friends from the West were at odds with each other.

c.   **Theophilus** of Alexandria involved himself in the conflict and reconciled the opponents. But when in the West, upon the publication of Origen's translated writings, Rufinus defended the ancient teacher and even called Jerome a devotee of Origen, it led to strife between the friends, in which Jerome behaved in a particularly ungracious manner. Rufinus died in 410.

d.   In Italy, another controversy played into this one. As early as 380 **Helvidius** in Rome, in 388 the monk **Jovinian** in Rome, and in 390 **Bonosus** of Sardica had turned against earned holiness and the superstition of relics, etc. Now, around 400 **Vigilantius**, presbyter at Barcelona, referred to above, also turned against all these elements in the course of his controversy with Jerome, and termed them paganism which had infiltrated the church. One particular point in this controversy was the *perpetua virginitas* of **Mary**, a notion specially cultivated by prominent monastic women and generally accepted by the church; then as fused with the worship of Ceres it was carried to extremes by a peculiar **women's sect**, the Collyridians (*kollyrides*=bread cakes). The Antidicomarianites had again spoken up against these. Among the pagans, Ceres (Demeter) was the divinity of the creative power of nature. To her, grain was sacred. Her worship was practiced by women, and consisted in consecrations, processions, and abstinence. Hence, in the temper of those times, it was easy for her worship, principally in women's circles, to be carried over to Mary, who around this time had become the chief of saints. The Antidicomarianites disputed the perpetual virginity of Mary. All this struck at the heart of prevailing views of piety. Helvidius was charged with Arian errors, and Bonosus with Monarchian. The other two, however, seem really to have avowed biblical sobriety, and Vigilantius in particular still avowed it in opposition to the false spiritualism of Origen. But all of the significant teachers of this time, Ambrose, Epiphanius, and Augustine, backed Jerome, the **exponent of traditional orthodoxy.** (73e.)

e.   The controversy now extended to Alexandria and Constantinople. In Alexandria, the pompous, power-hungry **Theophilus** had sided with the Origenistic monks of the Nitrian desert, and in 399 condemned anthropomorphism. But for fear of the cudgels of the Scetian monks, and for other reasons too, he had fallen out with the Nitrian monks and expelled them. They came to Constantinople seeking succor from the patriarch

John Chrysostom. Chrysostom, from Antioch, brought up by his mother Anthusa, had studied rhetoric under Libanius and had become a lawyer in his native city. After his baptism he became a disciple of the Antiochean Diodorus of Tarsus*,* and then a monk, a deacon, a presbyter, and in 398 the **patriarch of Constantinople**, a preacher of consequence, and author of many exegetical homilies; along with Athanasius and the three Cappadocians, he is **the most important church father of the East.**

f.   At Eudoxia's instigation, Chrysostom was obliged to take up the cause of the Nitrian monks with the emperor, and in doing so antagonized the envious Theophilus*.* This man began by inciting the aged Epiphanius against the patriarch. When Epiphanius was unsuccessful, Theophilus himself came. Meantime, the wrath of the Empress had turned on Chrysostom's severe sermons, and thus Theophilus was able in 403, at a synod at Quercum, the imperial estate in Chalcedon, to depose Chrysostom*.* When the populace rose up against this action, Theophilus had to flee, and Chrysostom *w*as recalled. But soon he was again at odds with the Empress, and in 404 was banished to Cucusus in Armenia, where he died in 407.

g.   The two patriarchs had at once appealed to **Rome,** and Innocent was minded to have a general council. Then he interceded before Honorius for the banished patriarch, and until 417 suspended church fellowship with Honorius' successor. In 438 Theodosius II also felt compelled to restore the honor of the banished patriarch. With all the personal conflicts, however, Origenism had been forgotten, whereas **all the ideas of traditionalism had triumphed.** (60.)

§60. Augustine's Theology.

a. Since Cyprian*,* the **West** had possessed no great independent theologian to speak of. In the **East**, all theological work was done under the impulse of Origen, and, by way of Athanasius' banishment, the West had come in contact with it. Beginning in the middle of the 4th century, **Eastern theology** began to **exert an influence on Western theology.** In Hilary of Poitiers one finds Athanasius*'* doctrine of salvation, in Ambrose that of the Cappadocians. Then **Marius Mercator,** an otherwise unknown ecclesiastical author, had introduced Neoplatonism into the West. In this way theological views underwent development and "deepening." But earlier on, when the Latin way had withstood the Greek (Tertullian)*,* the West nurtured its own views, and these were not obliterated.

b.   The **East** was philosophically oriented under the influence of Neoplatonism and of Origenism. Hence also its restriction to the metaphysical doctrines of the Trinity and the two natures in Christ. For this reason, it leaned also toward pantheistic conceptions and to mysticism, both of which found expression in the physical doctrine of salvation. In this perception, deification of human nature works like a natural force, and salvation, consisting of this deification, is not realized only in the future, but in the present. From this there derives "certainty of salvation." In this view, appropriating salvation consists in speculation allied with asceticism (the ancient Gnostic ideas which found their expression in the mysticism of monasticism). Hence also synergism, and an emphasis on the human nature of Christ as a model of life. But synergism consisted rather in negative mortification of the sin of man, and produced no positive moral urgency. Consequently, the lament about the lack of morality, and the later inclination to the ideas of Pelagius.

c.   The **West** had no appetite for speculation. Instead, a practical-ethical interest predominated: instead of pantheism, anthropomorphic views regarding God; instead of metaphysical dogmas, an ethical-psychological doctrine of man and his relationship to God. This was regarded as a legal relationship. Hence there was synergism here too, but more in the sense of positive good works than in the sense of negative asceticism. There was a transformation of ancient asceticism which, in the early unwholesome chiliasm of the first and second centuries, was conceived to be practice and preparation for the final battle with Satan and his kingdom, and had consisted in the negative abstention from meat, wine, and marriage, escape from the world by a

"professional" class, and a positive urgency for holiness in physical and mental activity in order to elevate this class above the others. With the secularization of the church, chiliasm had disappeared. Salvation was imagined as coming in the future, by the decision of the court, as a result of good conduct. Hence, an urgency for positive morality and a declining certainty of salvation.

d. Now when Greek theology, along with monasticism, filtered into the West, people in the West adopted the speculative method; their ethical-psychological views, however, they not only kept, but developed speculatively, and even transfused into them the mysticism of the Greeks handed down to them, particularly in the form of monasticism. In the process, they invested this mysticism with a new and, in fact, more intense and more tangible content. The result was not merely that the difference between East and West became more pronounced, but also that the East fell behind. For while the West assimilated speculative energy, the East was no longer equal to digesting the soteriological ideas. It wasted away mentally and crumbled externally. In the West, in contrast, the papacy strengthened itself through its unevangelical first principles. This epochal transformation set in with Augustine.

e. **Aurelius Augustinus** (354-430) was born in Thagaste in Numidia, to Patricius*,* a pagan decurion [orig. a cavalry officer in charge of 10 men; later, a municipal administrator], and the Christian Monica*.* Lost in sensuous lust as a student in Carthage, he was roused to moral aspiration by Cicero's *Hortensius*. Yet at 29 he was still living in concubinage. Christianity repelled him because he could not stand the Old Testament and the doctrine that God is the author of evil, which he understood to be the Christian view. In 374 he joined the Manichaeans because they rejected the Old Testament, taught a principle of good and of evil, and did not demand perfection. Through his study of Aristotle he was drawn out of these contradictions, but then succumbed to skepticism. He went to Rome in 383, in 384 became a teacher of rhetoric in Milan, and there studied Neoplatonism. The unity of this world-view, its thoroughgoing relation to God, and its definition of sin as departure of the will from God, attracted him. At the same time, he heard **Ambrose's** sermons, and studied Paul's epistles and Greek theology. But always, he doubted his own conversion, because he did not overcome sin within himself, until Rom. 13:13 brought him to the realization that God, in his summons to a chaste life, also gives the power to achieve it. He was accordingly baptized in 387, returned to Africa, in 391 was named presbyter against his will, in 395 associate bishop with Valerius, in 396 bishop ordinary of Hippo Regius. In this position, he gave his clerics a conventual organization. He died in 430 during the siege of Hippo by the Vandals.

f. Augustine wrote numerous works: autobiographical, philosophical, dogmatic, ethical-ascetic, homiletical, exegetical, polemical, and apologetic (*Confessiones; Retractiones; Contra Faustum; De peccatorum meritis et remissione; De gestis Pelagii; De gratia Dei et de peccato originali; De nuptiis et concupiscentia; Contra Julianum; Opus imperfectum; De gratia et libero arbitrio; De correptione et gratia; De trinitate; Enchiridion ad Laurentium; De fide et operibus; De civitate Dei; De doctrina christiana;* and *De rudibus catechizandis)*. The masterworks are his ***Confessiones*** and ***De civitate Dei****.* In the first masterpiece he relates his career in a broad, edifying portrayal, and his own soul-life in descriptive detail and in the first 9 books dramatizes his moral impotence, in the next 4, his intellectual inability to attain to salvation. In the second masterpiece, he counters the charge of the pagans, that because of Christianity the state has grown too weak to encounter the barbarians. In Books 1-10 he shows up every aspect of the depravity of paganism. In Books 11-22 he opposes God's government to that of the world. The origin of the former exists in God, that of the latter in the devil. Both are intermingled on earth until the end. In the world state, authority is in control to maintain external righteousness. But it can do so only if it learns from the church and places its power at her disposal.

g. Unlike Origen, Augustine is not original, but he was possessed of an opulent mind, and he was a keen and energetic thinker, who drew conclusions fearlessly, and a man of profound piety. His theology, in terms of

form, contains many elements derived from Neoplatonism and its quietistic-mystic stamp may be attributable to his experience among the Manichaeans, and to the ascetic contemplation of monasticism. But it endeavors to unlock Paul's ideas for the world.

h.   God is the highest, the one chaste, absolute being, the most exalted good. Things, multifarious and mutable, possess an inferior being from God, but they strive toward the highest Being. Evil in itself has no being; insofar as it exists, it is good, intended by God. Sin is departure from God. Salvation is the divestment of the non-being, putting on of the being until fully united with God and with the enjoyment of God in love. (Neoplatonic investiture of biblical ideas.) Augustine comes only incidentally to the doctrine of the Trinity (3 persons, but complete parity), to a point where he is charged with modalistic monarchianism. But most likely that applies only to the form. The monarchian and Arian controversies are too remote from Augustine, and the christological conflicts have not yet begun. Sufficient for his ideas is the Nicaean exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity which he has from the church's faith.

i.   Augustine was preoccupied with two principal doctrines: 1. For him, the main issue is the **doctrine of sin** and **grace**. In his original state, man possessed free will, *liberum arbitrium*, the *posse non peccare* [ability not to sin] by the *adjutorium gratiae* [assistance of grace]. He might have arrived at the *non posse peccare* [inability to sin] in this way, but by his sinning he arrived at the *non posse non peccare* [inability not to sin]. Fellowship with God and *adjutorium gratiae* now were lost, *concupiscentia* and death control him. In Adam, all have sinned, hence original sin and *massa perdita* [the lost multitude]. The virtues of the pagans are polished vices, *liberum arbitrium* [freedom of the will] is only to keep on sinning. Sin is μη ον [non-being]; new creation is necessary. Then there follows the current doctrine of salvation. But as Athanasius had already done, so Augustine more exactly evaluates the death of Christ, mainly on the basis of Tertullian's views. The curse adheres to sin because of guilt. Death is punishment for sin. Christ without guilt assumed our punishment in order to pay for our guilt (*reatum*) and to put an end to our punishment. In that he transferred death from us to himself, he transferred the curse accompanying sin from us to himself. From the curse the blessing accrues to us through the justice of the divine verdict of punishment.

k.   At this point, in a two-fold way Augustine takes a step farther than all his predecessors. He applies himself to the greatest definition of the Gospel that Paul in particular detailed, that is the doctrine of election by grace and to the doctrine of the appropriation of salvation. In neither however did he succeed in keeping within the limits of Paul's proclamation. On the one hand, the philosophical woof of his manner of thinking and defining got in his way, on the other, there was the fact that he was after all deeply engrossed in the ascetic views of his time. This is what he says regarding justification and election by grace: from the *massa perdita* God has predestined a certain number to be saved. In these, grace works irresistibly (*gratia irresistibilis*). They attain to justifying faith. Faith too is God's work of grace, but not in the distinction between trust and the fruit of love. Rather both, which is not in itself incorrect, are taken together. From this conjunction, what we call faith turns into agreement with the truth (intellectually). So faith's function is not primarily justification, but the extirpation of natural ignorance. Faith justifies only when it is activated through love. For that reason, justification is also not the forgiveness of sins (forgiveness of sins obtains only in universal justification, which however is not so called), but the cancellation of sin in a mechanical sense (*justitia infusa*). To achieve salvation though, it is further necessary to persevere in faith by means of the *donum perseverantiae*. That sin is conceived of as μη ον, grace as irresistible, righteousness as *infusa*, faith as intellectual, and that the whole efficacy of God is developed to the point of *praedestinatio ad damnationem* (even if only incidentally), these are Neoplatonic elements, but attached with the mystic woof to the naturalistic doctrine of salvation dominant until then, and the ascetic temperament. Augustine developed the doctrine of salvation of the Greeks, but did not overcome what was wrong with it.

l.   2. He pursued these ideas further in the **doctrine of the church**. She is the external, visible mediatrix of salvation. One must belong to her, must make use of the means of grace administered by her, and perform her works. Through baptism, one attains to emancipation from original sin; through works, forgiveness of daily sins. Augustine of course does not share the vulgar perception of his time. He knows the church invisible too, and presents authority, possession of the spirit, and efficacy of salvation as dependent not on hierarchical constitution, but on Word and sacrament. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are visible signs of the invisible grace of God and are effective, not as magical agents, but it is rather the accompanying Word of God, which the recipient must believe, that communicates grace. For that reason, the efficacy of the means of grace does not depend on the worthiness of the priest. Again, however, baptism and ordination enable the priest to communicate grace through the means of grace, and also prevent him from ever losing this competence. The prophecy of the millennium Augustine applied to the church, and, for him, what that comes down to is that the church's domination of the world is the goal of history, an idea the papacy and also Calvinism, in its external Augustinian version, have adopted. But with it, in this instance, ancient chiliasm (the doctrine of Christ's return to earth to reign for 1000 years) was decisively overcome for the Catholic church. In Augustine we find an amalgam of biblical thoughts and of ideas arising from views then commonly in vogue, and withal, a fervent believing fundamental position brought about by the Gospel.

m.   So, on the surface, as his ideas appear in his books, they hardly represent Paul's Gospel. One can nevertheless understand how in Augustine Pauline perspectives express themselves in the thought patterns of his own time, and that the people, who heard these ideas in context with the Gospel stories, held simply to the narratives, and thus were led nearer to Pauline ideas than by the style of explanation employed until then. On the other hand, though, it is also clear that Augustine's studies did not make the papacy impossible, as it is conversely true that Catholic theology never really understood Augustine. Had he lived in the time of the Reformation, he would have declared himself f*or* Luther. (61.)

§61. The Testing of This Theology in the Donatist and Pelagian Controversy, 412-431.

a.   This Augustinian theology tested its strength against two opponents. Against **the Donatists**, Augustine applied his concept of the church, and developed it in the conflict. Around 400 a schism arose among the Donatists. The grammarian Tichonius had for some time advocated a milder practice, and was supported in this view by the Roman partisan Optatus of Mileve. The bishop Primian of Carthage belonged to this movement too, but had to back down before the rigorist Maximian. In Hippo too the Donatists had the upper hand and opposed the Catholics with such force that in 404 Augustine had to appeal to the emperor for protection. And the emperor stepped in, exiling the Donatists and closing their churches. In 411 a *collatio cum Donatistis* took place, presided over by the imperial commissar Marcellinus (286 Catholic and 279 Donatist bishops) which concluded with a victory for Augustine. The Donatists now lost all civil rights, and their assemblies were proscribed under penalty of death.

b.   The doctrine of sin and grace found its opponent in **Pelagius**. A British monk, he came to Rome around 400 and together with his friend Celestius spoke up against the moral depravity in the capital. He was familiar with the Greek language and Greek theology, and lectured on the latter in unvarnished Western terms.

c.   Man is created mortal by God. Only eternal death is the penalty for sin. Adam's fall did not alter human nature, but even now, at birth, it is without sin and without virtue, free to decide. Seduction by environmental evil, example, and habit make it hard to remain sinless. But the grace of God makes it easier. Hence grace is only relatively necessary, due to the universality of sin. Grace consists in revelation, forgiveness of sin by baptism, strengthening of moral power by stimulation of the Law. Man must render himself worthy of grace, by virtue. For this, Christ is the perfect model.

d.   Pelagius and Celestius expressed these ideas with impunity in Rome and, in 410, in Carthage. But when Celestius applied for a position as presbyter, he was successfully accused by the Milanese deacon Paulinus at a synod convention. Pelagius at the time was in Jerusalem with **John**. Celestius moved to Ephesus, and there became a presbyter. Then when the literary controversy directed against the two friends extended to the Orient, John stood by Pelagius. **Jerome**, however, sent the Spanish presbyter Orosius to Palestine, and at the synods at Lydda and Jerusalem in 415, the Orientals acquitted Pelagius after he had renounced Celestius and professed the Trinity and the necessity of grace.

e.   **Augustine** advised the Orientals that they had been deceived, and two synods in Africa, Carthage and Mileve, condemned Pelagius in 416, and also appealed to Innocent of Rome. Innocent recommended clemency to the bishops if the accused were to repent. His successor Zosimus, a Greek, however, took sides with Pelagius, but for all that had to yield to the *sacrum rescriptum* of Honorius and the **energetic protest** of the synod of Carthage in 418, accept its canons, and recommend the same to all Western bishops. Eighteen Italian bishops refused and were deposed, among them **Julian of Eclanum**, who charged Augustine with Manichaeanism because of the doctrine of original sin. He contested in his partly Aristotelian, partly Stoic view for a moralistic rationalism, and so rejected Augustine's doctrine of original sin in the interest of the right of marriage and of sexual desire, to the point that he ascribed concupiscence even to Christ. In this way, monkish practice controlled the interpretation of these central doctrines and carried even correct concepts to extremes which might otherwise have been avoided. Now when Honorius had removed the Pelagians from Italy, they went to the Orient. The Antiochians, chiefly Theodore of Mopsuestia, accepted them, since the Pelagians had done no more than promulgate Greek doctrine; by 428 the fugitives were with Nestorius in Constantinople.

§62. The Deviation of Augustinianism in the Semi-Pelagian Controversy, 427-529.

a.   Notwithstanding, the victory of Augustinianism was not general, and lasted only a short while. In southern Gaul, where, as late as the 4th and 5th centuries, one last blossom of ancient culture was blooming, contributing its share to church life too in the hymns of that time, but also declaring itself against the Roman claims of primacy, an opponent of Augustinian doctrine was growing up who would one day command the field. Already by 427 the monks of Hadrumentum in North Africa had fallen into lax practices thanks to their misinterpretation of the doctrine of predestination, insomuch that Augustine had to set them straight. Whereupon John **Cassian** of Massilia accused Augustine himself of laxity.

b.   Since Irenaeus' time, in southern Gaul there was a closer bond with Asia Minor and with the Antiochians. That might explain why Cassian, while speaking up against Pelagius in his extreme assertions, still had no doctrine of original sin of his own, but maintained that man possesses the ability to prepare himself for grace. In Cassian's view, grace does not work irresistibly. Foreseeing persevering faith, God appointed to salvation those who possess it. Man must attribute his salvation or damnation to himself.

c.   Two lay friends of Augustine, **Hilarius** and **Prosper Aquitanus**, stood opposed to the Massilian, even after the death of their champion. They turned in 431 to Celestine of Rome. But when Celestine failed to take a stand, Prosper himself wrote *contra Collatorum* (Cassian), but now himself also softened down the severities of the doctrine. This view appeared in even sharper definition in an ingenious book, *De vocatione gentium* (God calls people from all nations and in all times), of anonymous authorship.

d.   From the other camp appeared the publication ***Praedestinatus***. This document harshly set forth and refuted Augustine's doctrine as represented under 90 false doctrines. What turned the tide at last was the article of **Vincentius of Lerinum**, a disciple of Cassian, *Commonitorium pro catholicae fidei antiquitate et universitate*, discarding the Augustinian doctrine with the proposition since then commonly accepted in the Catholic church:

Magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est [More than anything we must be concerned about maintaining what is everywhere and always believed by everyone]. In the Middle Ages the term **Semi-Pelagianism** came into use to designate this school of thought. (63.)

3. The Fragmentation of the East in the Christological Controversy.
§63. The Christological Problems.

a.   The Arian controversy had established the unity of God and the divinity of Christ in the perception of the theologians. Even the Antiochians had accepted these views. But the interrelationship of the two natures in Christ still remained in question. Two attempts to define the relationship had been dismissed as early as 381, the attempt of Paul of Samosata (impersonal Logos, an energy of God, which, not corporeally but somehow ethically, joined Jesus in external union in the unity of the will), and that of Apollinaris of Laodicaea. The latter taught that the human nature of Christ lacked the Spirit, the carrier of the personality, hence not of a complete nature, and that following the union, Christ had only one nature, not divine, not human, but an intermediate between the two. Thus on the one hand, the single person was preserved, on the other, the predominance of the divine. The Synod of Constantinople, however, could not surrender the completeness of the human nature in contradistinction to Docetism, and so Apollinaris was condemned.

b.   There were now the three schools, the Neo-Alexandrians, the Neo-Antiochians, and the Western. The representatives of the **Alexandrian school** were Cyril of Alexandria (412-444), a nephew and pupil of his predecessor Theophilus, a power-hungry, reckless man, less politically minded than his uncle, but all the more aggressive. His writings are: 1. Exegetical commentaries, 17 books on worship in spirit and in truth, 13 books on touches of elegance (γλαφυρα); 2. Dogmatic: Against the Arians, the Anthropomorphites, Julian, and Nestorius; 3. Four homilies, 87 epistles. Somewhat more moderate was Isidore, abbot of Pelusium (440; from him a valuable collection of letters).

c.   The ruling party of the **Neo-Alexandrians** nevertheless held to the one idea of Apollinaris, which was not as yet controversial, that of the one nature. They talked about the physical union (ενωσις φυσικη). They taught that there were two natures, but only before the union, and in the abstract. Afterwards, there was only one incarnate nature of the Logos. The Cappadocians, to be sure, distinguished between the natures, but spoke of a commingling (καταμιξις). Cyril of Alexandria taught that he was of, but not in, two natures. This is, of course, not to be understood in the Monophysite sense, as developed later. The concepts of nature and **person** had not yet been clearly defined. These people were wrestling with the concepts and expressions, just as they had earlier in the Monarchian and Arian controversies. But what impelled them, on the one hand, was the speculative and, in fact, spiritualizing tendency of their school, on the other, their doctrine of salvation, which turned entirely on the deification of the human element.

d.   The **Antiochians** of the new school, founded in the meantime, had an exegetical, historical interest in the human figure of Christ as portrayed in the Gospels. For that reason, they adhered to the completeness and unchangeable essence of the human nature of Christ before, as after, the union, and were opposed to any commingling of the natures. In this they were anxious to emphasize God's immutability and independence, as opposed to any creatureness. For that reason they adhered to the two complete and personal natures. Of course, they wanted to discuss only the one personal nature after the incarnation, so they termed it ενωσις σχετικη, συναφεια, a union which occurs by co-existence and co-operation, not ενωσις φυσικη, a union of substance; but then again they spoke of such a union in which the same attitude and energy are present. And because for them the requirement of the moral life in the imitation of Christ sufficed for salvation, they felt no need to accept any deification. Consequently, they were indifferent to the communication of attributes.

e.   The founder of this school was **Diodorus of Tarsus** (d. 394), who as the Nicaean champion against

Arianism was persecuted, but was esteemed by Basil the Great. His disciple, **Theodore of Mopsuestia** (d. 428), another champion of Nicaean orthodoxy, became the most important teacher of this school. In interpretation, he clearly opposed the allegorical perception of Scripture, then generally dominant. In soteriological questions he sided with Pelagius. Hence he could speak also of a sinful nature, which, wholly saturated by the Logos, was a model and prototype of salvation. Theodore was a boyhood friend of Chrysostom and a disciple of Diodorus and of Libanius. His commentaries are mostly lost; meager dogmatic fragments survive from the Pelagian conflict. Theodore's disciple was **Theodoret of Cyros** on the Euphrates (ca. 390-460). Of his works these remain: 1. commentaries; 2. a church history and a collection of monastic biographies; 3. apologetic work: *De curandis Graecorum affectibus*; 4. polemical writings: *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, in the spirit of Epiphanius; 5. dogmatic works: 10 lectures on providence, *Eranistes*, and his principal polemic against Cyril. One cannot escape the impression that there was a strong rationalistic current running through the thought of the Antiochians, though one must give them credit too for at least wrestling with conceptions and terminology. It would be unfair on that account to discount all of the results of their way of presenting things, and cast these in their teeth as false doctrine.

f.   The **Occidentals** were better prepared, by the aversion of their practical nature to speculation and by the deeper Augustinian doctrine of salvation, to help this problem along to solution, even though they sided at first with the Alexandrians (Augustine speaks of *mixtura*). But they also used Tertullian's juristic term of person and substance (potential), and the idea that one person can have two substances (juristic, economic transformation of a metaphysical concept). The spokesman of this school of thought was **Leo the Great** (440-461). His legacy is 96 sermons and 173 epistles, the latter a valuable source for contemporary history.

g.   Dating from this time we have the *Historia Lausiaca* by Palladius, a monk of the Nitrian desert and later bishop in Galatia. Additionally, 1,000 epistles and 200 aphorisms of Nilu*s,* a prominent government official in Constantinople, later a resident on Sinai. These two collections are important for monastic history. Surviving too from this time is the continuation of *"Eusebius"* by Socrates and Sozomenus, both legal advisers in Constantinople until around the mid-fifth century.

h.   Still other problems mingled in with these doctrinal problems. There was the old rub between Alexandria and Constantinople and between Constantinople and Rome, which played a role and which worked in Rome's favor. Then often the style of piety peculiar to the time was the determining factor. The monks for the most part took sides with the Alexandrians, because it was through the Alexandrians that monasticism had grown to be a major influence. On the other side, the struggle against the Marian cult took hold among the laity, and even among the monks, and engendered an aversion to the term "mother of God" among many at this time. Otherwise the people held to their bishops or schools on a national basis.

i.   From this welter of counter-movements two doctrinal controversies arose concerning the person of Christ, both eventually decided by Rome's authority, at first in the interest of Alexandria, later in the interest of the Antiochian side. (64.)

§64. The Dyoprosopian or Nestorian Controversy, 428-444.

a.   In Constantinople, the patriarch **Nestorius**, an Antiochian, had come to the defense of his presbyter Anastasius, who had protested against the term "mother of God" (θεοτοκος), and instead used "mother of man" (Ανθρωποτοκος), and recommended "mother of Christ" (Χριστοτοκος). Laymen and monks rose up against this. **Cyril of Alexandria** condemned the term Χριστοτοκος in an Easter epistle in 429. Following an irate correspondence, both opponents, Cyril and Nestorius, appealed submissively in 429 to **Celestine in Rome**, who, because the Pelagians had found acceptance in Constantinople, was out of sympathy with Nestorius and leaned toward Cyril. Juvenal of Jerusalem and Memnon of Ephesus, and Pulcheria, whom he

had offended by unjustified allegation, turned against Nestorius too. Eudokia and Theodosius supported him. Then Cyril issued twelve anathemas at an Alexandrian synod in 430. Nestorius responded with 12 counter-anathemas. But at the **third ecumenical council convened in 431 at Ephesus** by both emperors, the situation changed. At the beginning, the Syrians were absent. Memnon and Cyril, accompanied by lay nurses and sailors, conducted a synod with their supporters, against the objection of the imperial commissars, and deposed Nestorius. This occurred with the approval of the Roman legates, who in this instance had been sent with the express understanding that the Roman bishop would not consult with the others, but would reserve the power of decision for himself. When John of Antioch arrived later with the Syrians, they excommunicated Cyril and Memnon at a counter-council with the consent of the imperial commissars. But in Constantinople, the emperor's attitude had grown amenable to Pulcheria. He allowed all three dismissals to stand, yet Cyril and Memnon were soon permitted to return, while Nestorius remained banished. Influenced by the Antiochians, however, the emperor at last insisted on a formula for union, most likely composed by **Theodoret**. Cyril subscribed to it in 433, but Nestorius remained in exile, and died in 440.

b. After Cyril's victory in Ephesus in 431, Mariolatry enjoyed a significant revival, a result less of doctrine than of the expectations of pagan life. Cyril succeeded, moreover, in spite of his submission to the formula for union, in winning general acceptance of his thesis, insomuch that at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the *conciliabulum* of Cyril in Ephesus in 431, counted as the official synodical convention, when at the time it convened it was perceived otherwise. Even John of Antioch abandoned Nestorius and in 435 compelled his bishops to recognize the union. The strict Antiochians emigrated to Persia.

c. When Nestorius was exiled, Cyril also staged a condemnation of the deceased founders of the Antiochian school; and one of his subordinate bishops, Rabulas of Edessa in Mesopotamia, tried to purge the local theological school of Antiochian teachers. Ibas was one of them. The emperor forestalled all of this. Ibas in fact became Rabulas' successor. But his epistle, which at the time he addressed to Mares of Hardaschir in Persia, provided a basis for Nestorianism in Persia.

d. The aging Theodosius, however, fell increasingly under the influence of Pulcheria, and through her under that of the Alexandrian bishop. Cyril's successor, Dioscurus, behaved like the pope of the Orient. This led to the second doctrinal controversy concerning the person of Christ, which established the other aspect, that of the humanity of Christ. (65.)

§65. The Monophysite or Eutychian Controversy, 444-451.

a. Eutyches, an archimandrite in Constantinople, and a friend of Cyril's successor, **Dioscurus of Alexandria**, taught that in the one nature of the God-man the body was not equal in essence to ours. Domnus of Antioch and **Theodoret** indicted him before the emperor, but Dioscurus succeeded in swaying Chrysapius, the chamberlain, and Eudokia in his favor. The archimandrite was nevertheless deposed in 448 at an endemic synod (composed of bishops who happened to be in the capital just then), under the chairmanship of Flavian of Constantinople.

b. Both Eutyches and Flavian appealed to **Leo I of Rome**. In a brief to Flavian in 449, Leo developed the doctrine that Christ is one person, but in two complete, uncombined, independently active natures. In connection with Leo's conception of the significance of the Roman episcopal see, it is possible that the aggressive style of Alexandria contributed to this decision.

c. At a synod in Ephesus in 449, with Dioscurus presiding, Dioscurus' mob of monks fomented several tumultuous brawls. That Flavian, and even the Roman legates, were so ill-treated that Flavian died a few days later, is an exaggeration. But the synod did declare Eutyches to be orthodox, and did depose Flavian. Further depositions of Antiochians followed. Leo protested energetically to the emperor against this **"robber synod."**

Right at this time too in Constantinople, relationships were shifting around, insomuch that Eudokia left the court, and Pulcheria's influence again shaped events. Theodosius died in 450, and Pulcheria directly acceded to the throne with Marcian. Beset with perils as was the political situation of the empire, with Attila threatening in the North, a schism between East and West was unthinkable. Pulcheria in 451 **convoked the fourth ecumenical council** at **Chalcedon**. The bishops were mostly of Cyril's mind, but Rome's influence was potent. Amid stormy arguments, but under the pressure of imperial authority, Dioscurus was deposed, Cyril's synodical brief against Nestorius and Leo's epistle were declared the basic standard for the discussions, Nestorianism and Eutychianism were condemned, and the dogma was accepted that Christ is **one** divine-human person in **two** natures which are united **unmingled** (ασυγχυτως) and **unchanged** (ατρεπτως), but also **undivide**d (αδιαιρετως) and **unseparated** (αχωριστως).

d.   That is the way they overcame the one-sidedness of the Alexandrians and Antiochians, and the Roman position won the day. But simultaneously, in the 28th canon, reinstating the third canon of 381, the rank right after Rome and the right to consecrate the bishops of Thrace, Pontus, and Asia were conferred on the Patriarch of Constantinople. And this move checked Rome's arrogance for a while. The whole complex of events gives the impression that imperial politics was heavily decisive. Nonetheless, a clean perception of the person of Christ, free from speculation, had then and there carried off the victory. (72).

e.   Leo the Great is really the one who put together all the doctrinal ideas as the ancient church had set them forth. You can see this most clearly in his explanation of the doctrine of salvation. In it, he expounds the universal meaning of the person of Christ as go-between and model. When Christ became a man, a new life principle was born in worn-out mankind. In this act, the free goodness of God was revealed more wonderfully than when he made the world. Christ's suffering and death are our own. They mean victory over the devil and death, healing of wounds, absolution of guilt, reconciliation with God, returning to the Father, being taken back as a child of God, being born again through the Holy Spirit, a pledge of the glory to be shared. So far, this is the way the Greek mind generally sized it up. But now Leo goes on to say: doctrine and admonition were not enough to free us from the slavery of sin. It took an actual redemption, a sacrifice, to satisfy the Law of God (in this connection, the doctrine of the two natures in Christ is important to him). This is the way Christ became both sacrifice and priest. Then Leo also comes to how we make salvation our own by faith. But there his thoughts begin to be confused. What is missing in the ancient church was the clear picture of sin as guilt. Even Gregory the Great did not get that far. And they never touched on how the Holy Spirit works at all. - Literature: **Leo the Great**: 96 sermons; 173 epistles. **Prudentius**: *Liber Cathemerinon; Liber Peristephanon; Contra Symmachum*; *Psychomachia*.

4. The Rising Idea of Roman Primacy.
§66. The External Circumstances of Rome.

a. In all these vicissitudes the Roman church stood a solid tower. In the soteriological controversy, Augustine had raised the church's mind to reach the apex of ancient doctrinal ideas, and the bishops of Rome had stood up against conquerors for country and commonalty. So the people accustomed themselves to regarding the Roman bishop not only as spiritual father, but also as secular protector and lord. Presently too the Roman bishops adopted a far more demanding tone, which finally prevailed.

b.   This state of affairs in general conspired to this end. Once the doctrine of the apostolic office had been established under the influence of legalism, and with the breakdown that affected all relationships, ecclesial structures naturally strove toward the centralization of power. The central powers of metropolitans, high metropolitans, patriarchs had emerged. By this time Rome, Constantinople, and Alexandria stood pre-eminent. By 451, Alexandria had dropped out permanently. As for the two remaining cities, all advantages lay on the

side of **Rome**. It was after all the ancient imperial and world capital. While the Roman bishop gained freedom of movement when the imperial court transferred to Byzantium, and appeared as the bastion of ecclesial freedom, the bishop of Constantinople remained merely a court bishop. Inasmuch as the adoration of saints had become widespread, the fact that Rome was the only western apostolic establishment with graves of the Apostles and, as people now believed, the bishopric of Peter, was bound to tip the scale. Added to this, the Roman congregation, or better stated now, the Roman bishop, as a major landowner, was wealthy and had generously supported many congregations, mainly in the East. In the storms of folk-migrations which now followed, the Roman bishops intervened to maintain order and to rescue the culture. The Roman bishops, moreover, had in decisive moments cast their sensible doctrinal conceptions into the scale, under the influence of Roman conservatism, against Greek subjectivism and individualism. Lastly, what came into play was the appetite for power on the part of the Roman bishops, ever increasing as opportunity presented itself. Already at this time, this gained for Rome the position of the papal see, although the idea was far from being generally accepted, even in the West.

§67. The Bishops.

a.   Siricius had already claimed, not just the supreme right of legislation, but also the supreme right of administration for the West. North Africa of course would hardly stand for that. Nor indeed would Northern Italy submit, with its imperial city of Milan, and with its Ambrosian legacy. Under **Innocent** (402-417), however, the imperial residence moved to Ravenna, and along with it the radiance of Milan vanished. The North Africans needed Innocent in their struggle against the Pelagians, and Theophilus of Alexandria as well as Chrysostom and others consulted him. So he interpreted the Sardicensian canon, which applied only to the West and to Julius I, as normative in all legal questions of the bishops and considered it to be Nicaean. He dared to call himself the *Rector ecclesiae Dei*, after he had named the bishop of Thessalonica his vicar, insomuch that Augustine could declare that *Roma locuta, causa finita* [Rome has spoken, the case is closed].

b.   To be sure, Zosimus (417-418) weakly gave way in the Pelagian controversy, and for this was given a deliberate snub from the North Africans in the case of the deposed Apierius. Celestine (422-432) followed Boniface (419-422). The North Africans rebuffed him in the same issue, but then, in the Nestorian controversy, he sided with Cyril of Alexandria, and his legates in Ephesus acted as arbitrators in the doctrinal controversy. Sixtus III (432-440) was able to celebrate the complete victory of the doctrine. In North Africa the government soon fell under the control of the Vandals, and the defenseless church willingly submitted to the Roman bishop. In Gaul, at **Arles**, a Roman curacy was set up, as earlier in Spain and Illyrium.

c.   **Leo I the Great** (440-461) was supremely fashioned, as a person, to be a church prelate, having remarkable endowments as a statesman and being an excellent teacher and preacher. We may justly call him the **first pope**, if this title, which formerly all bishops carried, now implies the idea of Roman supremacy. Theoretically, Leo made the church dependent on the Roman bishop by his interpretation of Mt. 16:18, as if Peter, as the rock of the church, had stood above the Apostles, and as if Rome, the world capital, must also be the capital of the church. Practically speaking, he reigned over the Occident in that he imposed censures undisputed, deposed Hilary of Arles who had gone independent, and for reasons of state had the Gallic bishops subordinated to himself by Valentinian. Along with this, he falsified the 6th canon of Nicaea by giving it the title: *De primatu ecclesiae Romae* and the incipit: *Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum* [The Roman Church has always had primacy]. Even beyond this, Leo's influence extended far to the East. In fact, Flavian of Constantinople at the Robber Synod in 449 appealed to him, and the Council of Chalcedon in 451 accepted his epistle as the basis for the doctrinal discussion. Lastly, he represented the defense of the old Roman ideal and of ancient paideia as against the Huns and Vandals, so that the legends about his imposing prowess against

the barbarians were able to develop. (75.)

d. For all of that, the general decline going on in this period is evident, and to the keen-eyed it explains the peculiar form of the blossom-time described above, and its incidental merits. **Classical culture was in decline**. Signaling the decline is the very fact that one last late blossom should sprout in barbarian Southern Gaul, so close to the Germans who were pressing forward.

e. The **church** contributed to this decline. Legalism, ever more pervasive in conception, perception, and external development and intercourse is proof of that **moribund mentality**, when both individual vigor and also free public spirit faded away, and as a result, a central power like the incipient papacy was the only agency that could hold the external structures together for a while. This explains too why the significant power of Augustine failed to penetrate the Gospel any deeper than it did. Hence too the artificiality that characterizes various activities in the church: philosophy and rhetoric in preaching, which in this way lost its influence; the unavailing contrived attempts made in the area of congregational song and singing; politicized machination in doctrinal and constitutional formulation, at and between synodical conventions; and lack of conviction, ambition, want of sensitivity to the truth, and fanaticism—and these in fact frequently found in evidence among those fighting for the truth. Little wonder that paganism seeped into the church in every area of life, ever more widely and at an ever faster rate: veneration of saints, martyrs, and Mary; worship of the cross, relics, and statuary; miracle mania; *cura pro mortuis* [prayers for the dead]; Eucharistic sacrifices; and immorality.

C. The Beginning of the Fragmentation of the Imperial Church, 451-519.
§68. The Situation in the East.

a. By this time the great Theodosius' dynasty had died out. In the East other **dynasties of generals** came to the throne. In the West, it was always only individuals whose reign the **Ostrogoths** would soon terminate. Thus there was no continuity in an imperial family. Added to this were the ecclesiastical **union policies** of the Eastern emperors who attempted to keep their bearings in the confusion of the Monophysite divisions with these measures, while the national powers gathered strength in their struggle against the rhetoric of imperial politics in Monophysitism. These policies then led also to **schism between East and West.**

b. **Bloody divisions.** The Chalcedon symbol had not brought about a peace. Everywhere in the East Monophysitism [that Christ had but one nature, partly human, partly divine] was springing up. In Palestine there was the banished Eudokia*;* in Alexandria, Timothy Aelurus took the place of the Chalcedon-minded Proterius who had been murdered*;* in Antioch, the monk Peter Fullo acted as local metropolitan. The latter accordingly added the formula: "God who was crucified on our behalf" (θεος ο σταυρωθεις δι' ημας); to the *Trishagion* (the triple *Sanctus* in the liturgy, Is. 6:2). All this turmoil occurred with bloody popular uprisings. Marcian's successor was the general Leo I, the Thracian (457-474). He in turn banished the Monophysites. His son-in-law Zeno followed suit, assuming regency for the young Leo II (d. 474), then reigning in his own name. These emperors hoped to keep alive the idea of the single empire allied with the single church.

c. **Attempts at union.** The emperor's brother-in-law Basiliscus in 475 rose to the position of sovereign with the help of the Monophysites, and in 476 issued **the *Encyclion*** which, under counterfeit Nicaean guise, raised Monophysitism to the state religion and prohibited the Chalcedon symbol. When Zeno regained sovereignty (476-491) by a Dyophysite [dual nature in Christ] counter-revolution, he sought to check the Monophysites with the ***Henoticon*** in 482. This edict agreed essentially with the *Encyclion* except that it did not explicitly condemn the Chalcedon symbol.

d. **The schism (484-519).** Because of this union, Felix III of Rome (484-492) suspended church fellowship with Acacius of Constantinople in 484, mainly because that prelate had also assumed the title of ecumenical

patriarch. The strict Monophysites in Alexandria however went farther, in renouncing the local unionistic bishop Peter Mongus, and hence were called acephalics (headless ones). In the reign of Zeno's successor, the Monophysite emperor Anastasius (491-518), a controversy again arose regarding that formula in the *Trishagion* in Constantinople, the **Theopaschite Controversy of 508-516.**

e.   The monk Severus (from the monastery of Peter the Iberian in Antioch) traveled to Constantinople in 508, declared himself in favor of the *Henoticon*, and made the theopaschite (the suffering of God) formula of the *Trishagion* official, and became the patriarch of Constantinople in place of Flavian, the successor of Macedonius, who was expelled after a popular uprising was initiated to support him, but was then suppressed. In Palestine however the monk **Sabbas** and his associates opposed this action, and in 516 the Dyophysite general Vitalian compelled the emperor to reintroduce the Chalcedon formula, and to make peace with Rome. But this effort came to nothing, thanks to the ruthlessness of Pope Hormisdas, who claimed authority over Constantinople. (82.)

f.   The Nestorian church. When the Nestorian school in Edessa was closed due to the *Henoticon*, its teachers migrated to Nisibis in **Persia** where, under their leader Jazelik (*Katholicos*) the Nestorians were tolerated from that time on. In fact, as opposed to the Monophysitism of the later imperial church, the Persian church on the whole became Nestorian.

This turn of events contributed to the political disestablishment of the East. Around 400, **Armenia** was apportioned half to the Roman, half to the Persian empire. The Armenians in 505 adopted Monophysitism at the Synod of Dvin.

§69. The Situation in the West.

a.   Meanwhile in the West, **the empire entered its last stages.** Following the death of Valentinian a series of individuals reigned, most of them promoted by Germanic generals: Maximus, 455; Avitus, 456; Majorianus, 461; Severus whom **Ricimer** the Rugian general supported, in 465; Ricimer, 467, his father-in-law; Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius, 472; Nepos, 475; and Romulus Augustulus, 476. **Odoacer** the Scyrian, who had displaced Romulus, now made himself king of Italy (476-493), and then was assassinated by the Ostrogoth **Theodoric**.

Under Odoacer, Syagrius, the last of the ancient Romans, governor of that part of Gaul not belonging to the Burgundians or the Visigoths, but separated from the Roman empire by these two nations, had lost the battle of Soissons in 486 against Clovis the Frank, and thus this last portion of Gaul fell to the Franks.

b.   Theodoric (493-525), king of the Ostrogoths in Moesia (the legendary Dietrich of Bern), was advised by the Emperor Zeno in 489 to attack Odoacer to forestall his advancing on Constantinople. As king of Italy, he left untouched the Roman institutions, and was at pains only to provide tranquility and security. Indeed, impoverished Italy began to revitalize itself economically. Art and science flourished. Hence Theodoric represented a sanctuary for a belated blossoming of ancient culture in the West. In his court his chancellor **Cassiodorus** and the philosopher Boethius became the conservators and transmitters of the ancient *paedeia* [training in culture]. For all that, Theodoric inclined less to Roman than to Germanic culture. His aim was to found an alliance of all Germanic nations. Besides this Gothic empire there were the other Gothic kingdoms in France and Spain, which Theodoric had supported against the Franks, partly in alliance with the Roman empire. When in 486 Syagrius lost in the battle at Soissons against **Clovis** the Frank, this spelled the end for the Roman empire in Gaul. England had already been independent of the empire since the Anglo-Saxon conquest in 449.

c.   Boethius and Cassiodorus fostered one final flowering of an education that was part secular, part Christian, in itself negligible, yet all the more significant for having transmitted ancient learning to the Middle Ages.

Boethius derived from prominent Roman stock, and attained to high offices of state under the Goths. But in 525 he was executed for high treason. He had translated into Latin and commented on Aristotle, Plato, Porphyrius and other authors, and in prison composed a book of consolation, *De consolatione philosophiae*. **Cassiodorus**, bearing the title of senator, served as prime minister to Theodoric and his successors till 540. Then he withdrew to the cloister Vivarium which he himself had founded in Bruttia, where in 583 he died. He organized the *Historia ecclesiae tripartita*, a Latin translation of Socrates, Sozomenus*,* and Theodoret*,* the history textbook of the Middle Ages.

§70. The Advancement of the Roman Church.

a.   In all these interfluctions, the **Roman church was abloom.** In Italy, Theodoric kept his distance from the bishop of Rome, the more so as long as the schism persisted. In so doing he helped the pretensions of the Roman bishops to spiral upwards. As Arians the Goths were still considered heathen conquerors. The commonalty looked up to the Roman bishop as to the protector of Christianity. And since the church had already for some time gained power in administering vast holdings, and the bishop of Rome had greatly augmented the expansion of the Roman congregation, and with it also of her holdings, he was able to help many people with this wealth.

   After Leo there followed Hilary (461-468), Simplicius till 483, Felix III till 492, Gelasius till 496, Anastasius I till 498, Symmachus till 514, Hormistas till 523, and John I till 526.

b.   Already at this time Gelasius (492-496) defined in a letter to Emperor Anastasius even more expressly than Augustine had done, the relationship of the *sacerdotium* [priesthood] with the *imperium* [authority of the imperial office] within the context of Roman pretensions. The "Gelasian decretal" established the orthodox tradition in rejection, for example, of Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Arnobius, and Lactantius. Anastasius II (496-498) seemed complacent toward Byzantium. Symmachus (498-514) held his own in bloody combat against his rivals in the occupation of the episcopal see, and received the written testimonial of the *Synodus palmaris* in 502, that he was the pope and as such one whom no one might criticize. (Theodoric, too, had involved himself in the election to his own advantage.) His successor Hormistas (514-523) restored peace with the East, including acknowledgment of the supremacy of Rome. Now when Emperor Justin I proceeded against the Arians in his realm, and Theodoric commissioned Bishop John I (523-526) as his legate to Byzantium, John I seems to have betrayed this trust. Theodoric had him imprisoned, only himself to die soon after.

c.   The Catholic church in **Ireland** and **France**. Already in 314 three bishops from the British church appeared at the synod at Arles. When Honorius withdrew troops from Britain in 400, and the Anglo-Saxons invaded in 449, the church was cut off from the continent and confined to **Wales**. In the 4th century this Christianity penetrated **Ireland** as well, and in fact by the agency of monks. At this time too (432), **Patrick**, son of a Roman decurion, is supposed to have guided Ireland into Romanism. In his youth he had fallen victim to Irish slavery. Once emancipated, he felt constrained to bring the Gospel to these people. By the time of his death in 459 the church of Ireland was flourishing. Prosper of Aquitaine relates how Pope Celestine is supposed to have consecrated the Roman deacon Palladius for Ireland. Some insist that Palladius and Patrick are the same person. Patrick's achievement seems only to have consisted in stimulating church life and perhaps in introducing the peculiarly Irish arrangement of designating the **abbot** rather than the bishop as in charge. (The abbot might himself act as bishop, but as it turned out it was usually one of the monks, and he performed only sacramental functions such as confirmation, consecration, and other rites. In the absence of cities, the provincial congregation settled around the cloister, where the abbot performed the office of the bishop.)

d.   In the West, on the continent only the jurisdiction of Syagrius in Gaul still remained Catholic. The

Visigoth kingdom, which Athaulf and Wallia had founded in 415, and which had expanded out over Gaul and the larger part of Spain under Euric (d. 483), remained Arian. But true to Gothic customs they did not bother the Catholics. Similarly, the Vandals, who had migrated to Spain with the pagan Suevi and Alani in 406, were Arians. When in 429 they crossed over to Africa they initiated the persecution of the Catholics there, and in this aggression finally went to pieces themselves. The Suevi, left behind in Spain, became Catholics there, but under the Goths in 465 turned Arian. The Burgundians were originally Catholic when they were still situated around Worms. Later in the Jural district, they became Arians. The Alemanni persecuted the Catholics on both sides of the Mediterranean and in the regions of the upper Rhine. But when **Clovis** turned Catholic in 496 at the insistence of his Burgundian consort Chlotilda*,* and was baptized by Remigius of Reims, and thereupon smote the Alemmani at Zülpich, the Burgundians in 500, and the Visigoths in 507, all these defeated were immediately won over to the Catholic persuasion. This secured Northern Europe for Catholicism (as opposed to Arianism), and at once ensured the decline of the Arian faith as well as of the Gothic world.

III. Decay of the Imperial Church and Transition to the Middle Ages, 519-692.
A. The Reunification of East and West in State and Church, 519-565.
§71. Circumstances in Justinian's Time.

a.   The Monophysite conflicts had continued unabated in the East. During Emperor Anastasius' reign, the **Monophysites** enjoyed the upper hand, and as a result Egypt and Syria were lost to the Catholic confession. Consequently, dissatisfaction arose, particularly among the Greeks. The currents of the time spelled ruin for the empire and of the church. Yet the last structures of antiquity were not to collapse quite so abruptly. One more time the Catholic idea of a single church in a single world empire would be summed up in a single person and his outstanding achievements. To make this possible the **reunification** of the divided church as also of the divided empire was paramount. The reunification was the achievement of **Justinian**. Already as minister of public worship and education in the employ of his uncle Justin II (519-527), he had brought about church union and had driven out the Monophysite leaders Severus, Philoxenus of Hierapolis*,* and Julian of Halicarnassus. As emperor (527-565), he achieved political unification as well.

b.   From afar, this era creates an impression of greatness because of the reunification and what came of it. Nor, in a certain sense of the word, was greatness altogether missing. But as any time of absolutism proves inevitably to be, so it was here; both the wife of the emperor and the wife of his field marshal Belisarius, the person of Justinian himself and his field marshal Narses*,* and the circus factions in Constantinople, were typical of the prevailing circumstances and how these controlled them. The immoral women made fools of their husbands. Viewed objectively, Justinian and Narses were by themselves incompetent and frail fellows, but they knew how by cunning and guile to exploit more competent men and the circumstances. It was Belisarius who was the competent, intrepid man of this era, who nevertheless succumbed in this world of deception. The Greens and the Blues factions, sprung from inconsequential circus affairs concerning only Constantinople, were able to incite the dangerous **Nica rebellion of 432** simply because Theodora was a Blues devotee, bringing the whole empire to the brink of disaster. **It was an overripe culture.** The secular Greek culture yielded altogether to the spiritual and monastic educational philosophy of this time. (74).

§72. Justinian's Achievement.

a. Africa was **reconquered** in 534, Italy and Spain in 554, by Belisarius and Narses*,* because after the death of Theodoric, the Germanic conquerors had fallen into the German habit of separatism and adopting the worship forms of alien cultures (allowing themselves then to be taken in by them instead of mastering them.)

b.   **The empire was bound together** by legislation. Laws were passed against heretics. In 529 the school of

philosophers in Athens, the last bastion of ancient education, was closed, something that had never occurred to the previous, intellectually intenser time. But in the Peloponnesus, the Mainots and other pagans on Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily had preserved their freedom until 600. The culmination of the Byzantine state church was the renowned collection of laws of Tribonius, termed *Corpus civilis* since the 12th century (530-533). 1. *Codex Justinianeus*; 2. *Digests* or *Pandects*; 3. *Institutiones*; 4. Supplementary laws. **Resplendent church edifices** were built, particularly the **Church of St. Sophia** in Constantinople (dome style). Byzantinism (in art as in life) was later adopted only by Russia.

c.   Justinian's **politics of religion**. Stringent unity in orthodoxy and return of the Monophysites were his goals, while geographically the eastern provinces and Egypt threatened to crumble away from the empire. But Theodora, Monophysite-minded as she was, covertly resisted the emperor whenever she could. When he sent a Catholic mission to Nubia, she saw to it that Monophysitism was introduced. In Constantinople the Scythian monks, as they were called, helped her, a group who practiced their mode of sanctity under the tutelage of Leontius of Byzantium. They tried by means of an Aristotelian conceptual partition to harmonize the supposed contradictions of the Chalcedon symbol with which Cyril was accused, and to gain general acceptance for their Alexandrian master's meaning. With their help, Theodora in 533, for external reasons, persuaded the emperor to expand the *Trishagion* formula to read "one of the trio suffered in the flesh." To want to sing a line like that shows up the general untruthfulness of this era. Still, even John II of Rome (532-535) sanctioned this expanded formula. The closet-Monophysite Anthimu*s* became patriarch of Constantinople. Yet when Agapetus I of Rome (535-536) exposed these intrigues during his stay in the East, Justinian proceeded against the Monophysites with vigor. In order however to appease Egypt, the granary of the empire, he allowed himself to be convinced by Theodora to condemn the three chapters (τρια κεφαλεια), clauses from the writings of Antiocheans (Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas) in an edict of 544. The result was the **Three Chapters Controversy**, 544-553, when the infirm Vigilius of Rome (537-555) in his *Judicatum* (548) and the **5th Ecumenical Council of Constantinople** (553), bearing Vigilius' signature in spite of his more conciliatory *Constitutum ad imperatorem*, and with the signature of Pelagius of Rome (555-560), sided with the emperor against the Africans under the leadership of Reparatus of Carthage, Fulgentius Facundus, Facundus of Hermiane and Liberatus. The schism between North Africa and Rome was resolved only under Gregory the Great's papacy. (79.)

§73. The Consequences for Church and Theology.

a. The completion of state-churchianity under Justinian's rule saw **all independent intellectual life suppressed**. The theologian restricted himself to purely formal treatment of authoritative church doctrine and to mysticism. This of course was due not only to Justinian's legislation and church politics, but the whole range of customary dealings demonstrates that the intellectual life had been so dulled that nothing but such perfunctory activity remained. This dulling is a necessary concomitant of the course of human and church life, allowing the great achievements of antiquity to be preserved for a more mentally astute era. In the East, however, Neoplatonism again found expression through the writings of **pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite**. These writings come from an anonymous author and were written about 500: Περι της ουρανιας ιεραρχιας, on the heavenly hierarchy; Περι της εκκλησιαστικης ιεραρχιας, on the ecclesiastical hierarchy: Περι θειων ονοματων, on divine names; Περι μυστικης θεολογιας, on mystical theology.

b.   These writings were originally ascribed to Dionysius, whom Paul had converted in Athens. It can be proven from their intellectual content that they are dependent on the Neoplatonist Proclus (d. 485). Thus they may have originated in Alexandria around 500. They emerge for the first time at the beginning of the Monophysite disputations under Justinian, to play a role supporting the interests of the **Monophysites**.

Accordingly, they figure as the first of the important forgeries which became generally and decisively significant mainly in the Middle Ages.

c.   The **content** is as follows: God is the highest good, exalted above all being, and yet the author of all being. One can therefore attain to the knowledge of God in two ways, in ascending or descending sequence of thought. Proceeding from the idea that God is the origin of all things, one draws the conclusion that one must recognize these things as real, and again, consequently affirm them in reference to God (θεολογια καταφατικη, affirmative theology). If one proceeds upwards from the particulars of the world, however, and contemplates God, he then appears so far exalted above all things that mere things appear as nothing, and in reference to God one must negate them to the point of mute observation of God (θεολογικη αποφατικη, negative theology). In this thought system the soul immerses itself in the essence of God, and thereby mystically achieves union with God. But one attains to this estate by way of two sacred orders, the **hierarchies**, each of which again constitutes a triad. The heavenly hierarchy consists of: thrones, dominions, and principalities (**angels**). The earthly hierarchy consists of: bishops, priests, and deacons **(ecclesiastical office)**. These orders perform their activities in consecrations and mysteries. The course begins with baptism and finds fulfillment in the consecration of the dead. The consecrations achieve purification, enlightenment, and perfection. From this process there issue also three classes of Christians: the purified (catechumens), the enlightened (the congregation), and the perfected (the monks).

d.   One might say that these Dionysian writings represent the **classical synopsis** of the learned work of the ancient church. In their speculative composition they appear as Alexandrian, Greek. Yet, noting how they won their place in the Western church, it becomes clear that this speculative composition harmonizes exactly with Western Roman theology, even though this theology itself, owing to its practical character, made less use of it.

e.   The system employed in the ideology of these writings represents **mysticism**, directly allied with its peculiar doctrine of salvation, namely, that of quasi-physical union with God. The more externalized this originally innocent term became, and the more fixed in people's thinking, the more certainly it led to mysticism, and in consequence it exercised a telling influence on doctrine and life in the ancient church. It infected Christianity with a **morbidly passivist** character. Doctrinally, it led to one-sided coinage of the doctrines of God and Christ, which in Scripture encompass the whole world, and release and sanctify all the powers of life in the believer. Only the intellectual, speculative aspect in the doctrine of the Trinity and in Christology was affected, not the doctrine of Christ's work. In congregational life, it increasingly spurred on only the interests of the intellect and excited external activities. The moral impulse in faith and life, the actual activity in Christianity, could only waste away in the process.

f.   This **passivity** in turn manifested itself at two levels, the individual and the congregational. For any member of a congregation having accepted the doctrine, salvation was a certainty. This notion reflected the passivity of the multitude watching and listening in divine services. The Antiochians and Westerners cultivated such passivity, and it appeared then chiefly in the province of public worship. The other brand of passivity consisted in private contemplation within monasticism. In the first instance, this **activity** was reserved for the clergy, in the second for conventual supervisors, and it was prevalent for the most part in administration.

g.   The Dionysian writings epitomize both types, ritual mysticism and individual mysticism; and it is hardly by chance that this occurred in **Justinian's** time. For the reunification of empire and church at this time meant there was an urgency to summarize all of the results of ecclesiastical work done till then. The legal digests of Justinian spelled for the canons of old what the **pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita** did for the doctrine and the "piety" of the ancient church. From this one can understand how these writings, whose Monophysite character the Middle Ages never understood, could nevertheless have figured so prominently. At the same time, they give a glimpse into the innermost intellectual make-up of antiquity as well as of the Middle Ages, insomuch as

one can understand how, in spite of the withdrawal from the main content of the Gospel, that is, the doctrine of Christ's work and of the activity of the **Holy Spirit**, earnest, believing people could nevertheless walk along in this intellectual clothing, and still be Christians. The operation of the Gospel both upon the hearts of those who engage in these speculations, as well as on common people who could not digest these ideas at all, was quite a distinctive matter, and performed its work according to God's counsel.

h.   Meanwhile, in residence in Alexandria, the grammarian John Philoponus, who as a Monophysite and Aristotelian taught a lot of heresies, still gained authoritative recognition in the Middle Ages. In alliance with his efforts was the work of the Scythian monks in Constantinople.

i.   In the meantime the **Monophysites** broke up into countless factions, a sign that all unobserved, intellectual vigor had ceased to animate the times while marginal trivialities continued to do so. The factions included: 1. Julianists or Aphthartodocetites or Phantasiasts, and these again split into Actistetes and Ctistolatrians; 2. Severians, who in turn branched off from the Agnotetes; 3. Tritheites, who broke with Tetradites; 4. Philoponites, Cononites, Niobites: mental and religious over-strain. As late as 465 Justinian issued an edict in which he interceded for the Aphthartodocetites. **Nowhere had his union politics succeeded**. On the contrary, the opponents of the mega-church fortified themselves in their doctrinal position and made national churches of their churches, thus accelerating the rise of the Saracens and the crumbling of the empire. Only the Greeks in the Orient, as Melchites (Royalists), remained with the mega-church.

k.   The **Armenian** church had been Monophysite ever since the synod of Dvin in 505. In 536 even the Byzantine section of Armenia turned to Persia. The Persian church was Nestorian. From 541 to 578, the Syrian Monophysites organized themselves as Jacobites under the leadership of Jacob Baradai, a tirelessly zealous monk. They formed a monastic church, and functioned under the "patriarch of Antioch," who lived in Guba, and under the "maphrian" at Targit. The **Coptic church** took shape around 536, also under the influence of Jacob Baradai, and installed the Coptic "patriarch of Alexandria." In the following centuries, the **Syrian-Nestorian church** in Persia expanded as far as Peking in China, and to Dabag (Java?) under the name of Thomasian Christians. The **Abyssinian church** was Monophysite from its Egyptian beginnings. Justinian's consort Theodora had provided for this in **Nubia**. The Nubian Nestorian and the Abyssinian churches operated under the "abduna" of Abyssinia.

l.   **Theology and monasticism. Augustinianism** underwent a significant, yet only a partial, revival. The Scythian monks in Constantinople, inclined to Monophysitism, leaned away from Semi-Pelagianism, which made too much of Christ's humanity to suit them. But also in southern Gaul, Caesarius of Arles (d. 452), the most important western bishop of the time, declared himself an Augustinian. Under his influence in 529, the synod of Arausio (Orange) adopted 25 Augustinian propositions, but said nothing about predestination. By subscribing to these resolutions, Pope Boniface II (530-532) officially condemned Semi-Pelagianism. In fact, there was **nothing Augustinian** about any of these people. All they did was to accept the juristic form of the doctrine of salvation, and in this mode this doctrine passed into the Middle Ages. This was all to the good of the effectiveness of the Gospel. It took **Luther** to thoroughly rework the central Augustinian idea.

m.   **Monasticism** too progressed in setting a standard for the Middle Ages. **Benedict of Nursia** in central Italy in 529 founded a cloister on Monte Cassino in Campania, and bequeathed to it the *Regula Sancti Benedicti*. The abbot was in charge of the cloister, upon election by the brothers. He in turn appointed the *prepositus* and the deacons. The vow bound them to *stabilitas loci* (no transfers), *conversio morum* (poverty and chastity), and *oboedientia* to the abbot. Labor, agriculture, domestic service, and handicrafts, were the order of the day. Interspersed among these were the spiritual exercises in the 7 *horae*: *matins*, *prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, compline.* Hospitality, poor relief, conventual schools for the *pueri oblati*, boys who were supposed to become monks. Cassiodorus later introduced additional academic activities for the monks in his monastery, Vivarium,

and from that time onward the Benedictines devoted themselves to the collection and copying of ancient and Christian literature.

B. Actual Dissolution of the Imperial Church, 565-610.

§74. The Dissolution of the Empire.

Even though no one admitted the reality of the dissolution of the church, the fact was nevertheless manifest in the dissolution of the empire, in the church's turning toward the West, and in the severance of the Monophysite national churches in the East. In the East, the Persians stood poised as enemies of the empire, as did the Germans in the North, West, and South. Under Justinian's nephew Justin II (565-578), the Avari conquered the frontiers of the Danube, the Lombards under **Alboin** invaded Italy, while the exarchs, Narses and Longinus, offered no resistance, but instead suppressed the Romans. Justin was succeeded by his adoptive son, the general Tiberius (578-582). Tiberius was always tied up in the war against Persia. He, again, was succeeded by his adoptive son, the general Mauritius (582-602). The Lombards swept over the entire Italian peninsula, while starvation devastated Rome. When the emperor had, if nothing more, beaten back the Avari, he was assassinated by Phocas*,* his captain (602-610), and the latter himself then was hailed as an emancipator by Gregory the Great (76).

§75. Gregory the Great.

a. The dominant figure of this era, and in some degree the main product of the evolution of the ancient church, is **Gregory the Great** (590-604). He revitalized the papacy, to be sure only temporarily, yet epitomizing the results of the foregoing developments as the foundation for the coming centuries.

b. Gregory was a scion of senatorial stock in Rome. At first a *praefectus urbi*, he founded a number of monasteries, became a monk in one of these, then advanced to deacon, papal emissary (*apocrisarius*) in Constantinople, abbot, and in 590, pope. An earnest, energetic man, he managed, though without much originality, to associate his name with every significant enterprise of the time. During the Lombard crisis, when Byzantine dominion in Italy was limited, he recaptured for the Roman episcopacy the sovereignty it had once enjoyed at the time of Leo I. Now, however, thanks to his exceptional administration and by increasing patrimonies, he secured for the Roman see the secular dominion of Italy. By providing protection and assistance to the Roman populace during the epidemic in Rome and the withdrawal of the Lombards in 593, he gained recognition as the actual potentate of Italy in place of the feeble exarch.

c. In his conflict with John Jejunator (the Faster) of Constantinople, he renewed the age-old Roman claims to primacy. The Byzantine [bishop] had punished two clerics with physical chastisement. When they appealed to Gregory*,* he declared the accused to be orthodox, and took the opportunity to attack the title of the Byzantine [bishop] as ecumenical patriarch. In return, he ascribed to himself in a letter the right to determine the guilt of any bishop. Quite aside from this claim, he declared all bishops to be equal. In this way, he granted the Alexandrian bishop equal status with himself, and termed himself *servus servorum Dei* [servant of the servants of God].

d. He trained his eyes, moreover, on the Germanic nations, thus beginning the **shift of church history** in the Middle Ages **toward the Northwest**. The direct impulse in this direction lay in the afore-mentioned Lombard invasion of Italy under Alboin in 568. It did not take long before these invaders pushed their conquests to the southern tip of Italy, founded the duchies of Naples, Rome, Perugia, and Ravenna, and disenfranchised the inhabitants who resisted. According to the German custom, they were compelled, after about twenty years, to pay tribute to the alien culture. Gregory tried to intercede for them through **Theodelinde**, a Bavarian princess, the Catholic consort of King Authari. Her second husband Agilulf (d. 616) was still an Arian. Her daughter

Gundberga too, like her mother twice married to a king, Ariowald (d. 636) and Rothari (d. 656), was a protectress of the Catholic church. With Aribert (d. 663), Rothari's successor, nephew of Theodelinde, began the line of Catholic kings of the Lombards. But in this court the bishops wielded no political influence, not even the pope. (78).

§76. The Franks.

a. Partly because of these Lombards, most likely, Gregory's attention focused beyond Italy in the direction of France and England. In **France**, the freedom the church had enjoyed under the imperium because of her distant location was now curtailed. The king was lord of the church. He installed the bishops, and convoked the Frankish imperial synods. The Roman bishop, to whom the Gallic church was still particularly subservient, by Valentinian's decree, now had to be content with his spiritual diginity.

b. The Frankish rulers cared little for church matters. As a result, the ancient Roman Constantinian views of church exemption in secular law were suspended and only applied from case to case. The church was not tax-free on principle. She was however **wealthy in real estate**. This collateral had accrued from legacies from the great landowners who hoped to render satisfaction for their sins, but also from lesser ones who submitted themselves and their estates, inadequately protected as they were under Frankish law, to the church, for whom the Roman law in such cases remained in effect. The church was required to pay taxes on these legacies. Such property was termed a *precaria* (derived from *precarie*, that is, by means of prayer). Later, when this derivation was forgotten, and the farmers, the former owners, share-cropped the property only as usufruct, the term *precaria* acquired the connotation of that which is revocable. Since kings on the whole viewed the office of bishop from purely secular perspectives, and filled it with entirely worldly men, such bishops were in fact wholly drawn into the sphere of secular business.

c. Before the case of Syagrius came up, the Roman bishop had administered the jurisdiction in Gaul. But the Merovingians never thought of conceding this authority to him. Notwithstanding, the pope was considered the spiritual lord of the church. The **kings filled the bishoprics**, and early on accepted payment for appointment (simony). **Synods** were convoked by the king and became at the same time **imperial conventions**.

d. External religiosity was much in vogue among the Franks because to them Christ was not the Savior, but king and warlord. Of consciousness of sin there was little to be found among them, except in the despair that accompanies very serious crimes. Such despair might yield enormous bequests to the church. Hence too, morality was at low ebb: violence, immorality, rapacity. On account of rapacity, it was the church itself that often had to suffer from secularization, especially at the hands of the so-called independent churches, built on private grounds and under private protection. **Gregory of Tours** (d. 594) transmitted the information about this era in his "Ten Books of Frankish Tales." The Scots-Irish had penetrated these churches as missionaries. (77.)

e. It was then that **Gregory the Great** entered into alliance with the Franks, and, through them, with the **Anglo-Saxons**. Clovis' empire was apportioned to his four sons, with capitals at Soissons, Paris, Orleans, and Metz. Clovis' grandson Charibert of Paris gave his daughter **Bertha** in marriage to Ethelbert of Kent in England. Bertha converted her consort with the help of **Augustine**, the abbot who in 597, with 40 Benedictine monks sent by Gregory, secured this division of the church under the jurisdiction of the Roman bishop. This ensured the early establishment of the **bishopric of Canterbury**, and in Essex that of **London**.

f. At that very time war broke out between **Brunhild** of Metz and **Fredegunde**, the concubine of Chilperic of Soissons, whom the queen, the sister of Brunhild, had murdered, a war which, amidst ghastly murders, put the whole Frankish nation under arms. For all that, Gregory remained on friendly terms with Brunhild, perhaps owing to the distance between them. At all events, the pope was anxious to reaffirm his influence in France,

possibly to countervail the foreign missionaries.

§77. The Scots-Irish and the Spaniards.

a.   In **Ireland** monasticism had prospered in a singular way. Asceticism was very strict, and the monks were glad to travel far in order to break altogether with the world. So they became missionaries abroad. Already around 500, Fridolin*,* founder of Sackingen, supposedly worked among the Alemanni. In 565 Columba the Elder founded a monastery on the Isle of Hy (Iona) in western Scotland, and from there **Columba the Younger** in 590 removed with Gallus to France where, with his unfamiliar Christianity, he met the opposition of the bishops (590) and Brunhild (613) in the appalling collapse of the Frankish church.

b.   These Scots-Irish had founded the monastery of Luxovium [Luxeuil] and led a life different from that of Catholic monks. They still cultivated the customs of the ancient British church: l. the ancient Easter cycle (Dionysius Exiguus had devised the new one in 525); 2. the *tonsura Pauli,* with the front part of the head shaved; 3. once only submersion in baptism; 4. freedom from Rome; 5. hierarchic primacy in the local abbacies. Additionally, they made their way among the populace with their preaching of repentance, and introduced the confessional with confessional formularies (*poenitentialia*), which designated the penances for particular sins. On this account they were compelled to yield, and migrated toward the Rhine, founded **St. Gall**, and lastly **Bobbio** in Italy.

c.   Already prior to this time, a turn toward Catholicism had begun among the Arians in Spain as well. The Visigoths, whose kingdom the Franks had seized in 507, asserted themselves in Spain, and there, under Leovigild in 585 instigated a pogrom of the Catholics. But Leovigild's son **Reccared** transferred to the Catholic persuasion in 589 at the Synod of Toledo, where the *filioque* was also adopted into the Roman confession of Spain, and **Leander of Seville**, a friend of Gregory*,* exerted the strongest influence. Here too no one so much as mentioned a possible superior authority of the pope, although the allegiance to the imperial church was firmer than among the Franks. Bishops, appointed by the king, belonged to the aristocracy, whose topmost position the archbishop of Toledo occupied. Very early in the Spanish church, the ecclesiastical policy favoring brutal legislation against heretics and Jews began to find definition.

The ancient ecclesiastical learning in Spain flowered in a late aftermath in **Isidore of Seville** (d. 636), the brother and successor of Leander. His 20 books, entitled *Etymologiarum*, constitute an encyclopedia of the entire field of learning at that time, and were much read in the Middle Ages. Today, they form a primary source for the history of that period. At length, however, this church-life sank away beneath the Saracen invasion. (79).

§78. Gregory's Influence.

a.   Gregory defined to an exceptional degree church-life for the future, by his writing, personal example, and administration. His writings are: l. *Expositio in Iobum*, a collection of moral precepts in 35 books; 2. *Regula pastoralis*; 3. Dialogues in four books; 4. Homilies. These works represent the final chapter in the ancient training and mistraining in dogma, worship, discipline, and constitution. His theology is entirely late vulgar Catholicism: traditionalistic, Semi-Pelagian, miracle-hungry. Primarily through his efforts, the doctrine of **purgatory**, in conjunction with masses for the dead, began to spread. He was the first monk to ascend the papal throne, and in consequence he promoted this institution [monasticism], which in his time was the purveyor of intellectual training. As to public worship, he addressed the disorder prevailing in congregational singing. To correct the worst abuses, he reduced the chants, for example the Introit, to a beautiful form. But at the same time he deprived the congregation (again, to be sure for the sake of order) of hymn singing, and assigned it to the choir. That he substituted for the older *Cantus Ambrosianus* the so-called *Cantus*

Gregorianus or *choralis*, seems doubtful. He distinguished between plagal and authentic modes. Finally, Gregory also turned his attention to the conversion of pagans and Jews.

b.   The brilliant era of Justinian had suffered a decided reversal. Everywhere, the empire had lost flourishing provinces. The Visigoths and Lombards seized the entire western half. In the northern section of the eastern half, the Mongols and Slavic nations followed the Germanic nations in occupying the Balkan peninsula. The Finnish Avars settled in Dacia and Moesia. The Slavic **Croatians** and **Serbians** invaded Dalmatia and Istria. The **Bulgars**, the remnant of the repulsed Huns, founded their empire in 680. Here the Byzantine State with its church had an emphatic mandate.

C. Final Flare-up of the Ancient Church in the Monotheletic Controversy, 619-692.
§79. Attempt to Hold Empire and Church Together.

a.   Whether this segment belongs to the history of the ancient church, or to that of the medieval, is debatable. At all events, attention at this time generally turned more and more eastward rather than westward, as historical research still does today. The shift in focus occurred around 700. In 692, at the second Trullanian synod, the divorce between East and West was clearly defined.

b.   The emperors. The incompetent Phocas was displaced by **Heraclius**, the son of the governor of Africa of the same name. Heraclius hereupon founded another imperial dynasty, 610-711. Under his dominion (610-641), the Persians occupied Asia Minor. Even though he regained it in 622-627, **Mohammed** rose to dispute his claim in 622, and by 641 the Arabs had occupied Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Heraclius' son **Constantine III** and his step-brother Heracleonas acceded to the throne. When Constantine III died, the people demanded **Constans II** (641-668), the son of Constantine. Under him, the Arabs and Lombards forged ahead. His son **Constantine IV Pogonatos** (the bearded), 668-685, subdued the Syracusan counter-emperor Mizizius; but the Arabs pressed on to Constantinople, and the Bulgars threatened from the North. His son **Justinian II** (685-711) was banished to the Crimea in 695 by the general Leontius, but he returned in 705, and raged against his enemies until in 711 he was murdered. With this the dynasty of Heraclius came to an end. (81.)

c.   The Monotheletic Controversy. During the Persian and Saracen peril, an effort was made to win back the Monophysites with the formula stating that Christ had worked by "**one** human-divine energy" (μια θεανδρικη εναργεια). Severians and Armenians on the one side, and on the other Honorius of Rome, were won over to the formula. In 633 Heraclius issued a union edict along these lines. But the Antiochian monk Sophronius of Jerusalem protested against it, with the result that in his *Ecthesis* **of 638** Heraclius substituted the word **will** (θελημα) for energy. But now, in 641, with Jerusalem out of the game after the Saracen conquest, John IV of Rome (640-642) and Theodore I (642-649) protested. In North Africa Maximus Confessor, the monk, and Pyrrhus of Constantinople, who had fled there to escape Constans, under protection of the rebellious governor Gregory, inveighed against it. The Saracens, however, conquered Carthage, and the protestants went to Rome. Constans prohibited debate on the question in his imperial edict *Typos* in 648. And when Maximus as well as pope Martin I (649-653) refused to keep quiet, both were tortured and exiled and died.

d.   Since the Monophysite countries were lost anyway, the temptation for Constantine IV to contrive a union came to nothing. Following a synod in Rome under Pope Agatho (678-681), the Chalcedon symbol, emphasizing the **two wills**, was revived at the **6th ecumenical council in Constantinople 680-681** (the first Trullanian, derived from τρουλλος, the dome above the council hall in the imperial palace). The Synod rendered account to the pope, but also condemned Honorius. Pope Leo II (682-683) ratified both resolutions. One party of the Christians in Lebanon adhered to the union of 633 under the name of "Maronites."

§80. Pernicious Influence of Islam.

a.   Mohammed (570-632), a descendant of the Quraish family devoted to the protection of the Arabian national holy place, emerged as a prophet in 622. He met with opposition from his own people, however, and on July 22 he fled to Medina (**Hegira**, initial date of Mohammedan chronology). Here he gained a following numerous enough to subdue Mecca in 630. Mohammed was first wed to Khadija, Othman's daughter, a rich merchant's widow of means, then to Aisha, Abu Bekr's daughter. After his death, his adherents invaded the empire in two massive military drives: 1. Toward the North under Abu Bekr (632-634), Omar (634-644), and Othman (644-656); Damascus was conquered in 635, Jerusalem in 638, Mesopotamia and Egypt in 640, Persia in 650. The **Alidans,** Mohammed's daughter and her husband Ali (656-661) and their adherents, rose up against the **Umayyads**, the house of Othman. 2. Toward the West; in 705, the conquest of North Africa; in 711, the victory at Xeres de la Frontera; in 732, the Battle of Tours and Poitiers.

b.   Islam (submission) is an amalgam of Judaism and Elkesaitism. God is the only and universal operating divinity, wherefore man must surrender with a paralyzed mind to his will (fatalism). Mohammed is his prophet, superseding the lesser prophets Moses and Christ. Christ is the virgin's son, but not God, nor did he actually suffer (Docetism, no salvation necessary), but he did ascend into heaven, and will return for judgment. Everything subsists under the purview of judgment. Hence, obsequious morality, servile terror, and servile reward, promising sensual pleasures in Paradise; servile obligations: spread of the religion by force of arms, reading the Koran, five prayers daily after physical cleansing and turning toward Mecca, alms, fasting during the month of Ramadan, pilgrimages to Mecca. Wine and pork are prohibited. Executive power is in the hand of the Caliph (the Prophet's representative). The **Koran**, comprising 114 suras, composed by the Prophet, contains these doctrines, and is considered equally valid as a secular code. Oral transmission valued as a second source of Islam, the *sunna* [the Prophet's customs and conversation]. The Mohammedans are divided into Shiites and Sunnites. The Shiites, again, into the Shia (party) of Ali*,* and the Shia of Muawiya, with the Alidans venerating Ali, the Muawiyans Hussein, as saints. The Muawiyan party is considered orthodox. Judaic and Persian religious elements eventually amalgamated with these fragments of Islam. The Sufis are mystics.

c. Mohammedanism represents the most **audacious rival to the papacy,** denying in unvarnished terms every thought of grace and the life resulting from it, and now not merely withdrawing from the church, but also persecuting it. It led the peoples of Asia and Africa to monotheism. In that age it took up the cultivation of classical studies which had slipped out of the hands of the declining empire during the transition to the Middle Ages and preserved them until the Renaissance. This in part perhaps explains the toleration the Monophysite churches enjoyed in Egypt and Syria. They had themselves advocated severance from the empire. Now they obtained exemption from a poll tax. The bishops in fact ranked as secular agents of the congregation, and, for example, as judges, decided issues of life and death. Especially favored were the Nestorians in Persia at the expense of the Jacobites. Nevertheless, Christians, mainly from the lower classes, defected to secure temporal advantages.

§81. Victories of Roman Churchdom in the West.

a.   Ethelberga, the daughter of Bertha and Ethelbert of Kent, married Edwin of Northumbria. He was baptized in 624 by his father confessor **Paulinus**. The bishopric of **York** was founded**.** By this time all of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms except Wessex and Mercia had been Christianized. They suffered a setback when King Penda of Mercia defeated Edwin in 633. The church of Northumbria was virtually eradicated. That brought **Oswald**, the son of the king whom Edwin had earlier driven out, to the rescue. He had lived with the monks in Hy, and now in 635 brought along Aidan, who presently set up a Celtic bishopric on **Lindisfarne**, and was soon carrying out successful mission work throughout northern England. Having fully subjugated Mercia, Oswald's brother Oswy advanced Celtic Christianity still farther until it included all of the Anglo-

Saxons except those in Kent and Wessex.

b. But **Eanfled,** Edwin's daughter, Oswy's wife, was Catholic. Then there was **Wilfred of York,** the abbot trained in Rome. They convinced the king that two confessions would entail a political hazard. At the **Synod of Streaneshalch in 664**, Wilfred defeated Colman, the Celtic bishop, with the Roman interpretation of Matt. 16, and Oswy's influence, with that of Bretwalda, put all of the Anglo-Saxons back under **Rome's sway** around 680. In 688 even Adamnan*,* the abbot of Hy, followed suit. He was in fact at first obliged to flee from his monks, and in 697 convinced northern Ireland to join Rome. The monastery, however, followed in 716, the country of the Picts in 717, and Wales in 777.

c. Except for the Scots-Irish church, the **ancient British church still remained in Wales**. This persuasion allied itself with the Roman only later, between the 8th and 12th centuries. The Scots-Irish church of Southern Ireland came under Roman jurisdiction around 630, Northern Ireland around 697.

§82. Dissolving the Bond between the Eastern and Western Church.

The victory Rome had won at the 6th ecumenical synod did not please the Greeks. The young Justinian II convoked the **second Trullanian council,** also called the *Quinisextum*, because it was supposed to complement the two previous general synods. At the two foregoing synods, doctrine was on the docket; this time practical matters would be settled. Here, for the first time at a general synod, the **principal difference between East and West** was spelled out: 1. No Latin councils could serve as sources of church law, only the Eastern; moreover, over 85 Apostolic canons qualified, compared with only 50 for the West; 2. Condemnation of the Roman requirement of celibacy for presbyters and deacons; 3. Prohibition of fasting on Saturday during Quadragesima; 4. Reiteration of the 28th canon of Chalcedon (Constantinople on equal footing with Rome); 5. Prohibition against eating flesh of strangulated animals and blood; 6. Prohibition against portraying Christ as a lamb, a common practice in the West.

With this, there comes to expression the following: 1.) the intellectual ineptitude of the Greeks; 2.) with equal clarity, the divorce of East and West; and 3.) the spotlight of history now shifts toward the West, where great events are about to take place.

§83. Synopsis of the History of the Ancient Church.

a. The church had been established through the **spiritual genius of the Apostles**. But the interaction of ecclesiastical and legalistic temperament and the environment of the ancient culture in decline gave shape to the **papacy**. Here it is vital to note how, on the one hand, a whole range of errors gained entrance into the church of Christ at the foundation, and on the other, how the emergence of the papacy was God's doing notwithstanding, in order to transmit the Gospel to the Germanic nations.

b. The **papacy**, mirroring its inception, incorporates the peculiarities of the ecclesiastical, legalistic instinct, and of the pagan culture in decline. 1. **Inability to do justice to exegesis and history**. Exegetical and historical instinct means the ability to grasp foreign speech and foreign life with a free mind, from the vantage point of the mind and environment of their origin. That kind of understanding was bound to remain foreign to this age. Consequently, throughout this entire period actual Scripture study was unheard of, even among those of whom one should have expected it: Origen, Eusebius, Jerome. (The first was, for all his preoccupation with exegesis, a speculatist, the second a politician, the third a traditionalist). For that reason too, the Gospel could never wholly come into its own, since it requires the freedom of mind noted above to take up the Gospel.

c. 2. Dogmatism and traditionalism. Domineering by law and regulation is characteristic of both. That is why the two traits invariably appear in partnership. They were, and still are, peculiar to this entire age, and in practice proved to be the key factor in all the pacesetting teachers: Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Athanasius,

the Cappadocians, Augustine, and Leo (these men were, after all, princes of the church). This bespeaks the legalistic instinct and the ancient culture in decline. Hence, it was possible for all phases, ecclesiastical and secular, to be summed up one more time in just such a man as Justinian and his operations.

d.   3. The refinement of external forms in constitution, doctrinal definition, art, and public morality. In this regard the ancient church bears the same significance for the church at large as do the Greeks and Romans for the world in general. In this refinement she wrought an enduring legacy. Here the instinct for law and regulation could find realization. And it did just that. It helped the papacy up on its feet and gave to it its lasting character for all time: an instinct for organization and forms. It created the rigid episcopal code, monasticism, and the maze of cults of the saints. But it also contributed in creating forms which secured an abiding place for the Gospel: Scripture pericopes, prayers, orders of worship, confessions, congregational hymns, doctrinal definition.

e.   4. The mistaken valuation of natural life and the concurrent mistaken mysticism. Culture in decline, in its skepticism, faults nature for the damage done by sin, and tries to help by practicing physical mortification. This impulse agrees with the ecclesiastical, legalistic instinct, which turns it into asceticism. Among the pagans, what comes from and falls under the head of mortification is the mystical notion about ascribing divinity to everyday objects. In the realm of church life, sacramentalism comes into being in the same way, abstracting the whole element of worship from natural life: clergy, consecration, apostolic succession, *character indelebilis,* the doctrine of transubstantiation, over-stated conception of the divinity of scripture, as in the multiple sense of the Word, the doctrine of relics, and the nonsense of mummery associated with the Lord's Supper.

f.   5. The mainspring and the **result** of all this is the **ever-widening departure from the exclusive merit of Christ** toward the pagan Roman **doctrine of works.**

g.   A segment of ancient church history of wholly other cloth is **God's management** in employing the **Gospel** abreast of the rise of the papacy. 1. It is essential to distinguish between the efficacy of the Gospel on the hearts of the great teachers, and their mistaken legalistic turn of mind. These men were believing Christians who trusted in their Savior, and loved him. Their doctrine of salvation, embodying the union of divinity with humanity through Christ, corresponds to this sensibility, as it expresses itself in simple terms without philosophical flourishes. All further refinement corresponds to their intellectual, philosophical interest. So long as faith in the truth and help from above remained undisturbed, both believing sensibility and mistaken external understanding could practically proceed side by side. Also the efficacy of the teachers, as conveyed by devout personality, especially in private discussion, most likely often brought home the Gospel in spite of mistaken doctrinal positions.

h.   2. It is this believing orientation too which created the basic forms in the employment of God's Word. In them the Gospel, apart from Scripture, found voice: Scripture pericopes, prayers, orders of worship, confessions, congregational hymns, and others.

i.   3. The babes and sucklings, from whose mouth God has perfected a cry of praise for himself, have understood the Gospel, and the philosophical, doctrinal definition, along with the ascetic conception of life, could not drown it out, but hung on the outside as so much misunderstood formal baggage. Thus the power of faith declares itself, manifesting itself in martyrdom particularly among the lower classes of people, as also in the rise and significance of the childlike, pure congregational hymn of Ambrose's age.

k.   The view forward to the next stage of history: The earlier period of the church engendered two monstrous **rivals, the papacy and Islam**. These two forces play for the Middle Ages the roles Judaism and paganism played in Old Testament times. **The papacy**, the ecclesiastical extract of ancient church history is, as Judaism was, the carrier of the Gospel. It brought the Gospel to the Germanic nations. In the history of the

Germanic peoples, the Gospel also plays a role similar to that of the Law-bound economy of the Jews in the Old Testament. The papacy functioned among the Germanic peoples as a legalistic disciplinarian leading to Christ. God himself gave the Law-bound economy expressly for the fullness of times. The papacy on the other hand, taking shape against the will of God, was integrated by God into his management of history. **Islam,** the counterpart of ancient paganism, became the headquarters of classical training in the Middle Ages. **Classical training** in world history has the ability to provide humanly sensible forms for developing perception and definition. This purpose it served for the church of ancient times was unhappily for the worse because, from the first, the church in her ascetic frame of mind was wrongly oriented to pagan culture. The external relationship between these two factors in the Middle Ages differed from that of antiquity. Then, Judaism remained in the background of external universal history, whereas paganism ruled the world. In the Middle Ages, the papacy stands at the forefront, Islam conserves classical training, and the Germanic peoples adapt it but poorly. When in the Crusades Islam and the papacy collided, however, ancient classical studies arrived in northern Europe, and were helpful in the exegetical and historical valuation of Scripture, which in God's hand contributed in bringing on the Reformation.

The Middle Ages.

I. Rise of the Fundamental Ideas of Medieval-Germanic Christianity and Churchianity. Early Medieval Culture under the Carolingians, 687-918.

A. Rise of Early Medieval Culture, Foundation for the Empire of Charlemagne, 687-768.

§84. General Summary.

a. A new culture rose among the Germanic nations in northern Europe under the influence of the papacy, which by its ecclesiastical, legalistic pressure prepared the way for the Reformation, by which the nations first became mentally and spiritually independent. To begin with, Greece and Spain splintered away from the complex of nations, but when the Middle Ages were waning, they re-entered as purveyors of fresh cultural elements. Italy and Rome remained the bastion of the papal idea despite considerable opposition springing from that area. The major battles of the mind were fought out in Germany, while economic relationships were developed in France and England.

b. Running through the history of the Middle Ages is the single driving titanic idea, **the struggle between emperor and pope.** The history unfolds in **three periods**. The first is the age of the Carolingians. In this period all of the relationships developed which later opposed one another. Toward this denouement the history of the Carolingians progressed in its association with the papacy in typical adversarial fashion, prefiguring the second period. In the second, the struggle which had been carried on in private under the Carolingians, and not by outstanding representatives of either idea, came to titanic issue. Great emperors and great popes face one another down, pursue both basic viewpoints to their ultimate conclusions, and the struggle ends in the defeat of the empire. The third period witnesses the disintegration of all these relationships. The papacy, too, is not competent to rule the world. That is why it must shatter in its apparent victory. This victory steers the nations into an intensive investigation of the relationships basic to both points of view. This investigation leads at once to uncertainty about the papal conceptions which after all contrived all of these relationships and their interpretations. Add to this the revival of the ancient classics in the Renaissance. All of these factors combined render all previous conceptions untenable.

c. A new culture sprang up in the Middle Ages, the culture of the Germanic peoples. The ancient culture of the Greeks and Romans had declined under the influence of the church and of the migration of nations. It had created enduring cultural elements which the papal church now transmitted to the northern nations. These nations, however, possessed their own native style as well. And from the interaction of ancient Greco-Roman forms, papal ideas, and Germanic interpretations, sprang **Medieval culture** with its peculiar ideas which controlled the history of this age. These ideas include: the basis of the opposition between emperor and pope; church-state; regimen for the lives of monks, orders, and pilgrims; the bases of the conflicts between bishops, metropolitans, and popes; traffic in benefices, investiture, simony, celibacy; canon law; the ban, penitential practice and indulgence; and scholasticism with its philosophical and theological refinements.

1. Progressive Deterioration of the Roman Imperial Church.

§85. Deterioration of the Church in the East Owing to the Icon Controversy.

a. The church had already become an imperial church under the hand of Constantine the Great. The founding of Byzantium and the severance of East and West had propelled the Roman papacy forward and advanced its liberation from imperial supremacy. The Eastern church however had more and more succumbed to imperial

supremacy. Owing to external mysticism, grown rampant thanks to the pseudo-Dionysian writings, Eastern piety had lost its moral vigor. Consequently, the church, its alliance with the state now an accomplished fact, had become a servant to the empire. Since Justinian's incumbency, the bishops had counted as little more than imperial supervisory officials. Only monasticism, although suffused in mysticism, aroused the church from time to time to become conscious of its independence from the state. Hence the split between the army and the monastic community on the issue of iconoclasm. Even more consequential however was the fact that the standards set by the emperor, initially imposed and even intelligent, might lead to confused partisan positions in which doctrine commingled with politics, and thence to doctrinal controversy and imperial tyranny.

b.   While Islam had begun externally to seize areas of the empire in the Southwest, iconoclasm began to crumble the church internally, and with it the empire, in the Northeast. Already in the monotheletic controversy, and then particularly in the Quinisextum [the Council in Trullo in 692], it became apparent that cultic rituals, void of a deeper evangelical understanding of Christ, had regained ascendancy. Such antagonism at this late stage could only lead to organizational rupture because the creative animating mind was missing. This climate prevailed all the more oppressively in the **icon controversy (726-843)**, when monks and people took a stand for superstitions, emperor and army were for political advantage because of the looming threat of Islam, the pope for traditionalism. Only at the court of **Charlemagne,** where at the surface culture displayed a fresh youthful impulse, was it possible, it seems, to size up the situation freely for what it was. But this freedom could not survive long enough to turn the tide because it was not founded upon a clear evangelical consciousness, and did not win through after all.

c.   Following the collapse of the dynasty of Heraclius, three generals reigned: Phillipicus, 711-713, Anastasius, -716, and Theodosius III, -718. Then **Leo III,** the competent Isaurian (718-741), ascended the Byzantine throne, and his dynasty reigned for a century, until 802. After Leo had beaten the Saracens in 718 and also despoiled them of territories in Asia Minor, he addressed himself to the containment of the external and internal disintegration; with his vigorous temperament, averse as it was to superstitious veneration of images, he prohibited these in an edict in 726, whose enactment however merely left the images hanging higher. But **Germanus,** the nonagenarian patriarch of Constantinople, opposed the emperor. The ultimate reasons for the antagonism between the parties are unclear. Was it the emperor's aim to win over the Jews and Mohammedans, both hostile to images? In any event his edict was a thrust at monasticism which held power in the church and contested the emperor's right to issue laws in the church as Justinian had done. Bear in mind it was only the more forceful emperors who took issue with the veneration of images. When it comes to evangelical actuation, the position taken in this question no doubt showed all sides to be out of kilter.

d.   In 730 a certain Cosmas exploited the popular turbulence to have himself proclaimed emperor, but he was put down. A second edict followed right after this, removing images from the churches. Also in Palestine, then under Saracen rule, **John Damascene** (d. 754 as a monk in Jerusalem) had defended image veneration. He was the outstanding dogmatician of the ancient church in that he compiled the maxims of the church fathers in his chief publication, Πηγη γνωσεως, to support individual dogmas. This industry in compilation was the mode the Greek mind employed at this time also in secular studies, as formerly in the Alexandrian age (scholia). John's defense of images derived from the earlier doctrine of salvation. God in Christ has united himself with the Creation. As Christ represents God for us, so images form a representation of Christ, and therefore a certain veneration of these is justified. Enemies of images despise matter, as did the Manichaeans. –Ever since then church people have frequently adopted this way of attacking an opponent; without getting to the bottom of the trouble, they simply condemn it, if it seems to sound like some kind of heresy.

e.   Popes Gregory II (715-731) and Gregory III (-741) condemned the emperor's position, and in 731 a Roman synod excommunicated him. Then the Italian populace rose up against the impotent exarch who

administered the government of Italy in Ravenna for the emperor. The Lombards and the papacy profited from this revolution. But the emperor tore Illyria away from Rome and subjected it to Constantinople, and expropriated from the pope many patrimonies in Illyria and northern Italy. Also Constantine V (741-775), called Copronimus and Cabellinus, had to put down a riot which his brother-in-law Artabasdus had stirred up on account of the image question, and at a synod in Constantinople in 754 caused image veneration to be condemned as Monophysitism and Nestorianism. He went after the image-friendly monks in a brutal manner, giving them a choice of forced marriage or execution. Again the popes who succeeded Zacharias (741-752), Pippin's ally, Stephen II (752), and Stephen III (752-757), protested with the use of anathema. But **Irene,** consort of the feeble Leo IV Chazarus (775-780), as regent for the minor Constantine VI (780-802), arranged the **7th ecumenical council of Nicaea** in 787 with Hadrian I (772-795), who succeeded Paul I (757-768) and Stephen IV (768-772) in Rome. The council distinguished between bowing and prostration (προςκυνησις) and adoration (λατρεια), the first permissible before images, the latter due to God alone. (90.)

f.   Again an interregnum followed under individual generals, Nicephorus I (802-811), Stauricius, Michael I Rhangabe (811-813), Leo V the Armenian (813-820), and his two associates Michael Balbus II (820-829) and Theophilus (829-842). The Greek imperium sank ever deeper into the habitude of oriental princes until irrational despotism regulated the minutest aspects of everyday life. The result could only be dethronement by other tyrants. Leo V favored images but stood opposed by the learned abbot **Theodorus Studita** of the monastery Studion, who agreed entirely with the Roman pope. Michael allowed household images. But Theophilus eradicated image veneration. His consort, on the other hand, the stalwart **Theodora**, who administered the regency for the infant Michael III (842-867), once again interceded for image veneration via the **synod** held at **Constantinople in 843**, and celebrated the festival of orthodoxy. No one at the time made any further progress than to handle the said external doctrine in the external manner as described. (99.)

§86. Progress of Collapse via the Paulicians.

The Paulician sect spoke up against more than image veneration; seeking other areas for reformation, it ventured into the political arena. The sect was founded back in 657 under Constans II by **Constantine of Mananalis**. The adherents called themselves "Christians" and the Catholics "little Romans." The Catholics in turn dubbed them **Paulicians.** Their doctrine, akin to Marcion's, seems to have cultivated Pauline ideas, but these commingled with dualism, Docetism, mysticism, and the rejection of all pomp. They liked to affect Pauline names. Constantine was renamed Sylvanus; his successor, the imperial official Simeon, became Titus (d. 690 a martyr). His successor Genesius, surnamed Timothy, was recognized by Leo the Isaurian, but Constantine IV deported the sect to Thessaly. There in 801 it was reformed by **Sergius=Tychicus**. But Leo the Armenian, and later Theodora, raged against them in persecution until one of them, Carbeas, a high ranking officer, fled with 5,000 foot soldiers to Argaum in Saracen Armenia, and there in 871 was defeated by Emperor Basilius Macedo, but only after a series of victories. John Czimisces in 970 welcomed the Paulicians to Thrace, and made them frontier guards. In 1115 Alexius Comnenus was still disputing with them, and after that time nothing was heard of them.

2. Union of the Papacy and the Franks.
§87. Political Regeneration of the Frankish Kingdom under Charles Martell.

a.   **Clothar II** (613-628), the son of Fredegund, unified the Frankish kingdom in his grasp as the third absolute monarch, following the death of Brunhild in 613, and thus for the future it remained one kingdom, although three instead of the earlier four royal domains continued to exist: Austrasia, Neustria, and Burgundy. Clothar's son Dagobert I (628-638), the last powerful figure of Clovis' line, retained as counsellors **Arnulf of**

Metz and **Pippin I** of Austrasian nobility. Arnulf's first son Ansegisel married Pippin's second daughter Begga*,* and her son was **Pippin the Middle**. Pippin established himself as master of Austrasia, and in **687** with his victory over the Neustrians at **Tertri**, master of the entire kingdom. He himself did not however assume the dignity of *majordomus* (house manager), but named his sons Grimoald and Drogo *majoresdomus* of Neustria and Burgundy. (This dignity, conferred also among the Ostrogoths, became the actual power in the government in the hands of the Pippinids.) The king still retained all royal rights. But the actual administration reposed in the hands of Pippin*,* the "Prince of the Franks." He exhibited the grand independent air of the pragmatic politician. For the church however he did nothing. Under him ecclesiastical conditions continued as portrayed above (§ 76). Rome had no influence over him, despite the ties diligently fostered since the time of Brunhild*,* and that mainly on account of the Lombard threat. When in 689 he had defeated the Frisian Radbod*,* he granted Wilibrord the Englishman a free hand to carry on mission work among the Frisians, and in 695 made him bishop of Utrecht. Dying in 714, he named his consort Plectrude as regent for his grandson Theudald*.*

b.   But the anxiety of the time, the violence of the vassals, and the Saracen peril, demanded an unflinching hand. In this climate, Pippin's illegitimate son **Charles Martell** (The Hammer) rose to power. Charles brought the whole kingdom under his control, subdued the intransigent magnates, mustered the whole horde of Frankish arms to meet the Arabs, and in 732 smote them between Tours and Poitiers. At the time, the Franks were changing over to mounted warfare. In order to gear up a mighty military, Charles conferred on the magnates extensive landholdings as fiefs (*beneficium*, later *feudum*). In return he required them as vassals to render him mounted service. In this way feudalism originated.

c.   For the church, Charles too did nothing. On the contrary, he secularized all kinds of church property, and installed war-seasoned bishops who thereupon served at arms, and often, at his own pleasure, combined a number of bishoprics under one hand. The metropolitan received the distinction of representing national unity. Farmers and overseers administered church domains in the absence of bishops out on the hunt and under arms. Compulsory celibacy was circumvented, and simony was in full swing.

§88. The Anglo-Saxon Mission.

a.   Christianity in Germany around 700 existed only among the Alemanni, Bavarians, and Thuringians. (**Pirmin**, perhaps an Ango-Saxon, was in Reichenau, the Scots-Irish **Emmeran** near Regensburg, **Corbinian** in Freiburg, **Kilian** in Würzburg.) These three tribes enjoyed a loose independent confederacy with the Frankish kingdom. Only among the Alemanni was the church organized into the early bishoprics inherited from Roman times: Augsburg, Constance, Basel, and Chur. Some Christian priests among the other tribes worshipped Wotan. Under the Pippinids, mission work advanced at this time in the territory of the Frisians and Hessians, and the church, till now German and Frankish, was organized and subordinated to the Roman papacy; and this movement sprang from **England**. Existing circumstances brought on the subordination. The Scots-Irish were helpless at organizing anything. It was high time to organize the Frankish as well as the German church if they were not to go under. They found the genius for organization in Rome and among their German kindred, the Anglo-Saxons. And when the Frankish chieftains observed the success of German organization, they ordered the Frankish church organized too.

b.   One contemporary of the Wilfred of York mentioned above (§81b.) was **Theodore of Canterbury**. Born in Tarsus and educated in Athens, then a monk in Tarsus and Rome, he was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury in 667 by Pope Vitalian, and directly put into effect the resolutions of Streaneshalch. Himself educated, he established schools in southern England, among which those of Canterbury and of Nhutscelle were preeminent. A thoroughgoing monastic training was the result. The poet Caedmon (d. 680) and his Old

and New Testament epics; Beda Venerabilis (d. ca. 735) and his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*; Cynewulf (d. 780), with his Christ among his swords and earls. **Wilfred**, on a journey to Rome in 677, made a detour to Friesland and preached there for one winter. His disciple **Wilibrord** carried on mission work later, from 690 onwards. When in 715 Charles Martell yielded to Neustria, the church lost Frisia, and Wilibrord was obliged to withdraw to Echternach. But in 719 Charles again overthrew the Frisians, and then the mission prospered (102).

c. In the meantime in 716 **Wynfried** (Glücksfrid = **Bonifatius** = *vir boni fati*; or it is perhaps also derived from *bonum fari*, i.e. to bring glad tidings), the budding "Apostle to the Germans," a native of Wessex, and a graduate of the Nhutscelle mentioned above, arrived in Friesland. He was compelled to return to England because in Friesland the reaction had just set in. But in **718** he made a trip to Rome in order to receive directives from pope Gregory. The pope sent him to Thuringia expressly to perform baptism in the Roman manner, with the idea of counteracting the **Scots-Irish**, and of **organizing** the church there. The church would serve as hinge-joint between Friesland and Bavaria, since from there had issued the appeal to the pope for organization. But before going ahead with this plan, Boniface went to see Wilibrord in 719 because he was meeting opposition in Thuringia. It was not until some years later that he got to **Hessia** and there founded the monastery Amöneburg. In **722** he returned to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop like the suburbicarian bishops, with the object of turning Hessia and Thuringia into a **connected Roman church-province.** On the way back he called on Charles Martell and received his recognition, but they never even mentioned the Roman connection. The Danubian kingdoms were destroyed at Geismar in 724, and the Scots-Irish (even women) expelled from England under pitiless pursuit.

d. On the strength of a report, Gregory III in 732 consecrated Boniface archbishop so that he could independently appoint bishops for the German jurisdiction, a sign he was making strides. But Charles Martell said no to that, and thus Boniface received no diocese. In 738 he traveled to Rome a third time, and on his return he organized **Bavaria**: Salzburg, Regensburg, Freising, and Passau. Then, with Charles' consent, he also founded Würzburg, Erfurt in Thuringia, and Büraburg in Hessia. (96.)

§89. Union of the Frankish Churches and Rome under Pippin the Short.

a. Meanwhile, in 741 Charles Martell had died. His sons Carloman and Pippin the Short divided among themselves Austrasia and Neustrasia. They recognized the necessity of the new ecclesiastical arrangement for the Franks. **Carloman** formally called Boniface in 741 to reorganize the church in Austrasia. Under Charles Martell's unecclesiastical politics, church property had largely become secularized, and the clergy had degenerated as a result. They had not held any synods for a long time. Carloman*,* who had more sense for the spiritual than his brother, and was neighbor to Bavaria and Thuringia, appointed Boniface archbishop of Austrasia, and ordered him to get **two** *Concilia germanica* underway, the first in 742 (place unknown), the second in 743 in Lestines. Carloman himself presided. Resolutions included: 1. annual synods; 2. a diocesan constitution; 3. clergy prohibited from carrying arms; 4. church property belonging to the proprietor only as a precarian holding (reverting to the church after his death; a reversal of the original arrangement). Now Pippin too began convoking synods, in 743 at Soissons, and again in 745 and 747, the later ones without princes, with the objective of organizing Neustria. This is the way the Frankish church, too, submitted to the Roman pope, even though the lords of the manor regarded themselves equally lords of the church.

b. Nevertheless, Rome's spiritual authority was brought to bear against the popular prophet Adelbert and Clement the Scot who disagreed with Rome in regard to episcopal sees, predestination, and Christ's descent into hell, and against Gewilip of Mainz who had practiced blood vengeance. The lords of the manor, in line with Frankish views on the law, were more lenient in these matters. There was no coercion when it came to

doctrinal questions. Even Boniface spoke up against the **doctrinal opinions** of the bishops. As for instance in the fracas between the Irish bishop Vergilius of Salzburg and the priest Sidonius who had been baptizing in *nomine patria et filia et spiritus sancti,* and whose baptism Vergilius was unready to ratify. But with the pope's help Boniface won out over the bishop. Otherwise for the most part, the pope would leave his legates in the lurch.

c.   However in France too, Boniface*,* for all his archepiscopal dignity, did not receive a bishopric just as he had not in Bavaria. At last, in 745, he was made bishop of Mainz, but also merely to occupy an episcopal see. In 744, by the agency of his disciple Sturm, he had founded the mother convent of **Fulda.** His report of 747 to Rome is filled with bitter complaints. In 752 he relinquished his bishopric to his disciple Lullus*,* and returned as missionary to the **Frisians** where he was murdered in 755. He was an honest, practical man. On the whole, he is mainly important **because he brought the Gospel,** as much as he understood of it, **to Germany.** What he signifies in the history of the Roman church is that in the North he smoothed the path of the papacy for the future.

§90. The Donation of Pippin.

a.   All this time the emperor's power in Italy was at low ebb. The Lombards extended their dominion throughout all of Italy. Under **Liutprand** (712-744) they reached the meridian of their power. The Roman bishops had assisted them, chiefly at the time of the image controversy and the Paulician disorders, in their effort to crumble the exarchate. But now this expropriated estate became the cause of controversy. When popes Gregory II and III combined forces with the rebel Lombard dukes of Spoleto and Benevento against Liutprand*,* the insurgents were compelled to sue for clemency. Gregory III turned to Charles Martell. But Charles could not afford to antagonize the Lombards as he was only just beginning to build up his empire. On that account Pope Zacharias had to make peace with the Lombards.

b.   Under king Ratchis (744-749) the conquest of the exarchate advanced at the hands of the Lombards, and Aistulf (749-756) at length completed it. Meantime the country of the Franks had risen under the Pippinids, and had entered into closer alliance with Rome. Now too the question of the pope's property in Italy needed to be adjudicated. In this instance the pope's interests coincided with those of **Pippin the Short.** In 747 Carloman entered a monastery, and Pippin took charge of the **whole kingdom.** In 751 he posed the question to Zacharias, who actually should be king, the house-manager or the enfeebled Merovingian. When the answer returned favorable to him he made himself king through the election of the Franks in 751 at the Diet of **Soissons,** and dispatched Childerich to a monastery. Zacharias' successor, Stephen II*,* however, fled before the Lombards across the Alps into the Frankish kingdom, and was belatedly anointed the king, but in the process also demanded help against the Lombards, and restitution of the possessions robbed by them. The so-called Promise of Quiercy in 754 guaranteed him this.

c.   Aspects of this agreement continued long after to excite much conflict between the supporters of the papacy and those of the empire. Two considerations will help to clarify this: 1. Given the level of evangelical understanding at that time, both sides must have been befuddled about the spiritual implications of the promises. The **pope** of course maintained his age-old claims as Augustine and Gregory the Great had spelled them out, but one can not even discuss the idea of a clear cut doctrine of the relation of church and state at that time, since even today in the papacy the most extreme claims are made on the one hand, and on the other, constant connivance is going on against the state. Nor could it be any otherwise. The Roman confusion of spiritual and secular creates a condition for this prevailing lack of clarity, a constant fishing in murky waters. In **Pippin** one may expect still less apprehension of the implications of the Roman claims. Spiritually, he just went along with the superstition of his age, as far as the power of Rome was concerned. But at the same time,

he was such a ruthlessly pragmatic politician that nobody will ever believe that he simply handed over the gains he had made in the war against the Lombards (the exarchate of Ravenna and Pentapolis).

d.   2. It is also not accepted as true that Pippin is supposed to have promised the Roman bishop that he would be getting back something else besides the *patrimonium Petri* which already belonged to him. But the exarchate had never been part of this. The contrary assertion appears first in a forgery, the so-called ***Donatio Constantini***, which later figured in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. That it is a forgery is generally established today. When it originated is debatable. If one is going to accept the proposition that Pippin's donation included the exarchate, then one must accept the conclusion that the forgery, which records the Donation of Constantine, was made at this occasion to pull the wool over Pippin's eyes.

e.   The *Donatio Constantini* comprises two parts: 1. The ***Confessio*** contains the stories about Constantine's conversion at the hands of Pope Sylvester. 2. The ***Donatio*** lists the entitlements granted in the donation. These embrace 1.) the Roman primacy over all eastern patriarchates; b.) patrimonies in every part of the Roman empire; c.) in the imperial Lateran palace, imperial honors and the Phrygian cap (in place of the crown which the pope had refused inasmuch as with the *tonsura Petri* he already wore a crown), the scepter and purple vestment, the imperial marshal position and senatorial rank for Roman clergy, the administration of Byzantine possessions in Italy, and the surrender of Rome as residence, once the emperor had transferred his headquarters to Constantinople. Such an anachronism might have been feasible among the unchurch-minded Franks because they did not apply the particulars to themselves. But even at first glance, anybody can tell that many of the terms were contrived later.

f.   Pippin fulfilled his promise in two military campaigns in 754 and 756, and accepted the title of *patricius* of Rome. When the Byzantines reclaimed the exarchate, Pippin replied that, not for them, but for St. Peter had the Franks shed their blood. So the pope became a reigning prince, if not a sovereign, but as a Frankish subject, and as such he bore a title on which the controversy between emperor and pope throughout the Middle Ages turned. (92.)

g.   The single spiritual scheme conceived in this era is the *vita canonica* by Bishop **Chrodegang of Metz**. He united his clergy on the monastic model in the chapter house near the cathedral. Canons, canonicate, cathedral church (of the bishop), collegiate church (care of souls by a collegium of clergy under a *praepositus* or *abbas*), the chapter house (*monasterium*, cathedral, dome; the two latter terms later conferred on the cathedral churches), chapter (the hall for common meetings where the bishop would read a chapter from the Bible (Levites, chapter, reading of the text) and add his admonitions, carried over later as cathedral chapter to the residents). Chrodegang was a friend and boyhood intimate of Pippin, and both died about the same time, Chrodegang in 766, Pippin in 768.

h.   In Charlemagne were joined the secular arm and the ecclesiastical mind. That is how the **idea of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation** struck root, thenceforth a leitmotif of medieval culture. Soon, however, it conjured up the struggle between emperor and pope. The struggle brought down the empire. But the culture which had conceived this idea remained alive. In fact, because it was of monastic origin, successive developments advanced it even farther, and for the second and third time brought on the collapse of empire.

B. Flowering of Early Medieval Culture, 768-858.
1. Evolution of the Frankish National Church
into Imperial Church under Charlemagne, 768-814.
§91. Charles' Wars and Mission.

a.   Pippin's sons **Charles** and Carloman succeeded him. Charles received the northern, Carloman the southern sector of the empire. Directly, they found themselves at odds with the pope. On the Lombard throne

sat Desiderius, the former duke of Tuscany, who had become king with the help of Stephen III, with the understanding that he would actually hand over all of his his conquests. It never came to that, neither under [Pope] Paul I (757-767), nor under Stephen IV (768-772). Hence discord between pope and Lombards. So when Desiderius wanted to wed his children with those of Pippin, Stephen fought against the proposal as though it were a devilish weed. The marriages nonetheless took place, but already the following year, the one with Charles was annulled. When Carloman died, his sons in flight from Charles found sanctuary with Desiderius, now absolute monarch. And when Hadrian II (772-795) refused to anoint them kings, Desiderius threatened Rome, and Charles had to come to the rescue.

b.   Charles had previously precipitated the **Saxon war** (772-804). Pippin had rendered the Saxons tributary; yet not only had they thrown off the yoke, but they also caused constant turmoil at the border. The Saxons were avid to be free, were members of a numerous tribe, and plumed themselves on their paganism, three points of contrast with their neighboring Franks. Intent on quelling these turmoils, Charles attacked them in 772, conquered the Eresburg, and destroyed the Irminsul [their most revered idol] and every year thereafter went to war with them. In 776 the Saxons themselves proposed their conversion to Christianity in token of their loyalty. But in 780 **Wittekind** took on the leadership of the Saxons. In 782 they demolished a Frankish army, whereupon Charles marched against them in person, and at Verden on the Aller ordered the infamous bloodbath [4,500 beheaded on one day], and in 785 Wittekind yielded to baptism.

c.   Meanwhile, Charles had marched against the **Lombards** in 773, had subdued Pavia in 774, consigned Desiderius to a monastery, and made himself king of the Franks and of the Lombards. In 778 he took the field against Abdurrahman the Umayyad in **Spain**. When Suleiman, governor of Barcelona, an adherent of the Abbasids, appealed to him for help, Charles seized the opportunity to draw the Spanish Germans under his sovereignty. He got as far as Saragossa, but there had to fall back, and at Roncesvalles lost the rear guard of his army along with Roland, margrave of Brittany. In 795 the Spanish frontier was drawn between the Pyrenees and the Ebro.

d.   In 787 Thassilo III of **Bavaria**, who under Pippin had assumed a more autonomous position, and had by this time secured it by victories over the Avars, was overrun in a war, vanquished, and sequestered in a monastery. His kingdom was portioned out to counts. In 798 Charles led his forces against the **Wiltzes, Sorbians**, and **Czechs,** who were living in what is today Brandenburg, and from the time of the incorporation of Saxony had been nuisances as neighbors of the realm. In 791 he felt compelled for the same reason to take arms against the Finnish **Avars**, an equestrian nation related to the Huns, situated beyond the Enns, and at times demanding tribute even of Constantinople. Charles overpowered them in 796.

e.   Not until 804 did peace prevail in Saxony, after Charles had settled thousands of Saxon families in Frankish lands and Frankish families in Saxon territory. Thereupon in 805 and 806 followed the final victory over the Slavs. Now the **Danes** in the north were neighbors. Already in 808 under King Gottfried (Göttrik) they got into trouble with Charles, the second son of Charlemagne, and peace was possible only after King Gottfried was murdered in 810 and the border drawn at the Eider.

f.   The conquest of Saxony marked the unification of the German empire. To maintain it as such, Charles ordered the **mission** of Christianity propagated everywhere. He conferred the conquered territory on neighboring or even remoter bishoprics, which then might claim the tithe and other taxes. Thus the **Avars** were served from Passau, Salzburg, and Aquileia. It became necessary in **Saxony**, because of the extent and difficulty of the territory, to establish independent bishoprics. Those under Charles were: Bremen, Verden, Minden, Münster, Paderborn; under Louis the Pious: Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Osnabrück. To the latter was added the monastery of Corby on the Weser, founded in 822 by missionaries sent out from the French monastery of Corbie, where Charles had sent hostages. Founded from **Bavaria,** the monastery of

Kremsmünster was established for the Wends in northern Bavaria.

§92. Charles and the Popes on the Concept of Imperial Power.

a. The church's mission moved into virtually all of the countries mentioned above along with Charles' dominion, and the new church was subjected to the hegemony of the king of the Franks. In Italy it was otherwise. There from time immemorial the church had been subject to the pope, and in addition the pope had received several donative provinces from Pippin. Now that Charles had become king of the Lombards he adopted a stance toward the Roman bishop different from that of his father. To be sure, in 774 Charles renewed the donation of Pippin for Hadrian, but of the patriciate in Rome, regarded as a protectorate, he made an autonomous government. In church matters, Charles was more independent and more engaged than Pippin. That is why the balance of power, still hazy under Pippin, was cleared up in this regard. The Roman bishop after all did not mean as much to all the world as he would have liked. In Charles' regime the secular claims of the pope became automatically inoperant. The pope received the promised territories as a patrimony, but only in the name of a Frankish vice-regent. If this was not spelled out in so many words, it was nonetheless royal legates who administered these patrimonies.

b. So Charles reigned from the Eider down to the Liri, from the Ebro over to the Raba. The **imperial coronation** in 800 established this reach. Leo III (795-818) found himself ambushed by the *nepoi* (*nepos*, nephew, favored relatives) of his predecessor in 799, escaped, and fled to Charles. He was charged with perjury. Arn, the German vice-regent, investigated and reported the case. The Anglo-Saxon chancellor Alcuin burnt the record. The following year the emperor bore down on Italy with an army. At a synod in Rome the bishops declared the pope immune from human judgment. Leo had nevertheless to swear an oath of purification, and with that the case was dismissed. On Christmas Day in 800 he placed the golden crown on the emperor's head, by divine inspiration, as they put it. Charles did not object. At all events, Charles had shaped the empire to suit himself without deference to the pope. He revived the ancient Roman imperial idea recast as a theocratic Christian world monarchy. In 807 **Harun al-Rashid**, the caliph of Damascus, recognized Charles as the monarch of Christendom. In 812 Michael of Byzantium followed suit. The patriarch of Jerusalem sent Charles the keys to the Lord's sepulchre and thus acknowledged him as the patron of the holy sites.

§93. Organization of the Church under Charles.

a. **Charles** showed himself in charge also in the **organization of the church**. Rome no doubt counted as guardian of tradition and orthodoxy, but could exert only the voice of counsel, not legislative authority. The emperor brought to completion the organization of the church in his empire. Germany was assigned four **archbishops**: in Cologne, Mainz, Trier, Salzburg; Italy five, France twelve. But these metropolitans were of less consequence than those in the ancient church. The system of **parish churches** underwent further development. There were churches in all of the larger centers and also out in the country, bounded by parishes (*parochia*), which enjoyed the right of baptism, a cemetery, the tithe privilege, local care of souls, and financial independency from the bishopric. The officials: *parochus* (*pastor, presbyter, sacerdos*, later most often *plebanus* or *rector ecclesiae*, priest of commons or church superior); if under a parish supervisor, *archipresbyter*, later *decanus*. The **tithe**, already in evidence in the 4th century as a free-will offering, required since the second synod of Macon in 585, now gained state-legislated ratification.

b. Charles promoted the ***vita canonica*** [canonical life] since most churches were probably collegiate churches (non-episcopal urban churches, overseen by a college of clerics). The canons were responsible for conducting the choral service (celebration of the seven canonical hours [matins and lauds, prime, tierce, sext, nones, vespers, compline], divine service, and the care of souls in the parish. Adjoining the monasteries and

cathedral churches (episcopal churches), **schools** were established where clerics were expected to acquire a certain amount of theological training. Provision was made for regular visitations. Charles introduced the Gregorian liturgy into the divine service, the first step in its triumphal progress throughout the church. Milan and Spain nevertheless kept their ancient liturgies. To encourage preaching, Charles bade Paulus Diaconus to compose the *Homiliarium* [book of homilies, or sermons], and required the people to be taught the Lord's Prayer and the Apostolic Creed in the vernacular.

c. All these external forms the emperor imbued with thoughtful content under the impulse of his **concern for education in general.** But this education was less native and national in character and rather represented a return to the cultural elements of the early Latin world. This trend followed from the existing conditions. Save in Byzantium and among the Moslems, only in England was a vigorous intellectual life in progress. It was mainly to England that Charles applied for men to provide the Franks with a higher culture. Yet he was not one-sided in this preference. Anyone intellectually competent was drawn into the court. Foremost among these was **Alcuin** the Anglo-Saxon, headmaster of the School of York, the pre-eminent scholar of his time. In France from 782, he was director of the **palace school**, then abbot of St. Martin in Tours, whose **monastery school** gained world renown under his superintendency. He wrote dogmatic and exegetical works, poetry, and numerous letters of contemporary historical importance. **Paul the Deacon**, the Lombard, at first at the courts of Pavia and Benevento, then a monk, lastly in Monte Cassino (*Historia Langobardorum*). **Einhard**, an eastern Frank, Charles' trusted adviser in questions of art, was a layman, but at the end of his life abbot in Seligenstadt. Joining these were the Lombards Peter of Pisa, Paulinus of Aquileia, and Fardulf, Theodulf the Goth of Orleans, the Franks Adalhart of Corbie, and Angilbert of St. Riquier, were closely associated with Charles' sister Bertha.

d. Instruction in these **schools** was already beginning to follow the curriculum of the later universities, the *septem artes liberales. Trivium:* grammar, rhetoric, dialectic. *Quadrivium:* astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, music. In **theology,** there was a return via Gregory the Great to **Augustine**, providing a foundation for the relative soberness existing in Charles' court in a time of miracle mania.

e. Charles endorsed the **arts** as well. Brisk planning and busy activity in church construction went forward. The builders held to the ancient form of the basilica, but newly quickened with a German accent. Already prior to the Carolingian age, the style known as **Romanesque** began to define itself, and at this time was further refined. The introduction of the rounded arch, the elevation of the choir (altar area assigned to the choir of priests) above the floor of the nave, provision of a crypt (vault) beneath the choir, construction of a west choir opposite the east choir, replacement of the columns with wall pillars, organic integration of steeples, bells, high altar, and saints' shrine. Einhard's **cathedral of Aachen**, built in 796-804, was modeled on St. Vitale in Ravenna. The bells are of Frankish cast. Organs originated in the orient, built mainly by the Greeks. Pope Vitalian introduced them in Italy, and both Pippin and Charles received organs from the Byzantine court. From this time on, Germany developed organ construction; yet not until the 15th century does this instrument attract attention as an art medium, with the reduction of keys, the extension of the keyboard, and the application of the pedal system. Charles also provided for **singing**: hymnists included **Bede** in England, Paul Warnefrid, Paulinus of Aquileia, and Theodulf of Orleans. Gregory the Great's unison *cantus firmus* (because prescribed by the church) or *choralis* (because performed by the clerical choir) gave up [instrumental] music.

f. Charles' church organization also extended to everyday **folk life**. Betrothals, marriage contracts, and nuptials were outfitted with ascetic requirements and performed with ecclesial consecration. The Teutons were averse to church obstacles to marriage. The church was relieved of the care for the poor, which was to be taken over exclusively by the state. The blood feud was mitigated by arbitration, fine, and cojurors. Ordeals consisted of trial by water, cross, and Eucharist, ordeal of the bier, discovery of the murderer by trembling, or

by bleeding of wounds when touched by the murderer. The king's or the church's peace sought to restrain the Teutonic propensity to feud. Synodical judgments (*Sendgericht* from *synodus*) were enforced throughout the entire secular and spiritual administration by emissaries, administrators, or royal *missi dominici.* There was church excommunication, confessional and penitential formularies, and inclusion of the idea of *wergild* [a compensatory fine] in the penitential satisfactions. *Concilia mixta* combined the three curias: bishops, counts, abbots. (97 a.-c.)

§94. Theological Doctrinal Controversies.

a.   Adoptionist controversy. The Spanish bishops Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgellis taught that Christ in his human nature was not actually God's son but merely his by adoption. In 786 Hadrian and also the synods of Regensburg in 792, Frankfurt in 794, and Aachen in 799, since Urgellis lay in the jurisdiction of the Frankish empire, condemned this position as Nestorianism, whereas the Saracen Spaniards adhered to this doctrine.

b.   Icon Controversy. The *libri Carolini* of the younger theologians of Charles' court protested against the ecumenicity of the 7th general synod of Nicaea in 787, as also against the resolutions in the Icon Controversy. They denied icons any religious significance, but allowed they might have some external ornamental value. This position was confirmed particularly by the synod of Frankfurt in 794. The pope submitted.

c.   Controversy about the *filioque*. This clause, adopted by the synod of Toledo in 589, had remained valid also in France since the synod of Gentiliacum in 767. When on account of it Frankish monks were charged in Jerusalem, Charles ordered the *filioque* clause to be approved at the synod of Aachen in 809. Pope Leo sanctioned the doctrine, but not its inclusion in the symbol, and ordered two silver tablets bearing the unaltered *Constantinopolitanum* to be posted in St. Peter's church. In all of these conflicts, not only did the independence of the Teutons reveal itself, but also their freshness of mind, not yet altogether dominated by papal tradition. (97 d.-g.)

2. The Church Becomes Independent in the Imperial Collapse
under Louis the Pious and His Sons, 814-858.
§95. Advantage of the Popes in the Distracted State of the Empire.

a.   The papal idea is the one really potent idea in the Middle Ages. Charlemagne's overpowering personality repressed it of course but was only temporarily able to prevent it from looming up. As soon as the empire showed signs of weakening in the wrangles between Louis and his sons, the papacy gained nourishment and found opportunity to make itself felt. In the process, Carolingian culture, which had not yet engrossed Germany for the most part, soon wasted away. In its prime, in Charlemagne's time this culture benefited the empire more, whereas under Louis the Pious and his sons it was more the spiritual monastic education that celebrated its triumphs.

b.   Charlemagne's elder sons Pippin and Charles had died shortly before 814. The youngest, the monastic-minded **Louis I the Pious** (814-40), immediately on his accession to the throne introduced a puritanical regimen at his court. This did not hinder him from standing on his rights athwart the church, but with the related monastic pressure it brought on destructive frictions among the Germans, and in Rome generated the feeling that one might take liberties and get away with it. Leo III not only failed to defer to the emperor, but allowed himself, by executing enemies, to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the emperor. Stephen V (816-817) was consecrated without the emperor's confirmation, but in 816 he deferred to the Romanists by crowning the emperor. His successor Paschasius (817-824) likewise disdained to obtain imperial confirmation. He excused himself, however, and by way of a treaty secured for himself a wide range of titles (the deed of Louis, actually

dating from the 11th century, granted the pope additionally, besides Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, and patrimonies in southern Italy, the freedom to negotiate peace and friendship with the emperor only after his consecration). Around the same time, in 817, Louis delivered the **order of succession** to the throne for his sons, in which he still retained the imperial idea: Lothair (emperor), Pippin and Louis (kings). His nephew Bernard in Italy rebelled against this arrangement and was blinded. Lothair arrived in Italy in 823 and suppressed the disorders originating there. And when Eugene II (824-827) too took office without the confirmation of the emperor, Lothair carried into effect the *constitutio Romana* in 824 (pope elected by clergy and nobility only, not by the commonalty; but confirmed by the emperor). Nor to be sure did Valentine (827) worry much about that, but Gregory IV (827-844) submitted.

c. Till now Louis' reign had made fair headway. But already at this time the evil influence of **feudalism** became evident. When the free peasants whose properties were absorbed into the vast manors disappeared, so did their free temperament. To be sure, the magnates themselves were vassals to the liege. But the extensive fiefs bloated their ambition, and it took a resolute prince to restrain them. It was still worse when under Louis even the civil service appointments were awarded in fee. When all is said, the weakness of the emperor became apparent in that he allowed himself to be overruled by his wife. In 829 he revised the **succession to the throne**, in favor of his fourth son, Charles the Bald, born in 823 to his second consort Judith, a Welf, provoking his three elder sons to take up arms against him. Gregory crossed the Alps in 833, and entered the encampment of the sons at Colmar, minded to confront chiefly the imperial loyalist bishop Drogo of Metz. The emperor found himself deserted by his army on the "Crimson Field" (Field of Lies). Even though Louis the German in a penitent mood then shifted allegiance to his father, with the strife between the brothers obstructing him, the emperor conducted a mere shadow government thereafter, until 840. The fraternal war terminated in the **treaty of Verdun in 843**, which ceded to Lothair the narrow ribbon of land running from the southern tip of Italy along the Rhine up to the North Sea; to Louis the eastern German regions were given; to Charles the Bald*,* the western Frankish lands. Pippin had died. Under the multifarious regime of Louis' sons, Sergius II (844-847) again tried to circumvent the *Constitutio Romana*, but in vain. Leo IV (847-855) was still obliged at least to apologize for the same *lèse majesté*. Benedict III (855-858) did not even do that anymore. Thus the imperial power began to fail. (100.)

§96. Monasticism and Missions.

a. Reflecting Louis' special disposition, **monasticism** experienced a reformation under his reign. Under the Merovingian rule monasticism along with the church had degenerated. **Charlemagne** had checked the disorder (the chase, revelry, indulgent living by monks and nuns), but otherwise concerned himself with the monasteries only insofar as they were transmitters of learning following Cassiodorus' rule and maintained schools. In **Louis'** time the trend harked back to the rule of Benedict of Nursia in regard to asceticism and manual labor, and to the rule of Gregory the Great in regard to mission work. *The Life of Benedict,* Gregory the Great's miracle-manic account, was now much read, and **Benedict of Aniane**, as things turned out, a trusted counselor of Louis*,* in 817 received the commission from the imperial assembly at Aachen to reorganize monastic practice throughout the realm. Beginning at the cloister of the cathedral of Cornelius at Aachen, founded for him, he went to work, and added the rule of canonical life following the regulations of Chrodegang. Amalarius of Metz in particular applied these strictures to the clergy of the non-episcopal churches. The clergy of the episcopal churches was called a cathedral chapter, that of the others, collegiate foundations. Convents, double convents [monks with nuns, usually under an abbess], canonesses or foundation women. Commendatary abbots (affluent abbeys rented out for profit), recluses and hermits of the woods (**Meinrad** of Mariä Einsiedeln). Later in the time of Louis' reign, the prominent bishops, **Agobard of Lyon** (d.

840) and **Claudius of Turin** (d. 830), holdovers from Charlemagne's era, spoke up against superstition: trial by ordeal, sorcery, making weather happen, image worship, pilgrimages, veneration of saints and relics.

b. It is characteristic of the quality of piety of this era that Louis the Pious received as a gift from the Byzantine emperor the writings commonly ascribed to Dionysius Areopagite, and that Dionysius, the founder of Paris, before long came to be identified as this Pseudo-Dionysius. (106.)

c. From the monasteries the church's **mission** now advanced abroad, in fact as far as **Scandinavia**. Harald, prince of Jutland, sought sanctuary with Louis. Ebo of Reims reacted by crossing the Eider. In 826 Harald consented to his baptism at the court of Louis in Mainz, and **Ansgar** from the monastery of Corbie followed him back north. The archbishopric of Hamburg was founded for this missionary in 834. But Harald fell away again after Louis' death, and, when the Danes had demolished Hamburg in 845, Ansgar received the bishopric of Bremen from Louis the German. Ansgar had delegated Gauzbert the monk to Sweden, and later himself followed him, but nowhere achieved any enduring work

d. At this time the church suffered a **persecution of Christians** (850-859) under Umayyad rule in **Spain**. The Christians, there called Mozarabs (*Arabi Mustaraba*, arabized Arabs, as distinct from ethnic Arabs), were less suppressed than the Christians under the Saracens (*scharki*=eastern). Many therefore flocked to the study of Arabic literature and into court and public service. In others again, a fanatic rigorism was awakened, which provoked the fanaticism of the Muslims under the lenient Abdurrhaman II. Eulogius of Cordova and Paul Alvarus became martyrs. Now among the tribesmen of northern Spain, not laid low by the Moors, there began an ever-expanding struggle against the unbelievers, in which Alfons II the Chaste of Asturia (d. 850) particularly distinguished himself. **Sicily** around the same time was still under the Arab yoke. (119 f.)

§97. Theology and Doctrinal Controversies.

a. The sons of Louis turned once more to follow the precedence set by Charlemagne with regard to the educational practice of their time, but it would prove only a passing phase. Lothair organized public instruction from the ground up in Italy. Under Charles the Bald, **Carolingian culture** in France **soared to its meridian**. This was the time when the difference between the French dialectical, external style, and the German practical and internal style, evolved. The study of the classics declined, however, and monastic pedantic theology took their place.

b. In the **West**, in charge of Charles the Bald's court school (843-877) was **John Scotus Erigena**, a keen, liberal thinker. He introduced his era to Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, whose writings he translated into Latin. His magnum opus *De divisione naturae* posits all being in a four-fold form of existence: 1. *Natura creatix non creata* (God), 2. *Natura creatix creata* (God's world-ideas), 3. *Natura creata non creans* (the world as reproduction of God), 4. *Natura nec creata nec creans* (God as ultimate object in the restoration of all things). The ideas of the Areopagite were Neoplatonic. Faith possesses the truth in metaphorical vesture. The purpose of reason is to remove this vesture, and to raise faith to cognition. His conception resembles that of Goethe and of contemporary "higher education." John is thought to have been a Scots-Irish (ιερου-γενα=hailing from the sacred isle of Ireland, Erin); following the death of Charles the Bald, Alfred called him to England in 882. Besides John Scotus, the abbot Paschasius Radbertus, and the monks Ratramnus and Christian Druthmar of Corbie, were proponents of learning in France.

c. **German** contemporaries were Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856), abbot of Fulda, later archbishop of Mainz (*De clericorum institutione*), and his disciples Walafrid Strabo, abbot of Reichenau (d. 849), and Gottschalk. These all were engaged chiefly in exegesis, the kind they were accustomed to from Charlemagne's time. They interpreted Scripture following the maxims of the Fathers, and the allegorical, anagogical, and tropological methods. Only one of them, Christian Druthmar, recognized the necessity of focusing on the grammatical-

historical sense. The *Vita sanctorum* and Mariologies now rated as high as the annals and chronicles of Charlemagne's era. Liturgics even occasioned a vehement controversy between Agobard of Lyons and Amalarius of Metz. The compilations of *canones* and capitularies prepared by Ansegis of Fontenelles, Agilram, Benedict Levita*,* and the so-called **Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals**, figured more prominently than all of the writings listed above. The Decretals in particular indicate the goal of Medieval culture. A certain Isidore Mercator emerges as their author, who lived it seems around 850 in the diocese of Reims. The need of the church impelled him to perpetrate the forgery, clearly established as such since the *Magdeburg Centuries* of the Reformation era. The work comprises three units: 1. 50 apostolic canons and 59 false decretal letters of the popes from 100 to 314; 2. *Donatio Constantini*; 3. Decretals of the popes from 314 to 731. The decretals guarantee the church with its property and offices against lay authority and guarantee the bishops against the metropolitans, in that, by introducing a primateship, the document places them directly under the pope. The most magisterial mind of the era is that of **Hincmar of Reims,** against whose interests this compilation of decretals had been initiated, of course to no avail. By his literary effort, he exerted the most telling influence upon the political, ecclesiastical, and secular conduct of affairs.

d. The **doctrinal controversies** these men waged also prefigure the course of the Middle Ages. The central issue was the Augustinian doctrinal position. What miracle-manic sacramentalism suggested became a reality. This happened when the antithesis was invariably advocated in the manner of later non-Lutheran Protestantism, with a tinge of rationalism. In every instance, however, in the defended proposition as well as in the antithesis, evangelical impulses lay concealed; and already here history points to the eventuality that the Gospel would at last find the right understanding chiefly in Germany rather than in France or England.

e. In the **Lord's Supper Controversy**, Paschasius Radbertus*,* in the interest of sacramentalism and in the sense of Gregory the Great espoused the popular Catholic conception of the transubstantiation of the elements, and that the action [of the priest] constitutes a sacrificial mass. His monk Ratramnus held to the Augustinian conception, that the body and blood are received *realiter*, to be sure, but yet only *spiritualiter et secundum potentiam* [spiritually and potentially]. The Germans sided with Ratramnus, the French with Radbert*.* Walafrid Strabo and Christian Druthmar tried to comprehend the mystery in the term *impanatio* (*in pane*, in the bread), or consubstantiation.

f. In the controversy concerning the **parturition of the Virgin**, the same antagonists stood opposed to one another. Paschasius adhered to the *utero clauso* (born from a closed uterus), emphasizing the miraculous aspect. Ratramnus defended the human view according to Lk. 2:22-24. The **Predestinarian Controversy** [847-868], originated in the monastery of Fulda, Gottschalk, a former *puer oblatus* [pre-adolescent novice left in a monastery], had not received the dismissal from the monastery granted him by the Mainz synod, because Hrabanus Maurus had interfered. In the French monastery of Orbais he studied Augustine's doctrine of predestination, and lost his way in the notion of the *gemina* (double) *praedestinatio*. At the synod he convened at Mainz in 848, Maurus instigated his excommunication, and he was remanded to Hincmar of Reims for punishment. Hincmar confirmed the Mainz verdict at the synod of Quiercy in 849, and consigned Gottschalk to the monastery at Hautvillers. Against the inhuman treatment the monk suffered there a storm blew up, when Ratramnus, Prudentius of Troyes, Servatus of Ferrieres and lastly even Pope Nicholas confronted the powerful prince of the Church. But Hincmar's defenders included Florus of Lyons, Amalarius of Metz*,* and John Scotus Erigena*,* the latter advancing Neoplatonic reasoning in this matter. This support weakened Hincmar's case, and at the synod of Quiercy Charles the Bald was obliged to push through the doctrine of qualified Augustinism for Hincmar in the *Capitula Carisiaca*. Opposed was a Loringian synod of Valance in 859 under the chairmanship of Remigius of Lyons*,* which declared against *Pultes Scotorum* (Scottish porridge). A general imperial synod at Savonnières in 859 failed to arrive at a decision, and so the whole business came to nothing. At the synod of

Metz in 863 Nicholas I called Hincmar to account regarding Gottschalk, but in vain. Gottschalk died in 868, unrecalled.

g.   In the **Trinitarian controversy** of 857, Gottschalk charged Hincmar with Sabellianism, for using the expression *sancta deitas* in a church hymn instead of *trina deitas* (threefold God-head), which Hincmar regarded as tritheism [three Gods]. Ratramanus supported Gottschalk, Maurus, and Hincmar. What all these disputes were really about was which one of the princes of the church should have the upper hand, the very issue Hincmar would fight out versus Nicholas, but not until the next period.

C. Decline of Early Medieval Culture, 858-918.
1. Decline of the Empire and the Victory of the Papacy, 858-881.
§98. Decline of the Imperium.

Lothair the emperor entered a monastery in 855. The Normans assaulted his extended imperial border in the north, the Saracens in the south. When he died, his sons inherited the country in thirds: Louis II (855-75) as Emperor received Italy, Lothair II Lorraine, subsequently named for him, and Charles Burgundy. But when the latter two died without issue, Charles the Bald and Louis the German in 870 divided their inheritance in the treaty of Mersen. **Charles II (the Bald)** succeeded Louis II as emperor, 875-877. Thereupon the imperial crown lay orphaned for four years, during which time Burgundy seceded from the empire (879) under Count Boso, and in 880 Lorraine fell entirely to Germany. Then **Charles III the Fat** (881-887), son of Louis the German, ascended the imperial throne. His brothers died in 882, and when in 884 Charles the Bald's entire progeny, down to a single infant grandson, died out, he unified the whole empire one last time under his hand.

§99. How East Met West in the Slavic Mission.

a.   In Constantinople, Basilius Macedo (867-886) murdered Michael III and succeeded him. Earlier, under Michael's regime, **Rastislav of Moravia** had welcomed missionaries from Constantinople because he wanted to shake off the Frankish yoke and expand his hegemony toward the south and west. The brothers **Cyril** and **Methodius**, friends of the patriarch Photius of Constantinople, who by 860 were already active in the country of the Chazars north of the Crimea, went to Moravia in 863, created an old Slavonic ecclesiastical language and literature, and conducted divine service in the dialect of the Moravians; he was protected by Rastislav against the German bishops. Yet they recognized the supremacy of the western church, and in 867 linked up with Rome under Nicholas I. When after Cyril's death in Rome Methodius wanted to settle down in Pannonia, and **Swatopluk** (Swentibold), king since Rastislav's overthrow in 870, again acknowledged German supremacy, Methodius was obliged to yield to the bishop of Salzburg, and to introduce the Latin church language.

b.   When Methodius died in 885, the Moravian kingdom went to ruin (908), and Magyars, Poles, and Bohemians parceled it out among themselves. The **Bohemian princes**, to whom Swatopluk was related by marriage with a Bohemian princess, followed suit in turning to Christianity; the population, not as yet. The **Bulgars**, through their sovereign **Boris**, applied to Rome around the same time as the Moravians. Boris was baptized in Constantinople in 864, and Michael III was his godfather. For several years, however, the Bulgars, for political reasons, adhered to Rome. In 869 they rejoined Byzantium, and under Czar Symeon (893-927) a resplendent setting was provided for the church and Bulgarian literature. (100c.)

§100. The Papacy Ascendant.

a. Meanwhile in Rome one of the greatest popes held the see, **Nicholas I** (858-867), a man possessed of high regard for the papacy and a ready program designed against princes, metropolitans, and synods. The prevailing

circumstances offered him his opportunity. To begin with, he took action against **Lothair II**. Lothair had rejected his consort Thietberga in order to marry his concubine. When the magnates of the realm interceded for the queen, he harassed his consort into a confession of incest with her brother, and two synods at Aachen (in 862 and 863) had dissolved the marriage. But now Hincmar of Reims spoke up for Thietberga. Nicholas for his part sent two bishops to Lorraine, and when they succumbed to bribery, the pope excommunicated his legates, deposed the Loringian metropolitans, and annulled the decisions of the Synods. Lothair crept to the cross and took Thietberga back.

b. This pope successfully challenged **Hincmar** too in 861-865. Hincmar had deposed Rothad of Soissons. When Rothad appealed to the pope on the basis of the Sardicensian Canons, Hincmar was obliged, perhaps on the basis of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which Rothad had sent to Rome, to submit to Rothad's reinstatement.

c. Lastly, Nicholas proceeded against **Photius** of Constantinople in defense of **Ignatius**. Bardas, the immoral guardian of Theodora's son Michael III, had replaced the patriarch Ignatius on account of his moral earnestness, with Photius, the most learned man of his time. In order not to be hindered by the unorthodox manner of his installation, Photius appealed to the pope for a favorable verdict. The papal legates interceded for Photius at a council in Constantinople in 861. But Nicholas excommunicated them in 862, and in 863 declared Ignatius the legitimate patriarch. When the Greek missionaries in Moravia, and at the same time the Bulgarian prince **Boris**, headed back to Rome in 867, Photius accused in a circular the pope of heresies named already in the Council of *Quinisextum*, added as such for good measure the *filioque,* and directed the synod at Constantinople to depose the pope. This hit the pope so hard that he submitted the issue to the Frankish academicians, and requested the repudiation of Photius. The most explicit response to his request was a learned brief by Ratramnus. Nicholas, who to the last had held high the dignity of the pope, died soon thereafter.

d. Under Hadrian II (867-872) though, the papal cause again began to slide downhill. In the Greek affair to be sure he upheld his predecessor's verdict. When Basilius Macedo murdered Michael, he weighed in on the other side, that of Ignatius. At the 8th ecumenical synod of Constantinople in 869, Photius was deposed and Ignatius reinstated at Basilius' behest, abetted by the pope. Against Lothair and Walrade however Hadrian put up only a feeble fight. Lothair died. Then when the pope tried to intercede for Lothair's heirs against Charles the Bald and Louis the German, Hincmar repudiated him in the name of his king. Similarly, the Frankish metropolitan came out on top in a wrangle with his nephew Hincmar of Laon, whom the pope was minded to support in his opposition to the metropolitan. (103 c.)

e. John VIII (872-882) crowned Charles the Bald emperor in the succession, received his church state and the papal election without strings attached, and sent a clerical primate across the Alps. Against this action Hincmar protested, whereas he had always till now stood by his king, Charles the Bald, but he died that same year, as also did the pope. John VIII had at length allowed the 8th general synod of the Greeks, meeting in Constantinople in 879, to talk him into rescinding Photius' banishment. Leo VI the Philosopher (886-912), emperor in Constantinople, however, again deposed Photius. (106.)

2. Continuing Decline of the Empire and also of the Papacy, 881-918.
§101. The Empire.

a. The treaties of Verdun and Mersen not only abandoned the imperial idea, but introduced the multifarious culture of the riven geographical sections. Already on this account, quite apart from his frailty, Charles the Fat was unable to maintain mastery over the entire empire. Moreover, other difficulties played in. Western Europe was beset by **three robber nations:** the **Danes** (Normans, Vikings), who made the coastal countries of the North Sea and of the Atlantic Ocean unsafe; the **Saracens**, who marauded especially Italy and southern

France, and got as far north as Chur and St. Gall; and the **Finnish Magyars,** who devastated southeastern Germany and penetrated to the borders of France and Italy. Moreover, the **Vassals** had risen to the zenith of their power. In the process they became burdensome not only to the empire, but also to the church, because the church, especially in France, had lost a lot of property to the magnates when she was compelled to claim their protection against external enemies (just as conversely the church had practiced the same abuse earlier when magnates despaired of their sins).

b.   Charles the Fat was a sick man. He made a disgraceful peace with the Normans. Thereupon in 887 the Germans crowned his nephew **Arnulf of Carinthia** king. Replacing the empire were five kingdoms: West Franconia, East Franconia, Italy, Lower Burgundy, and Upper Burgundy. In Italy, the perfidious margrave Guido of Spoleto made himself king in 888, and emperor in 891. But **Arnulf**, who had stoutly defended his country against Normans, Magyars, and Moravians (under Swatopluk), was proclaimed emperor (896-899). On behalf of his son **Louis the Child** (899-911) Hatto of Mainz administered the regency. At this time the Babenbergs and Conrads arose in the land of the Franks and were making war on one another. The status of **free farmers** went under when they sought protection from the magnates. The magnates were **service men** (vassals, secretaries, or liegemen) to the counts who, enfeoffed with estates, supplied military service. In the topmost branches of the tribes swung the **dukes** who were not eager to give in to the king. Rebels of that kind were the Ludofings in Saxony, the Conrads in Franconia, in Swabia (Alemanni) the counts palatine Berthold and Erchanger, in Lorraine, Rainer. With Louis the Child's death in 911, the Carolingian line in Germany was extinguished. Through episcopal influence at the synod in Hohenaltheim in 916, which outweighed the dukes who were taking in the ecclesiastical estates, **Conrad I of the Franks** (911-918), a relative of Louis', became king. He was unable, however, to gain ascendancy over the dukes, and just before he died, he directed his brother Eberhard to offer the East Franconian crown to his arch-enemy, **Henry of Saxony**.

c.   In opposition to the pedigreed dukes, the **bishops,** threatened by the dukes as they were in their freedom from civic encumbrances, espoused the cause of the crown and of imperial unity. Nevertheless, even the monasteries and chapter schools contributed to the general collapse. Yet in spite of all, the era could point to various signs of life in the field of art and literature. Notker Balbulus (the Stammerer, d. 912) and his sequences (texts wedded to textless tonal sequences which had evolved from the hallelujah in the mouth of the multitude). Adjoined to these were the lays, Celtic and Old French *lais,* German *Laiche* = melody, song), Regino of Prüm's (d. 915) world chronicle, the ***Heliand,*** an ancient Saxon poem of 830, and *The Christ* by Otfried, a monk of Weissenburg (860). (In both works, Christ stands as king, accompanied by his liegemen, opposed to the duke Pilate and the bishop Caiaphas). *The Wessobrunner Prayer*, a fragment of the Creation hymn, dates from the beginning of the century. *Muspilli* (world conflagration) is a fragment from an upper German poem on the end of the world.

d.   In **France**, where independent national development began with the government of Charles the Bald after the Treaty of Verdun (843), whole sections in the north and south seceded. Odo of Francia was elected king in 888 (the Capetians later sprang from his family). Strange to say though, when in 893 Charles the Simple, son of Louis the Stammerer and grandson of Charles the Bald, claimed the throne, Odo shared it with him, and when he died, Charles ruled alone till 929. (109 b.)

§102. Resurgence in England.

In England, after Oswy's conversion to Roman Christianity, three kingdoms eventually emerged, Northumbria, Wessex, and Mercia. Egbert of Wessex unified these kingdoms in 827. Thereafter, all popular assemblies ceased, and the kings were accordingly advised on the imposition of taxes and legislation only by the **Witenagemot,** the council of the wise. Already in Egbert's times, the Danes had begun their ruinous

invasions into the country. This extremity drove the free farmers into a feudal relationship with the thanes (nobles). It was **Alfred the Great** (871-901) who first set the kingdom to rights. When just a boy he had accompanied his devout father to Rome, and he received his training at the court of Charles the Bald. He acceded to the throne as a young man of 22 and made Wessex and the southern section of Mercia into a new kingdom with advanced administration, a base for his successors from which to contend for the restoration of the whole realm. The fringes of the country remained Danish for the time being. Within his territory **Alfred** saw to the improvement of agriculture, industry, and trade, the founding of monasteries and schools, and the promotion of every scientific enterprise. Even at the age of 36, he took up Latin, and translated into Anglo-Saxon Boethius' *Consolatio,* Orosius' *History,* Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*, and Bede's *Church History.* While thus engaged, he summoned to his court Grimbald of St. Orner, John the Irishman (*Erigena?*), and Asser the Briton, and perhaps laid the foundation of the University of **Oxford**. (110 c.)

§103. Beginnings of Pornocracy in Italy.

a. In **Italy** the Greeks in the east still hemmed in the church state, as did the Saracens in the south, and the Lombard duchies of Friaul, Spoleto, Benevento and Tuscany. When Charles the Fat died, the dukes Berengar of Friaul and Guido of Spoleto strove for Italy and the imperial crown with Charles the Fat's son Lambert and Louis of Burgundy (later also with Arnulf and Louis the Child), on account of which Arnulf had moved to Italy in 894. By 905, **Berengar** had secured Carolingian Italy and had also received the imperial crown from Pope John X (916-924).

b. Playing into these transactions was the **pornocracy** (rule of courtesans) of the popes. Two popes of little account, Marinus and Hadrian III, in office until 885, succeeded John VIII. Stephen V (885-891) ignored Charles the Fat. Formosus, on the other hand, (891-896) crowned Arnulf whom he had called on for assistance. For doing that his corpse was desecrated by his successor *S*tephen VI (896). Three popes who followed Stephen VI reigned but briefly. John IX (898-900) restored the dignity of Formosus in order to appease the Germans. Actual pornocracy set in with **Sergius III. Theodora**, the wife of the Roman senator Theophylact, was the mistress of Adalbert of Tuscany. She had two daughters, **Marozia** and **Theodora**. Until 924, **Marozia** was married to Alberich of Camerius. But her paramour was Pope Sergius. He had been elevated from the diaconate to the papal throne back in 897, but had been driven out by John IX with the support of King Lambert. Reelevated by his mistress Marozia, Sergius reigned 904-911. After his two inconsequential successors, Theodora II installed her paramour, the bishop of Ravenna, as Pope John X (914-928). (105.)

c. John X and his predecessor helped, by means of a sordid ploy, to create a curious irony still obtaining in the history of the papacy, vindicating sometimes the ideal of morality, sometimes spiritual authority. In Constantinople, the **Emperor Leo VI the Philosopher** (886-912) had lived with his fourth consort already before marriage. The patriarch Nicholas Mysticus demanded annulment of the marriage. But the immoral Sergius supported the emperor against the deposed patriarch when he sanctioned the marriage in 906 at a synod in Constantinople. Later, the emperor regretted his violation, and John X helped the emperor's successor, Alexander, to rectify the case against the patriarch, and to annul the marriage. In this transaction the popes had at one stroke kept alive their connection with the Greeks and maintained their claims to supremacy over Constantinople. (114.)

II.   Flowering of the Medieval Church.
Contest between Emperor and Pope, 918-1268.

§104. General Summary.

a. In the period about to dawn, the church, as dominated by the papacy, brought her most grandiose

distinctive designs to fruition. All factors were bound to conspire toward this end: the fruition of the entire Germanic cultural milieu, above all, too, the blooming of the new empire in which Germany grew strong. England and France still stayed in the background, while Germany stood at the forefront. Even this imbalance promoted the papacy. Both England and France particularly fostered their intellectual dependency on the papacy, allowing for the particular development of individual papal ideas. On the other hand, it was just in this reticence of these two countries that the sense for freedom in external matters became concrete, which again, however, on that same account failed to attain to the noblest perception of freedom. It remained to Germany to fight out the bitter contests with the papacy. On this ground consequently the foundations originated where the ideas of the Reformation, as conceived in their profundity, could rest and ripen to maturity. This eventuality was due in part to Germany's external environment and probably to the national character evolving from it, but also contributed to the further shaping of this character toward a predominance of inwardness, which often means that externals are left in disarray. It is critical to note that these developments accompanied a certain necessity inherent in the circumstances, without anyone's contemplating the outcome at the time. In that the emperor designated himself the carrier of the reform, he pushed the papacy into conflict by means of federal power; for when the papacy had been reformed in the Cluniac fashion, it was compelled to strive for autocracy as well. All of these elements, however, lay within God's orchestration to the end that these ideas, each slumbering in various driving forces, might find expression and then experience the corrective action of the Gospel.

b.   The most imposing figure of this time was Gregory VII, whose papacy, in difficult circumstances, came to the defense of its most grandiose designs. The time prior to him prepared the way. After Gregory, the empire boasted its most brilliant figure in Barbarossa. Illustrious too, and resembling Barbarossa, in his wake, was Innocent III, and lastly, there was the emperor who was most momentous in person, Frederick II, who succumbed to popes of little moment. That brings us to the outline of this unit. The contest between emperor and pope: A. the mutual strengthening of both powers; B. the contest itself, with the empire superficially victorious; C. the ultimate victory of the papacy.

A. Preparation for Contest in the Mutual Strengthening of Empire and Papacy, 918-1056.

1. The Gathering Strength of Germany and of the Empire Also Strengthens the Church, 918-1002.

§105. Pornocracy in Italy.

The **pornocracy** in Italy at first impeded the ascendancy of the papacy, a boon strengthening the empire. **Marozia** had John X, her sister Theodora's paramour, strangled when he resisted the feminine regime, and, following two negligible popes, she installed her own and Pope Sergius' son on the throne as John XI (931-936). The next year she married Hugo of Lower Burgundy, who had surrendered his territory to Rudolph II of Upper Burgundy in order to acquire Italy and the imperial crown. Since Berengar's death in 924 there had been none to wear it. But Marozia's son **Alberich** (from her union with Camerius) usurped the secular government of Rome in 936 and himself reigned over Rome under five popes until 955. Then his son, the dissolute Octavian, became Pope John XII (955-963). In 945 Hugo had named his son Lothair king of Italy and his co-regent. Lothair reigned until 950. His consort was **Adelheid**, the sister of Conrad of Burgundy. After Lothair's death, **Berengar of Ivrea,** maternal grandson of Emperor Berengar, himself aspired to emperorship, and as a bonus, to see Adelheid married to his son Adalbert. But in 960 Adelheid appealed to **Otto I** of Germany. This cry for help Pope John XII exploited for his own purposes, and crowned Otto, when he arrived in **962, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.** (109.)

§106. Quiet Build-up of the Papal Idea via the Reform in France.

a. Everywhere, the clergy, and especially also the monasteries, had gone to ruin; perhaps least of all in Germany. To counteract this deterioration, a **movement towards reform** arose, the monasteries being the object of this activity in the 10th century, the episcopacy in the 11th, and from 1050 onward, the papacy itself. The reform began at first in **France**, with much the same intention as the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. The general cultural goals Charlemagne had outlined for the monasteries were restricted to the ecclesiastical goals embodied in the **papacy**. As a result, the episcopal infrastructure had to retreat so that the monasteries could train a reliable combat force for the papacy. The physical property of the monastery was to be thoroughly superintended, discipline carried out according to the rules of **Benedict** and **Gregory**, and everything the church could magnify with splendor and pomp cultivated; hymnology, music, architecture. These ideas of course, later fully developed in the course of history, did not immediately, or by deliberation, appear in this context. What mattered at first was only the necessary reform. Where the Gospel is missing, however, the attention naturally focuses on these things as on successful means to external power, and the papacy, in accordance with its principles, profited from it. That was the **Cluniac Reform.**

b. Berno, the Burgundian count, received the commission from William of Aquitaine in 910 to found the **Cluniac** monastery. He introduced a ruthlessly harsh discipline, and subjected the monastery to the pope's direct supervision. After Berno's death, the monastery claimed **four eminent abbots,** of whom each of the latter three held office for longer than a normal generation, and united in themselves all of the great progressive ideas of that era: **Odo,** 927-942, Aymardus till 964, Majolus till 994, **Odilo** till 1048, **Hugo I** till 1109, Pontius till 1121, Hugo II till 1122, **Peter the Venerable** till 1156. Under Odo the monastery expanded into the Cluniac Congregation, mainly in France and Lorraine, and in its regimen undertook the study of theology, hymnology, and music. Odo himself was soon on call far beyond the precincts of the monastery, to render ecclesiastical and political decisions.

c. Independent of Cluny, a similar reform emanated from the **monastery of Gorze,** near Metz in **Lorraine**. This endeavor stressed piety, without bothering about questions concerning the regulation of bishops, congregations, or the pope, and without any particular business interests. From 950 to 990 William of Dijon and Richard of St. Vannes labored in Lorraine. Richard's disciple Poppo received the commission from Henry II to the abbacy of Stablo near Lüttich [Liège], and from Conrad, to be the reformer of German monasteries. Henry III was himself distantly related to Odilo, and Hugo was Henry IV's godfather.

d. Also in **Italy** toward the end of the 10th century, the reform movement found its beginning. Here the focus aimed primarily at reviving the ancient Eremite tradition. **St. Nilus** was in the south (d. 1005); in central Italy there was **Romuald** (d. 1027), founder of the Camaldulensian order, and **Gualbert,** who in 1038 founded the Vallombrosian Congregation. These leaders mainly cultivated the rigor of asceticism. The Cluniacs, owing to their compact organization and their preoccupation with externality, wielded in an outward way the greatest influence. (113 c.)

§107. The National Invigoration of Germany via the Kingship Also Raises Up the Church.

a. Henry of Saxony (919-936). The cause of the external distress accompanying the other distractions generally felt in Germany was the raids of the Wends and Hungarians, the latter having migrated as far as Italy. A calm, prudent man, Henry first of all induced his familial dukes to acknowledge his royal dignity while granting them control of their territories. He reserved for himself only the appointment of bishops (except in Bavaria). Next, by imposing a tribute he secured himself against the Wends, ordered citadels built for the

protection of the Saxon and Thuringian people, raised up a cavalry, and presently in 993 routed the Hungarians at Riade. Then he rehabilitated the Danish march for protection at the north, and lastly seems to have been inclined toward a closer bond between the royal government and the church. During his incumbency he had paid little attention to the church and so encouraged her free development.

b.   Otto I (936-972). This aspiring prince had first of all to contend with the dukes allied with his brothers. To the extent possible he deeded the conquered areas to his relatives: **Bavaria** to his brother Henry, **Swabia** to his son Ludolf, and **Lorraine** to his son-in-law Conrad the Red. He united the **Franks** with the **Saxons.** The dukes he made **royal officials**. In Burgundy in 937 he helped Conrad, the infant son of Rudolf II, to take control of Burgundy, united since 933. In 946 he aided Louis IV *d'outre mer* (*transmarinus*) against his vassals in France. In 950 he subdued the Wends and Bohemians, founded the bishoprics of Merseburg, Zeitz, Meissen, Havelberg, and Brandenburg, and in 967 subjoined them to the archbishopric of **Magdeburg.** He organized the north similarly by way of bishoprics: Schleswig, Ripen, and Aarhuus. Along the way in 951 he moved to **Italy** at Adelheid's behest, and at the same time won both her hand and the crown of Italy, but left the administration to Berengar. He was subsequently embroiled in a war (953-955), incited by a revolt of his son and son-in-law, with whom Frederick of Mainz had formed an alliance, and after winning it the royal government depended on bishoprics rather than on duchies. With bishops there was no question of hereditary rights, and diocesan boundaries did not coincide with tribal boundaries, both circumstances proving disadvantageous to the dukes.

c.   Thus Otto applied the principle of feudalism to church government. In so doing he rendered the bishops not merely independent of the reigning princes but made them also secular princes. That was how he committed them to himself and to the imperial idea. At the same time, however, he set forth the problems which would have to be fought out immediately in the contest between emperor and pope, the problems of simony and lay investiture. These mechanisms assured the bishops not only of the jurisdiction inherited from Charlemagne's time, but also the right of coinage, of customs, and county privileges. In addition, the secular prince enfeoffed the bishop by handing him the episcopal crosier. It came about in this instance through a reform-friendly king who took this step, not directly from royal authority, as did Charlemagne, but by dint of an agreement which recognized the independence of the church in the interest of the state and the church. This combining of church and state of course does not really redound to the benefit of either one; not that the forms in themselves were defective, but this was due to the lack of evangelical understanding, nor can one expect anything else of that era.

d.   In 955 Otto defeated the Hungarians at **Lechfelde** near **Augsburg.** The Hungarians thereafter gave up their nomadic way of life, and later, under Saint Stephan (997-1038), accepted Christianity.

§108. The Rejuvenation of the Empire Also Strengthens the Papacy, Though the Papacy Remains Dependent.

a.   In the year 961 Pope John XII appealed to Otto for help against Berengar. This time the king's interests coincided with those of the church. Tranquility once ensured, he had himself crowned **emperor** in 962. By this act, in the *juramentum Ottonis,* he affirmed for the pope his former rights, but in the *privilegium Ottonianum* he attached the qualification specifying that after every papal election, the emperor must be notified before the consecration. Thereupon the pope elevated Magdeburg to archepiscopal status, and the emperor validated and granted the Carolingian donation to the see of Peter. But when the pope began to perjure himself, Otto ordered him deposed in 963, and extracted an oath from the Romans never to consecrate a pope without his consent. In fact, he decided the election and installed Leo VIII in John's place. Now Otto's aspirations crossed the borders of the empire over to **Greece.** It was only after quite a few years of war, however, and by agreeing to pull the German troops out of lower Italy held by the Greeks, that he succeeded in 971 in marrying his son Otto to

Theophano*,* the niece of Czimisces. Otto wanted to buttress his German kingdom with the help of the church. With such a policy, he made her powerful. The union of church and the state might have been useful to both parties had the Gospel been in swing. In the circumstances obtaining, however, this amalgamation landed the emperor in the reaches of **mystical imperial ideas (**with paganism and Christianity woven together) already dominant in the emperorship of Charlemagne with his theocratic ideas. With this mysticism the papacy duped the secular power in order to get power into its own hands.

§109. The Decline of the Empire Gives Independence to the Popes.

a.   Otto II (973-983) never achieved much of anything in particular. But in his time the pornocracy in Italy grew worse than ever. Following Leo VIII (963-965), John XIII (-972) and Benedict VI (-974) were both royalist popes, but the party of **Crescentius,** son of the younger Theodora and Pope John X*,* rose against the imperial party. Benedict VII (-983), a compromise pope, expelled Boniface (of the Crescentius faction), and succeeding him there came yet another royalist, John XIV (-984). Otto meanwhile had suffered a defeat at arms with Saracens and Greeks in lower Italy and had died in Rome. His widow **Theophano,** assisted by Willigis of Mainz*,* administered the regency for **Otto III** (983-1002). In this interval **Crescentius II** made it to the top in Rome, and installed John XV (985-986) as pope. But John XV soon fell out with his patron and appealed to Otto for help; he died though before the emperor arrived. The emperor then appointed his young cousin Bruno as **Gregory V** (996-999), the first German pope (until now the popes had always come from the ranks of the Roman clerics), and suppressed Crescentius*.*

b.   **Meanwhile, relationships had developed in **France which would later have consequences in Germany and Rome. **Hugh Capet** had seized the French crown in 987 after the death of Louis V*,* the last Carolingian (**Capetian line 987-1328**). Because Arnulf of Reims, uncle to Hugh and Louis, had opened the gates of Reims to Charles of Lorraine, Hugh replaced **Arnulf** with **Gerbert,** the most celebrated savant of the age, who had brought the school of Reims to the crest of its academic renown. Against this substitution the Cluniac abbots protested, basing their arguments on the authority of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. John XV at the time needed German favor, and declined to offer his acknowledgment. This induced Gerbert to draw up a confession of faith which harked back to the first four ecumenical councils, rejected celibacy and fasting, and was designed to disengage France from Rome. On this account Gregory V sided with the Cluniacs who, quite aside from this, controlled popular sentiment in France, and Gerbert was glad when in 997 Otto called him to Germany as his preceptor.

c.   **Gregory had not up to this time been a Cluniac. But no sooner was he pope than he intervened on behalf of the Pseudo-Isidorian ideas of the universal papacy, not as opposed to the emperor, but within France. The Germans were opposed on native grounds to papal impediments to marriage. The church had arbitrarily here and there stipulated them. In the compilations of the *canones* these partially local issues had become canon law. By this device Gregory compelled Robert of France to release his consort Bertha, his blood relative in the fourth degree. When Gregory died, Otto installed his preceptor Gerbert on the papal throne as **Sylvester II (999-1003). Now Gerbert abruptly reverted to the reactionary papal ideas he had formerly despised. In attacking simony, at the same time he claimed investiture of bishops as a papal prerogative, and under this assumption sent ring and crosier to his former opponent Arnulf. At the same time he made sure that his young disciple, already a visionary, would be dedicated to the *Renovatio imperii Romani,* with Byzantine mummery. (119.)

**d.   **One side-effect of this arrangement was that Otto fell into Italian notions of asceticism, the kind that saint Nilus cultivated, and divorced himself from his Germans both ecclesiastically and politically. He was determined to rule the world from Rome and was ashamed of being a German. On a pilgrimage to the grave of

his friend Adalbert of Gnesen (a Bohemian prince, reared with Otto in Magdeburg, who adopted the name of his teacher Adalbert, the first bishop of Magdeburg, and then himself as bishop of Prague fell into Italian mysticism, but subsequently, in order to propagate these ideas in the East, was sent from Rome to Bohemia just when Adalbert of Magdeburg was achieving great things in the mission among the Slavs, such as the conversion of Stephan of Hungary, and later, in 997, was killed in Prussia on a missionary venture), the emperor elevated Gnesen to an archbishopric, and released Boleslav of Poland, the enemy of Germany, from his vassalage. The same year (1000) the pope named Prince Waic Stephan, king of Hungary, and founded Gran as an archbishopric. Thus Germany was politically prejudiced in the interest of the papacy.

e.   Even though Otto felt himself a lord and made no effort to conceal from his papal friend his opinion about the extravagance and avarice of the popes and about the deception in the Donation of Constantine, still, he let himself be coddled by the pope. All this infuriated the Germans, including the clergy, and when presently even the Romans revolted together with all Italy, the 22-year-old youth died in 1002, broken and disillusioned. This scenario repeated one already typified in the fate of the Carolingians and to be repeated again at a higher level in the next period. The business of the king, begun with sober, statesmanlike determination, was overthrown by the fanaticism for the Holy Roman Empire, as fostered by the papacy bent on engrossing the whole of Christianity (a corollary to the one universal church external). Small wonder that on this account a hatred for the "constitutionally untruthful Italians" should become endemic in the German people from its first beginnings.

§110. Even the Mission Compelled to Serve the Papacy.

a.   With the union of empire and church, the **range of the church's mission** expanded with the empire, yet it was different from a similar expansion in the time of Charlemagne. Mission work now flowed directly from personal piety, no longer so entirely in the service of the empire as formerly. Hence it extended beyond the reach of the empire, since under Otto II and III the main interest of the kingdom was centered in Italy, and the kings did not concern themselves with the mission in the East. Under Otto I it advanced to the Scandinavian countries, and it was English rather than German missionaries who promoted it. Gorm the Old, the founder of the **pan-Danish monarchy,** was a pagan. But when Henry I and Otto I demonstrated their power in the North, mission work again proceeded from Bremen-Hamburg. Gorm's son Bluetooth converted to Christianity and later also his son Sven Gabelbert, after Eric of Sweden, who had expelled him, had died in 998. These kings, however, employed English missionaries.

b.   Another missionary who came to **Sweden** was Unni of Hamburg, and there in 936 he died. By and large, though, the first missionaries to achieve success were the English, whom Olaf Schosskönig invited and who baptized the king in 1008; Christianity became the state religion, and Sweden maintained its connection with Hamburg-Bremen. The **Wendish mission,** set in motion from Magdeburg under the auspices of the empire, among the Obotrites in the north, the Liuti in the central, and the Sorbs in the southern sectors, terminated in **983** with the widespread **Wendish uprising,** while the mission beyond the kingdom under the **Slavs** in Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, advanced apace. It was in the interest of these Slavonian powers and the papacy to unite, since soon the war against the empire broke out. The mission among the Slavs at first enjoyed the advantage of this situation in the disengagement of the bishoprics of Gnesen and Gran from the German church.

c.   **Intellectual life** in this *saeculum obscurum* [murky century] began to rise but slowly, because, bear in mind, this was an entirely unfamiliar area for it to germinate. The monasteries and cathedral schools were still the centers of culture. The laity kept aloof from literature. In **Germany,** Widukind the monk composed the *Res gestae Saxonicae;* the nun Hrosvitha of Gandersheim (d. 904) the history of Gandersheim, *Carmen de gestis*

Oddonis I imperatoris, legends, and comedies; Notker Labeo, director of the school of St. Gall, translated parts of the Bible and of Augustine's works into German; Eccehard of St. Gall and the *Waltharilied*. In **France, Gerbert,** equipped initially with French, later also with Hispanic-Arabic training, formerly director of the monastery at Bobbio, shone with his new learning as archbishop of Reims. His disciple **Fulbert** was first in a line of French scholars of the next century. The situation was similar in **England**. Following King Alfred's reign, the union of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms became a reality through St. **Dunstan,** archbishop of Canterbury. Under kings Ethelstan, Edmund, and Edred, Dunstan was preoccupied, as abbot of Glastonbury, with the reform of monasteries gone appallingly to seed. Under the violent Edwin he was forced to flee to Flanders. But after Edwin's death, as regent for the young Edgar (after 959), he was appointed archbishop of Canterbury, and in this position was able to realize, for church and state, the ideas for reform, derived from Lorraine, which he had picked up in Flanders. The reunification of all parts of the kingdom, and raising the standard of education, was the result. Aelfric Grammaticus, 990, and Bishop Ethelwold of Winchester. (119b, 120.)

2. The National-ecclesiastical Reaction in Germany Leads Ultimately to the Elevation of the Papacy, 1002-1056.
§111. Henry II's Return to National Politics.

a.   When Otto III died unwed, thanks to the influence of the bishops, **Henry II** the Saint (1002-1024) was elected king. Through Henry the Quarrelsome he was a grandson of Henry*,* brother of Otto I*,* whom Otto had named duke of Bavaria. The idea of the right of succession convinced the German tribes to recognize Henry*.* He was devout and learned, and as the builder of the Bamberg cathedral, he was regarded as a saint. His government, however, represented after all a return from the ruinous anti-national course pursued by Otto III*.* This meant putting a stop to the Wendish wars, curbing the progress of the Polish duke Boleslav (even though in 1018 ceding Lusatia to him), in 1004 winning the Lombard crown, in 1014 the imperial crown, in 1022 wresting Apuleia from the Greeks, transforming the dynastic claim of the Ottonians to Italy into a royal claim, and in 1016 securing for the crown the claim of succession in Burgundy when Rudolf III died without issue. Henry died just as he was engaging in the **reform of the church**.

b.   In this regard as well, Henry had struck out on new paths. He pressed for **monastery reform**, focusing on asceticism and the limitation of wealth. That was a new idea, derived from the Loringian reform movement, but soon overleaping into Cluniac ideas. He now also aimed straight at the clergy especially, under the categories of simony, Nicolaitanism, and canon law. **Simony**, according to Acts 8:18-28, meant traffic in spiritual matters, ordination or sinecure, exchanged for temporal gain. Later (after 1050), lay investiture at any rate was tantamount to simony. At this time there was talk only of a deal negotiated between clericals. **Nicolaitanism**, according to the contemporary interpretation of Rev. 2:6, meant clerical marriage or concubinage. These were the abuses the reform movement strove to abolish by imposing **canonical regulations** on clericals.

c. Henry looked for ways to enforce these ideas, and in the process treated ecclesiastical affairs as imperial. He installed and deposed bishops, ruled on ecclesiastical controversies, and convoked synods. Later on, the Cluniac ideas gained a stronger influence on him through Odilo of Cluny and Richard of St. Vannes*,* the latter having brought these ideas to Lorraine. Via the same channel, the emperor came in contact with the papacy. After Otto's death, **John Crescentius III** ran things in Rome, and three of his creatures, John XVII, XVIII, and Sergius IV, he made popes. When he died, the Tusculan counts, descended from Alberich*,* regained the rudder and installed Benedict VIII (1012-1024) as pope. Benedict crowned Henry in 1014, and even though he was an unspiritual person, he agreed to the emperor's ideas of reform. But only after prolonged conflict with

the Crescentians, Greeks, and Arabs in lower Italy did he get around to reform. Reform synods met in Bamberg in 1020 and in Pavia in 1022, to embody in imperial law the ideas outlined above. The emperor's death halted further development along these lines. At the same time, a German national opponent in the person of **Aribo of Mainz** rose up to confront the papacy and the Cluniacs, whose activity first had an effect under Conrad's rule.

§112. Conrad II's Policy, Even More Temperate than His Predecessor's.

a.   **Conrad II** (1024-1039) had been elected through the influence of Aribo, since as a Frankish count he was a descendant of Luitgard, Otto I's daughter, and of Conrad the Red. He diverged even further from the visionary ideas of Otto III, and achieved enduring political results. In 1026 he gave the Danish march to **Knute**, and so secured the north in order to oppose Basilius II of Greece, the slayer of the Bulgarians, in Italy. For a considerable sum of money he had gained from the venal Pope John XIX an agreement to surrender his claims upon the eastern sector. This deal excited general discontent, in which the papal idea, already powerful in Europe, and the imperial idea as well found expression. The negotiations with Basilius were broken off, and Basilius set about to reconquer Rome. Conrad felt bound to take up arms against him. In Italy in 1026, the emperor was given the Lombard crown. In 1031 he compelled the Poles to hand back Lusatia. In 1033, at Rudolf III's death, he registered his claims to Burgundy, and in this way acquired all of the Alpine passes for Germany.

b.   On a second journey to Rome in 1036-1038, he enfeoffed Rainulf, the Norman prince, along with Aversa in Campania, and used him against the Greeks. In the north of Italy, as later also in Germany, he interceded in 1037, through the *statutum de beneficiis*, for the permanence and heritability of the fiefs of the Valvassors (after-vassals, the lower fee-bearers) as against the magnates. By careful management of the Palatinates, thanks to an enterprising ministerial class, he rendered the kingdom more and more independent of the bishops. Only in Milan was he unable to break down the opposition of the archbishop Aribert, because the Milanese hated the Germans. In **Germany** he seems to have made out all right without the church. Before long, Aribo broke with the emperor, but no one knew why. But the emperor remained in constant contact with Odilo of Cluny. Still, he showed he was in charge in the church to the extent of receiving payment for church offices, and of never really lifting a hand in the reform among the depraved popes. In Rome, after the tenure of the unprincipled John XIX (1024-1033), it was possible for the abominable twelve-year-old Theophylact, son of the Count of Tusculum, to become pope, as Benedict IX (1034-1048). It was possible because Conrad, as pragmatic as devout, concentrated exclusively on his job of running the government in Germany. His son Henry revised imperial policy in all of these questions and thereby helped the papacy get into the saddle.

§113. Henry III Clears the Path for the Papacy.

a.   To be sure, **Henry III** (1039-1056) too, better educated than his father (trained as he was by Brun in Augsburg), looked out for the external welfare of the kingdom. In 1041 he subdued the Bohemian duke Bretislav, who had conquered most of Poland, and reinstalled the Piasts on the Polish throne; in 1044 put the ousted Peter on the Hungarian throne and turned all three countries into fiefs dependent on Germany.

b. But like Otto III he felt gripped by sacerdotal ideas. He abstained from the simony practiced by his father. (They had already at that time begun to refer to the simple enfeoffment of a bishop by a secular prince, as simony. This kind of simony Henry practiced, adding the ring to the the bishops' crosier.) He also introduced the *treuga Dei*, the Peace of God. This act originated with the bishops, initiated by them in 1040 in the wake of a famine in France, and effectuated by the Council of Narbonne in 1054, with the prohibition against the blood feud at certain times and in certain places and applied to certain persons.

c.   Henry devoted more effort to **reforming the papacy** along the lines described than to any other project. This gave the Cluniac reform ecclesiastical leadership, enabling it to dispense with the secular. Thus Henry helped the papacy to gain a means of power no secular power could withstand. The scandalous Benedict fled before the Crescentians, and the papal crown was sold to Sylvester III. But Benedict came back. In order to be able to marry his cousin, though, he sold the tiara to John Gratian, the Roman Cluniac and friend of Hildebrand. Gratian accepted this disgrace in order to rescue the papacy and named himself Gregory VI (1044-1046). Benedict, however, reclaimed the papal throne when his marriage failed to materialize. So, there were three popes. To check this outrage Henry moved to Italy, deposed the three popes at the **synods of Sutri and Rome in 1046**, and had Suidgar of Bamberg elected as **Clement II** (1046-1047). Following Clement he installed Poppo of Brixen as **Damasus II**, and lastly Bruno of Toul as **Leo IX** (1049-1054). Leo's treasurer was the same **Hildebrand** mentioned above, and now in **Rome** the **Cluniac reform advanced apace.** In Rome, the curial finances were regulated, and the clergy sobered up. Supporting the pope besides Hildebrand, it was particularly the cardinals **Humbert** and **Frederick of Lorraine** in Rome, **Peter Damian** in Italy, and **Hugo of Cluny**. Leo traveled widely, and convoked synods in the interest of reform in Italy, France, and Germany.

d.   The reform had focused particularly on **simony** and **concubinage** of priests, and it did much to raise the level of folk piety as then practiced. While the pope was personally loyal to the emperor, with his independent papacy he nevertheless created a formidable opponent for the empire, in that, by his kinetic activity, he drove the Cluniac ideas home to every heart. These ideas of course were bent on reform. But the internal consequence, inherent in the contemporary churchianity issuing from Rome, was that the Cluniac ideas could only end in the **glorification of the papacy**. The discontinuance of simony and Nicolaitanism was based on the idea of the higher outward sanctity of the spiritual office, in this way on a higher level than the laity. That lay investiture and simony should be regarded as the same thing could only be a matter of time. And the question of celibacy, uncongenial as it was to the Germans, was, as based on the same notion, bound to confuse consciences irredeemably. But it was really that **untruth** which became the norm, and which the other practical, or even moral, measures did service to: the improvement of the financial status of the curia, the moral renewal of the Roman clergy, the repression of the depraved Roman nobility, the unification of papacy and ecclesial provinces by means of the annual Easter synods in Rome, attended by bishops from every country, and the elevation of papal esteem in the eyes of the people in every country when the pope, in his travels, would approach the people by preaching, and otherwise, making a deep impression on them in his personal leadership of the reform synods, in the style of the German kings at the imperial diet. By 1053, the papacy was recognized even in **North Africa**, in Carthage. The pope succeeded in his work in Germany and France because, as a German and a relative, he remained in harmony with the emperor, and the emperor with him. It was otherwise where the French chief proponents of the Cluniac ideas had the say in Italy and Greece. (120 a-e.)

§114. Difficulties for the Pope in Italy and Greece.

a. Southern Italy suffered from a profusion of governments. The Arabs owned Sicily, the Greeks Calabria and Apuleia. Toward the north lay the Lombard duchies of Salerno, Capua, Naples. There Conrad had settled the Normans, who stood ready to fight everybody. It was for this that they embarked upon the sea in tremendous numbers. Under Weimar of Salem they subdued parts of Apuleia, and received these from Henry as imperial fiefs. **Humbert** became archbishop of Sicily and tried to carry out reforms. These suited neither the Lombards nor the Normans. At first, these people served as right-hand men to the pope and emperor. But when on their own initiative they had conquered Benevento, and the emperor lost interest in the matter, Leo turned to the

Greeks under Constantine Monomachus as allies, and himself ventured out at the head of an army in battle, to the horror of the Italian ascetics. In 1053, defeated and captured at Civitate, he so impressed the Scandinavian warriors as a spiritual prince, that they kissed his feet.

b. In **Greece**, the alliance with the papacy came to nothing anyway. There in 1053 the patriarch Michael Caerulareus*,* in partnership with the Bulgarian metropolitan Leo of Achrida, had again brought up the ancient charges of Photius and the Quinisextum*,* stressing the use of unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper (Judaists, Azymites). On this issue an exchange ensued, which at length brought **Humbert** and **Frederick of Lorraine** to Greece. With their stiff Cluniac position these men could only poke up the fire, and when the patriarch was unprepared (unlike the Studion abbot, Niceta Pectoratus) to burn what he had written in the presence of the Roman legate, Humbert placed the **decree of excommunication** on the altar of the Church of St. Sophia, and in **1054** Michael solemnly retaliated in kind. With this act the **church actually came apart**, whereas till now, the controversies between East and West, and in fact personally between the patriarchs on both sides, had always been within one and the same church. Now the medieval idea of pope confronted the Greeks.

c. The **Greeks** at the time extended their influence to **Russia**. Already in Photius*'* day under **Igor's** rule (912-945), a Norman cathedral church is supposed to have existed in Kiev. Igor's widow Olga is said to have requested Otto I to send messengers of the faith, and in response Adalbert of Magdeburg is to have made a journey there. Olga's grandson **Vladimir,** "the Equal of the Apostles" (980-1015), was baptized Basilios, and married a Greek princess. The pomp in the Church of St. Sophia impressed the Russians. Since then they have existed subordinate to the patriarchate of Constantinople, with an independent metropolitan in Kiev, and a college for the clergy in the monastery of the Kiev caves.

d. **Theology** did not cease in Greece, but the products of this theology remained foreign to the West. The revival beginning with Damascenus and Photius continued with the collections of Scriptural interpretations assembled by Ecumenius, Enthymius, Zigabenus, and Suidas; *catenae* (interpretation chains); Michael Psellus, philosopher.

§115. The Last of Henry's Popes.

a. After Leo's death, the last pope Henry would install was Gebhard of Eichstätt*,* as **Victor II** (1055-1057), on whom he conferred the governorship of Italy. Pope and emperor died within the same year. The young, enthusiastic Henry had combined in himself all of the great ideas of his time and had the knack of surrounding himself with astute men in episcopal sees in Germany who held to the emperor and kept the high church movement within German national traces. A peculiar variant of this idea was the endeavor of **Adalbert of Bremen**, who declined the papal throne in 1046 in order to elevate Hamburg-Bremen to the status of a Nordic patriarchate. Officially, nothing came of this move, because the curia was against it. In reality, Adalbert ecclesiastically governed the church of Scandinavia across Greenland as far as Vinland in Massachusetts, and in alliance with the Obotrite duke Gottschalk*,* the Wends east of the Elbe; he enjoyed broad political influence until he was overthrown in 1066, and Gottschalk died a martyr.

b. The **high-church** ideas turned on reform, empire, papacy, simony, and Nicolaitanism. What these ideas portended for the future, the leading lights themselves at the time hardly guessed. For them, the Gospel was engrossed in these ideas. The German popes of Henry*,* as also Gregory V in his time, stood shoulder to shoulder with the emperor. It is interesting, however, that as soon as they occupied the papal chair, they adopted papal ideas. For all that, they are not in the same class as Gerbert the Frenchman, who changed his convictions and influenced his young fledgling toward self-interest and hostility to the empire.

c. On the other hand, Henry too sustained many a **setback**. In 1051 the Hungarians had shaken off their German vassalage. In Lorraine, an **opposition movement** led by Godfrey*,* which had risen in collusion with

France against Henry, was only partially suppressed, by which time (1054) Godfrey had married Beatrix of Tuscany and so gained claim to her properties. On top of that, in 1055 a **conspiracy of princes** gathered momentum in Germany when the lay nobility saw itself pushed into the background by the insurgence of the governmental departments, cities, and bishops, and by the irenic policy of the emperor. The conspiracy never came to a head, but its consequences became apparent later. Henry III had smoothed the way for the papacy. During the regency of the emperor's widow, the means for the policies of the greatest pope of the Middle Ages were being prepared.

d. The imperial and papal ideas had reached their summits in Henry and Leo, but they were **in alliance**. This harmony could not last. The least spark was all it would take to ignite antagonism between the two. Once the contest was underway, the empire kept losing at first because the papal ideas, being spiritual, were the stronger, inasmuch as they also had raised the empire to its zenith. The papacy now threw off the domination of the emperor. The empire later recovered when the taking of the holy sepulcher became the driving idea in the Crusades. But intellectually, the pope remained the winner anyhow, and then at last overthrew the empire.

B. The Exaltation of the Papacy, 1056-1198.
1. The Papacy Emancipates the Church from the Domination of the Emperor, 1056-1122.
§116. Preparation for Battle.

a. Under the guardianship of Agnes, the emperor's widow, the anti-monarchic and anti-national powers in Germany at first gathered strength. Pope Victor had still made concessions to the Lorringian opposition: Baldwin in Flanders, Godfrey in Italy, and Conrad Welf in Bavaria. But there were parties among the bishops too: the papal-ecclesiastical party under **Gebhard of Salzburg**; the imperial party under **Adalbert of Bremen**; and the episcopal party under **Hanno of Cologne**, which were making common cause with the lay nobility. In addition, Agnes depended wholly on the royal departments, so that the kingdom seemed to get along without the support of the bishops.

b.   Meanwhile, the **papacy's preparation for battle** gathered momentum. Cardinal Fredrick of Lorraine, the brother of Godfrey, was elected **Stephen X** (1057-1058) without imperial confirmation. Hildebrand was supposed to request the confirmation subsequently. But the pope died before he got around to it. And now Hildebrand asked the empress to name the bishop Gerhard of Florence as **Nicholas II** (1058-1061), in opposition to the reform-hostile Tusculan, Pope Benedict. Under Nicholas, Hildebrand's (now archdeacon) systematic activity began. First, Humbert came out with his *Libri tres adversus Simoniacos*, in which he condemned every form of lay investiture, and incited people against simony-minded princes. Next, the pope enfeoffed Robert Guiscard, the Norman, with southern Italy, which Robert had cleared of Greeks. Thirdly, the pope freed himself not only from the influence of the parties of Roman nobility, but also from the empire, by enacting in 1059 the **decretal on papal election** (election by the college of cardinals, c*lerici cardinales* composed originally of all permanently placed clergy, at this time, the seven bishops of Rome with seven presbyters and deacons). A further complication was the relationship of the pope with Beatrix of Tuscany and her daughter Matilda, both now allied with Godfrey of Lorraine, and in upper Italy with the **Pataria**, a social-revolutionary party in the Lombard cities, especially in Milan (the higher clergy were of German nobility and were allied with the civil nobility; the democrats were allied with the lower clergy against the Germans, and took action as a body, represented by the agitators Ariald, Landulf, and Erlembald, in defense of the reform and against concubinage).

c. These circumstances precipitated a **premature showdown** when Agnes and the German bishops protested against the papal election decretal. The excitement was fatal to Nicholas, and in the papal election Hildebrand directed the cardinals to elect Anselm of Luca as **Alexander II** (1061-1073). Four weeks later the synod of

Basel, in agreement with the Tusculans and the Lombards, elected Cadalus of Parma as Honorius II. Thereupon in 1062 Hanno of Cologne subjected the young **Henry IV** (1057-1106) to his authority, and the episcopal party was on top. Alexander was then recognized in a council at Augsburg in 1062, and Honorius, marching on Rome with an army, was held in check by the Normans until the council of Mantua in 1064 again confirmed Alexander.

d. Meanwhile, Hanno was training the young Henry with severity. But when at 15 years the boy was declared of age (1065), Hanno was obliged to step aside for Adalbert of Bremen, who forthwith lapsed into the reverse of severity. The inconsistent education contributed to making the emperor a man of vehement temperament. Presently the anti-imperial elements long taking shape announced themselves. Otto of Nordheim and Magnus of Saxony revolted. Henry responded by building fortified castles. There was a revolt in 1073; the king was defeated in 1074 but was victorious at Homburg in 1075. Just when the king was about to achieve absolute power, the struggle with Gregory VII began.

§117. Gregory VII and Henry IV.

a. At Alexander's funeral Hildebrand was tumultuously acclaimed by the commons for the election, and accordingly entered upon his actual imperium as **Gregory VII** (1073-1085). The preceding pope, in a conflict over the archbishopric of Milan, had exiled Henry's simonist advisers who defended the election of Godfrey of Castiglione instead of the papal favorite Atto. Henry was tolerant toward Gregory regarding those advisers. In 1074 and 1075 Gregory renewed the celibacy and simony laws against lay investiture, and exiled once again the same advisers, who were continuing to sell church offices. And because Henry adhered to Godfrey of Castiglione, a papal embassy appeared on New Year's Day 1076 in the royal camp at Goslar, and threatened the emperor with excommunication and deposition. Henry replied with the same threats, supported by Siegfried of Mainz and Hugo the White (Cluny), and by German and Lombard bishops at the synod in Worms in January. In February the **excommunication came through from Rome**. Apprised of this, the bishops ate humble pie, the Saxons rebelled, the diet of princes at Tribur (Oct. 1076) invited the pope, and the emperor was given the chance to rid himself of the excommunication. Suddenly, Henry left for Italy, and on January 25-27, 1077, showed up **before Canossa**, a castle of the Margravine Matilda of Tuscany mentioned above, where Gregory had betaken himself, and, after some delay, received release from excommunication. **This was a defeat for Gregory.**

b. Now the German princes had to take orders or become rebels. They chose the latter and elected Rudolf of Swabia, Henry's brother-in-law, as king. A protracted struggle ensued, in which the cities sided with the emperor, together with the lesser nobility, the clergy, and most of the bishops. The pope temporized. What he was after was to appear as arbitrator between the princes, and in this role proclaim the **supremacy of the papacy**. But the opportunity did not turn up. Gregory capitalized on Henry's defeat at Mühlhausen, however, to recognize Rudolf. But Rudolf soon fell in battle in 1080 at Hohenmölsen, and even though Hermann of Salm was elected counter-king, the mood of the commons turned toward the emperor. He moved to Italy. There, Wibert of Ravenna was elected pope in 1084 as Clement III, and conferred the crown on Henry. Henry besieged Gregory in the Engelsburg. To be sure, the Normans rescued him, and took him along with them south, but he died in 1085 in exile (*Dilexi justitiam et odi iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio.)* ["I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, and so I shall die in exile"].

c. In **France,** Gregory had easy sailing because of the Cluniac influence. The frivolous King Philip I (1060-1108), the grandson of Robert and son of Henry I, under duress gave up simony, but changed his conduct not a whit. Gregory, however, was lenient toward William the Conqueror of **England**, in spite of William's treating all church property like so much secular fee. The pope had in mind to use him against Henry. On the other

hand, Lanfranc of Canterbury was anything but complimentary to Gregory, because of Berengar the heretic.

d.   We can hardly begrudge **Gregory the fame associated with human magnitude**. From his standpoint, he defended a cause both great and just, the reform, and he went at his work with single-minded ardor. Aside from that, he played at big-time world politics. He set himself above kings and emperors, made spectacular seigniorial claims not only on England (where, however, William the Conqueror forestalled him), but also on Russia, Spain, and others, sealed alliances with Armenia, and planned the conquest of the Orient. Yet upon the whole, he was too doctrinaire (not to his discredit) to be a politician, and too much given to vehemence. The time was not ripe as yet for his objectives. That is why he failed. But then too, his cause itself simply did not mirror the Gospel, diminishing his reputation in the estimation of all temperate judgment, and that is why he had to become a schemer, perhaps without his being aware of it, as so often happens with people of his sort. For all that, the informed historian can read in Gregory's defeat, and in the way it happened, the prospect that his cause would one day triumph.

§118. Victory of the Papacy in the Concordat of Worms.

a.   Victor III succeeded Gregory (for only 16 months); then Urban II (1088-1099), a Cluniac Frenchman, followed. At first, Urban was obliged to surrender Rome to the imperial party. But he had wedded Matilda [the Tuscan countess, his staunchest supporter] at forty-three to the 17-year-old Welf V of Bavaria, and in 1092 helped the upper German nobility to victory against Henry. He also succeeded in alienating from the emperor the emperor's son Conrad, suspected of having inappropriately sought the favor of Praxeda, the emperor's second consort. Before all this, Victor had lost his appetite for world supremacy, and stood ready to recognize the political power of the emperor. After Piacenza in 1095 [council convoked in March], Urban additionally introduced a modified version of simony. Cardinal Deusdedit and his paper ***Contra Simonistas***: kingship must be independent of the papacy. Lay investiture, he wrote, is not in itself simony, but only if transacted upon the payment of money. Only such money-paying or money-receiving clergy rate as simonists and heretics. The others, invested by the king without monetary payment, are to be regarded as schismatics, and are free to return from following the false Pope Wibert to the official pope. The German bishops let themselves be duped by this paper, and waffled, and the itinerant Cluniac monks of Hirschau stirred up the commons against the emperor.

b.   The **first Crusade** (1096-1099), however, brought about a double reversal. It provided a victory for the pope at first. In Constantinople, the dynasty of Basilios Macedo had been superseded in 1056 by the **Comneni** in the person of Isaac I. Earlier the **Seljuqs** had risen up against the last Macedonians. They were the descendants of Seljuq, a prince of Buchara, converted to Islam, whose descendants had later spread out all over the near east and Persia in the 11th and 12th centuries. Isaac's fifth successor, his nephew Alexius I (1081-1118), now urgently appealed to his western fellows in faith for help against the Turks. In the West, the idea of delivering the holy sepulcher had long been fermenting because of the molestation of pilgrims and the jeopardy into which that put the business enterprises of the Italian port cities. Another imminent danger lay in the possibility that the Arabs might again gain the upper hand in Spain and Italy. On that account Gregory VII had long before urged a crusade. Now at the synods of Piacenza and Clermont (1095), enthusiasts, especially like **Peter of Amiens**, agitated among the commons and the knights of Italy and France for a crusade. Undisciplined hordes, but also a well-trained army of knights set out. The vanguard perished in the Balkan peninsula. The army of knights set out from Taranto for Asia Minor, subdued Nicaea, Edessa, and **lastly, in 1099, Jerusalem**, and crowned Godfrey of Bouillon king and protector of the holy sepulcher. Urban lived to see that much.

c.   The victors bore down on the conquered with savage abandon. In order to protect the spoils, Latin principalities and bishoprics were organized: the Kingdom of Jerusalem under Godfrey (1099-1100) and his

brother Baldwin (1100-1118), the principality of Antioch, the duchy of Edessa, the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and other archbishoprics and episcopal sees.

d.   Using the impetus of this movement, Urban had been able to excommunicate the frivolous Philip of France back in 1094 for his adulterous affair with Bertrada. Paschalis II (1099-1118) renewed this excommunication, and it was not rescinded until after the death of the king. In **Germany**, however, this Roman crusade movement provoked a **national** movement which played into the emperor's purposes. After 1097 he had peace. Again, he relied on the bishops, enforced the Peace of God, protecting towns and farmers, and kept the nobility in check. Still, with this very policy in time he enraged the knights, who lived on war. Supported by the knights and the papal party, the emperor's son **Henry** revolted against his father, and in **1105** compelled him **to abdicate**. The excommunicate died in 1106, and the church denied him burial. Henry stands a tragic figure. His own failings brought on his ruin, yet his presentiment was accurate, that the papal claims were presumptuous. The church could lay nothing to his charge, since she held the consciences of that time under threat of excommunication only by the unsanctified violence of usurped legality, and in this way broke the power which the emperor's resplendent person exercised and which would otherwise have swept him to victory.

e.   Against Henry IV Paschalis had shown himself harsh; against Henry V, he was helpless. **Henry V** simply ignored the stricture against investiture, turning the tables on the pope in the dealings in 1111 at Sutri by strong-arming him to **agree** to concede all of the church's landed property if the emperor would relinquish investiture. Because this compromise was built on no real understanding of the Gospel, but on politics, it could not hold water. Bishops and princes alike protested against it, because for them, it would have meant a loss, and only the king would have benefited from it. In 1116 Paschalis repented of his weakness and renewed the prohibition against investiture. He died in flight, as did his successor Gelasius in 1119. **Calixtus II** (1119-1124) approached the emperor with peaceful intentions, which led to the **Concordat of Worms** in 1122, a compact providing that in Germany the bishop should be elected, free from simony, but in the presence of royal supervision; then, together with the king, he should be enfeoffed with temporal properties and rights, and lastly, that the pope should consecrate the bishop elect and invest him with ring and staff. That is how the **papacy won out** over the empire, inasmuch as the emperor surrendered the spiritual character of his enfeoffment of bishops, as originally intended, not from evangelical understanding, but from political sagacity. The unchurchly Henry lacked the sensibility for any such consideration; all he cared about was the selection of the person. That was enough for him; but from now on the actual overlord of the bishops was the pope. By the same token, this concession of the emperor could only be interpreted by contemporary Christendom as a retreat, even if a smart one. In Italy, first the ecclesiastical investiture, then the imperial enfeoffment proved entirely detrimental to the emperor.

§119. Developments in France, England, and Spain.

a.   In **France,** the **Capetians** had been in power since 938. Hugo 987-996, Robert -1031, Henry -1060, Philip I -1108, Louis VI -1137. These kings had a hard time of it against the feudal nobility, who single-handedly had conducted the first crusade, and also, since the Peace of God, cultivated the Christian ideal of chivalry. These magnates adopted a stance in defiance of the kings, as did the sovereigns at the time of the Reformation in Germany. The king ruled only over the crown land, the Isle de France. The kings, however, found support coming from the clergy and from the towns. Louis ratified charters which the towns had wrung from the *seigneurs*, and so certified the kingdom as protector of the liberties of local authorities, and thus had the commons on his side. (131 d.)

b.   In **England**, the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Alfred the Great had also been subjugated (twice) by enemies

from the outside, the Danes and the Norsemen. The reign of the Danish king Knute the Great (1016-1035) was only temporary. But before the kingdom could recover, William the Conqueror of Normandy in 1066 caught King Harold off guard, and after the Battle of Hastings, the Norman French feudal nobility oppressed the Anglo-Saxons by confiscating their estates and settling them. From these originally Germanic elements a nation ultimately evolved, but it was not till around 1350 that the French language faded out.

c. Because William accepted support from **Rome**, he introduced into the English church, till now virtually independent, the Roman liturgy and other practices, and in general put the church into closer contact with the mainland. His successors, William II (1087-1100), Henry I (1100-1135), and Stephan (1135-1154) were in constant conflict with the nobility and the clergy, who at length established their authority at the expense of the crown. But they could not become sovereigns like those in France, because the individual baronial fiefs were too scattered and because count positions continued to be distributed among officials on a non-hereditary basis.

d. Notwithstanding, the **church** had in this time confirmed her influence in both countries. At the same time, she was more indulgent here than toward the German emperors, because she felt secure in her domination anyway. And for that reason, the influence of Cluny could also reach its cultural zenith here undisturbed.

e. The Investiture Struggle also flared up in **England**. William II Rufus allowed the see of Canterbury to remain vacant because of pending problems, yet, at death's door in 1093, he installed Anselm of Bec, the protégé of Lanfranc, who had given the king a freewill, but inadequate, gift of money. On recovery in 1097, the king exiled the archbishop. Henry I, having seized Normandy from his brother Robert, and consequently in need of the clergy, recalled Anselm, and in the end, just as in France, it came down to the king's relinquishing investiture with ring and staff, and contenting himself with the feudal oath. (131 d.)

f. In **Spain**, the caliphate had nearly run its course. Constantly involved in civil wars, it was forced to struggle with non-subject emirs (governors). In 994 Almansur wrung out one last victory when he sacked San Iago; but in 1031 the last caliph, Hischam III, withdrew into seclusion, and the Arabs drifted apart into a scattering of states without organized unity. This was a boon to the Christians. The smaller states joined up with the larger kingdoms of Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Portugal. During the wars with the Moors, Spanish chivalry emerged (**Cid**, the Count Rodgrigo Diaz of Bivar, d. 1099). (131 d.)

§120. The Internal Strengthening of the Church in the Interest of the Papacy.

a. The conflict between Gregory and Henry, as well as the Crusade, were bound to stimulate vigorous intellectual exchange, which may be ascribed to the activity of the Cluniacs in general, and of Gregory VII in particular. True to medieval papal pattern, the first to benefit from this stimulation was the **monastic community**, inasmuch as this whole reform movement had sprung from the monastic community of the French nation. For the same reason the movement naturally proved strongest in France for a number of lifetimes. The founding of Cluny had represented the reform of the Benedictine order. But in the floriation of grandeur the secular had filtered in again. Against this deterioration, representatives of eremitism had previously protested in Italy.

b. From **Italy**, eremite asceticism had crossed over to France. **Peter Damian**, one of Romuald's disciples, and closely connected with Cluny, exerted far-reaching influence in Italy. His particular position was that he wished to generate a **love for Jesus** by telling about the love of Jesus. The more pronounced monastic influence on the clergy of the churches in point of canonical life also dates back to him. He compiled rules from Augustine's sermons. So these clergy were called Augustinian prebendaries, or regular canons, while the others, who did not practice any common life, were known as secular clergy. Canonical life now, as it had done under Pippin and Louis the Pious, discouraged this secularization, which the noble clergy were especially bent on counteracting.

c.   Also in **France** two **eremite congregations** were founded, whose principal aim was more than merely to escape from the world in general, but rather to isolate the individual monk from fellow monks. Note the **Order of Grammont**, founded in 1073 by Stephan of Tigernum, and the **Carthusian Order**, with the parent monastery of La Chartreuse at Grenoble, founded in 1084 by Bruno of Cologne, the rector of the cathedral school at Reims. Add to these the **Order of Fontevraud** (*fons Ebraldi*), founded in 1095 by Robert Arbissel. He founded a co-educational monastery for monks and nuns under secular direction, where the sexes lived apart, but convened for divine service.

d.   **The Cistercian congregation**, founded by the Benedictine abbot Robert after futile attempts to restore discipline among his monks, gained a special distinction. The Cistercian order represented the reform of the Benedictine order replayed. This order emerged in 1098 at the monastery of Citeaux at Dijon as a counterpart to Cluny. It returned to the original severity of Benedict. It submitted voluntarily however to the supervision of bishops, avoided every appearance of interference in the pastoral provinces of others, rejected all pomp, administered its own property, and promoted manual culture, chiefly in **Germany**, by making extensive tracts of land arable. Not until the subsequent period, under **Bernard of Clairvaux** (abbacy 1115-1153), did this order attain to its proverbial prominence. Its **constitution** was aristocratic**.** At the head was the general chapter of abbots. The order was subdivided into four *lineae*, deriving from the parent monastery. Every monastery was annually audited by its parent monastery, the parent itself audited by the four eldest daughter monasteries. The indoor habit of the order was white; outdoors it was black.

e.   Cluny gained influence also in **Germany**, extending from the Frankish monastery of Hirschau under the abbot William (d. 1091) to other monasteries. The innovation, conceived in Italy and France, of employing **lay fraternities** to oversee physical service in house and field and to transact business with the outside world, spread abroad from here. These brothers, however, were not full-fledged members, but only servants, even though the monastery rules applied none the less to them. Apart from this, Hirschau's influence touched the commons through ascetic societies among the laity. (126 a.-e.)

§121. The Beginning of Scholasticism.

a.   In the wake of this energetic activity of the orders and of the battle of wits between emperor and pope, academic inquiry of the time rose to the level of ecclesiastical learning in the form of **scholasticism** (*scholasticus*, the scholar, the academician). The prerequisite was the study of **Aristotle** in the Latin translation of Boethius (*Categories* and *De interpretatione*), and in the introduction to the Aristotelian categories of Porphyry. This curriculum produced the specialized discipline of dialectics (actually, the art of conversation, but then the methodical conceptual procedures of thinking; more general than the discipline of logic), to gain mastery in critical questioning. The process of thinking, the power of reason, enjoyed ever more profound public respect, and soon church tradition came under scrutiny as to its agreement with reason. Similarly, this method gradually replaced the accepted practice of compiling the maxims of the church fathers with systematics (logical outline of doctrinal connections). What else began to happen was that the dysfunctional monastery and cathedral schools gave way to school groups which saw young people in free association clustering around certain prominent academicians, which later gave rise to the universities.

b.   Over centuries of intellectual struggling, these inquiries **resulted in** the pinpointing of the laws of thinking, of logic, and by these means discovering the warp and woof of the mind in the use of language. The starting point was the question Porphyry had posed, as to what the nature of the generic conceptions (*universalia*) might be. Two schools of thought emerged. One maintained that the generic concepts exist in themselves, that they have a real existence. Within this school again, one side held to *universalia ante rem* (Plato). These are the **realists**. The other school teaches that the generic concepts exist only in the imagination

and are mere abstractions, *nomina* (Stoic philosophers), *universalia post rem*. The latter are the **nominalists**, who seemed to come closer to a temperate ideology, but still dealt with the problem in a most awkward manner.

c.   This inquiry began with **Gerbert**. Gerbert's disciple was Fulbert (1007-1028), bishop of Chartres, where he founded a theological school. His disciple again was **Berengar** of Tours (d. 1088), canon and teacher at the local cathedral school. He attacked the **doctrine of transubstantiation**. The presence of the body of Christ, he said, is not substantial, but consists only in the presence of his power in the elements. Not only the consecration, but also the faith of the communicant conditions the transubstantiation. With this theory he lit on the ideas of Ratramnus and anticipated Calvin. But the sacramentalism of Paschasius Radbertus*,* an idea already initiated at Cyprian's time, was by now too deep-rooted and too closely attached to the whole doctrine of church and sacerdotal office for such an attack as Berengar's to take any effect.

d.   **Lanfranc**, an Italian, formerly teacher of law and dialectic in Pavia, then abbot of the monastery at Bec in Normandy, and archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1089) under William the Conqueror*,* was in Rome (1050) in opposition; and the synod there, as also one in Vercelli, condemned the new opinion. But the papal legate Hildebrand was satisfied with Berengar's explanation, that the consecrated elements are the body and blood of Christ. Cardinal Humbert was satisfied only with the crassest physical terminology. Later when Hildebrand had become pope, Berengar again came forward and put Gregory VII, who wanted to offer mild support, on the spot. Now he was obliged to recant without further ado, and the pope forbade the controversy. This transaction assured for ecclesiastical tradition the victory over criticism, and since then scholasticism has meant that one attempts to prove church doctrine as in agreement with reason, at first as essential to thought, later merely as possible to be thought.

§122. Anselm of Canterbury.

a.   **Anselm** was Lanfranc's disciple, born in 1033 in Aosta, entered the monastery in Bec, then became his teacher's successor in Bec as well as in Canterbury*,* where he died (1109). He was a mild, devout man, but, with the phrase *Credo, ut intelligam*, he raised the position his teacher had taken to the level of a philosophical one, that of Platonic realism. In so doing, with the phrase *Intelligo, ut credam*, he gave **Abélard** the opportunity to take Berengar's position to the level of the nominalism of that time, or, as his particular conception is termed today, to conceptualism. **Bernard of Clairvaux** then challenged both conceptions with his dictum: *Tantum Deus cognoscitur, quantum diligitur; orando facilius quam disputando et dignius Deus quaeritur et invenitur* ["God is only known to the degree that he is loved; it is easier and more honorable for God to be sought and to be found by prayer rather than disputation"]. Anselm's principal writings are the *Monologium*, the *Proslogium*, and the *Cur Deus homo*. The ontological proof for the existence of God in the **Proslogium** exemplifies the philosophical bent of his mind. God is the most perfect of all beings imaginable. Therefore, God actually exists, because otherwise another being could be imagined even more perfect in that he is not merely imagined, but actually exists. This is only a shadow proof, even according to strict Platonic realism, because the *universalia*, to which existence was ascribed, were assumed to be, not merely possible to be thought, but essential to thought. Nowadays, logical training has taught us not to confuse thinking with being.

b.   Anselm's theory of satisfaction is the important feature in the ***Cur Deus homo***. Sin offends God's honor and questions his dominion of the world. Only by punishment or satisfaction can this be rectified. God wanted to replace the expelled evil angels with humans, hence the path of satisfaction was the only one open. Because God owns everything, man is unable to give him anything by way of satisfaction. Thus God himself must achieve the satisfaction. Such satisfaction must possess eternal validity, since a single sin weighs more than the

whole world. Now, in order to achieve the satisfaction, God had to become man. As such, he was committed to obey the law of life. But his voluntary death was eternally valid. This death God has to pay back. But because Christ, as God, already possesses everything, Christ's merit overflows to the benefit of mankind. This legalistically oriented perspective does not altogether reflect the Gospel, yet it does mark a step forward from the ancient ecclesiastical conception. There, the tension lay not between the righteousness and goodness of God, but between the grace of God and the claim of the devil upon sinful mankind.

c.   The Aristotelian realist **Gaunilo** of Marmontiers contested Anselm's ontological argument in his tract *Liber pro insipiente*. Gaunilo defended the *insipiens*, the fool of Ps. 14:1, against Anselm's assertion that in his very denial of God he was proving the existence of God. Anselm collided with the nominalist **Roscelin**, the canon of Compiegne, over the doctrine of the Trinity. Roscelin had asserted that the three persons of the Godhead could not constitute a single essence (*una res*). The *usia*, the essence, he said, is merely an abstraction. A synod at Soissons in 1092 condemned this theory as tritheism, and Roscelin recanted. When later he repeated the same theorem, *Anselm* opposed him in his tract *De fide trinitatis et de incarnatione verbi contra blasphemias Roscellini*. This awkward nominalism naturally did not yet constitute a proper antidote to realism. So, as a result, nominalism was argued down, and for two hundred years set back as a method unsuitable to settle church disputes. Objectivism prevailed, since the thinking and feeling of the individual entirely took a back seat to normative church doctrine. Subjectivism, or individualism, first had to force its way along a different path, that of emotion. It was Bernard of Clairvaux who achieved this, after he had repudiated Abelard as well. Anselm's disciples included Anselm of Laon, d. 1117, and his disciple, William of Champeaux, d. 1121.

§123. Abelard.

a.   **Peter Abelard,** born in 1079 of noble stock in Bretagne, first studied under Roscelin. He then became a student of William of Champeaux. As a youth of 21 he outstripped his teachers in the external application of dialectic, and at that age founded his own school. He turned to Anselm of Laon to study theology. Here too, there was a precocious outstripping of his teacher. He presently opened a school in Paris and carried on a love affair with **Héloïse,** a niece of the canon Fulbert, who on that account had him emasculated. Abelard was detained in the monastery of St. Denis, Héloïse in Argenteuil. In 1121 the synod at Soissons condemned his doctrine of the Trinity, and he was forced to flee because he had contested the authenticity of the Parisian Dionysius Areopagita. Sometime before 1136 he founded the *Oratorium Paracletum* at Troyes, which he then entrusted to Héloïse as abbess in order to remove to Bretagne, and then back to Paris. But here in 1140 the Cistercian William of Thierry and Bernard challenged him at the Synod of Sens. Additionally, his friendship with Arnold of Brescia in Rome weighed against him. Innocent II sentenced him to monastery detention in the custody of Peter the Venerable, who reconciled him with Bernard and the pope. He died in 1142. His writings include: *Historia calamitatum Abaelardii*, an autobiography; *Introductio in theologiam*: *Sic et non*, contrasting biblical and patristic maxims.

b.   **Method:** not realism, because under that head the genus becomes too pronounced, at the expense of the personality, as for example in the concepts of humanity and man. Similarly, in the concepts of divinity in its relativity to the world; that would turn into pantheism. Altogether correct critical analysis. - But, if not realism, then also not nominalism as thus far defined, which sets forth the *universalia* as mere abstractions, without any actually existing thing providing an impulse to make them real. So Abelard calls the *universalia*, not *nomina*, but *conceptus*, that is, subjective concepts. For that time, this of course represented an advance in terminology, but practically speaking he seems not to have superseded Roscelin.

c.   Abelard's **theology** is predominantly criticism. *Nihil credendum nisi prius intellectum* ["Nothing can be

believed before it is understood"]. **Scripture** is always right, but tradition often contradicts itself. He felt comfortable with the conceivability of doctrine, which he pursued along dialectical lines. He envisaged the body of doctrine as falling under three heads: faith, sacrament, and love. Trinity: all three Persons have one substance, but power in particular belongs to the Father, wisdom to the Son, goodness to the Spirit. Sin is not the physical experience; intention, acting against conscience, is its nerve. Person of Christ: inclined to adoptionism. Reconciliation: as opposed to Anselm's objective satisfaction, here rather, the subjective ethical impulse. God's love is revealed through Christ's incarnation. This begets responding love. On this account God abandons his wrath. - Legitimate critical propositions, all of them, but in every instance, they were of purely **rationalistic** interest, striving toward **subjectivism**. That is why he had to back down, ostensibly, while his method kept on working as a leaven, which the Roman church turned to further account to her own hurt, but which also served as an impulse to her peculiar development.

d.   It is interesting to observe how the lack of evangelical understanding, on the one hand adhering to tradition, on the other not shaking free of individual false doctrines, at this juncture contributed to the inability to clarify the formal concepts, even though here and there individual teachers sometimes came close to it. By the same token, it must be stated conversely that the want of clear concepts prevented the learned from attaining to a correct understanding of doctrine and to a correct representation.

2. The Victorious Papacy within the External Position of Power of the Empire, 1122-1198.
a. Powerful Position of the Church through Bernard of Clairvaux
in Spite of the Impotence of the Papacy, 1122-1152.
§124. St. Bernard and Mysticism.

a.   Three men dominate this period, **St. Bernard, St. Norbert,** and **Peter the Venerable**. Their influence went in the direction of inward piety. This impulse emanated from **individualism**, already active in Abelard*,* only in a different way. Abelard stressed the individualism of the **mind**, Bernard that of the **emotions**. In this period, however, two phenomena accompany this individualism, which help history move forward: 1. Laymen*,* and in fact the people of lower station, are affected; 2. This generates multifarious defections from the traditional position of the church. French influence is even more obtrusive than previously.

b.   These phenomena originate in the milieu created by the first crusade. Contact with overseas countries always raises the level of culture and also standardizes it. Foreign views provoke criticism of domestic conditions. It was **laymen** in this instance, knights and merchants, who engaged in this overseas commerce. This factor now became a significant issue. Such commerce made the **cities** prosperous, and in fact along the line of the Levant, across the plain of the Po, via Paris to London. The citizens, the artisans, now took the lead. Wealth accumulated in the cities, and this excited the opposition of the have-nots. Foreign views were not all thoroughly digested, and they begot heresy. **Poverty and heresy** united against wealth, power, and the church.

c.   **St. Bernard** (1091-1153) was born in Dijon to a noble, strictly church-minded family, and of a pious mother. In 1130, with 30 companions, he entered the monastery of Citeaux and eagerly surrendered to asceticism. After he became an abbot in 1115, he declined all higher honors. He was a modest, undemanding, pure, evangelical personage, with a piety that approached mysticism, endowed with both a winning temperament and an impressive gift of rhetoric. His writings include: *De diligendo Deo, Tractatus de erroribus Abaelardi*, and ***De consideratione sui***. At first he adhered to church tradition. Abelard's dialectics was repugnant to him because it undermined the bedrock of the truth of salvation. But he did not like Anselm's dialectics either because he observed quite correctly that the intellectual arrogance it germinated would eventually kill the genuine theology of the heart. Bernard harked back to the **mysticism** of Abelard's questionable Dionysius Areopagita. This led the soul by apophatic waves, from below, upward to God, in that

the soul acknowledges him as exalted above all existence, of whom it must deny everything it knows and intuits, until speech becomes soundless. Then, in a cataphatic way, the soul is led from above downward, so that it may desire to be united with God; in affirming everything related to God, the originator of all existence, the soul may survey above all the works of divine love, the work of salvation, and thereby be stimulated to grateful yearning for God. Now Bernard accommodated this Areopagite idea to the one earlier adduced by Peter Damian, of the **love for Jesus;** inner illumination and sanctification, combined with a particularly pronounced love for Jesus, which is nurtured by the telling of Christ's love for us; these are his ideas. Peter Damian had initiated them; Bernard fleshed them out.

d.   So this kind of **mysticism,** which through love enters into a personal relationship with Christ, turned out to be more popular than Areopagite mysticism with its purely dreamy contemplation of God and Christ, constantly talking about the incarnation and the natures of Christ, and nothing else. That kind of mysticism, like its mother theology, was just gray matter, philosophy. This is all a matter of feelings, religion. Curious, that Bernard should have considered his own ideas inferior to Abélard's. Now there was added **ecstasy,** which Bernard believed a person will rarely experience, and then only after a spell of psychic depression.

e.   Bernard wrote the book ***De consideratione sui*** for Eugene III*,* who had asked him for a devotional book. The pope ought to mull over four points: himself, and everything beneath, around, and above him. It is an admonition against avarice, the lust for power, and pomp and circumstance. Bernard gave **hymnody** a real boost. They say he composed the majestic Lenten hymn *Salve caput cruentatum* ("O Bleeding Head, and Wounded"). How highly Bernard was regarded can be seen spelled out in his agnomina: *Doctor ecclesiae* and *Doctor mellifluus*.

Norbert of Xanten and Peter the Venerable did not make such a deep impression in so many fields as Bernard did because they played a less important role than his in the main business of the time, that is, scholasticism. So they carry only the names of the orders they superintended. (126c. and b.)

§125. Scholasticism.

a.   Two schools of thought were influenced by Bernard*,* resulting in a **rapprochement between dialectics and mysticism,** coming from two sides. The one was the **continuation of Abelard's school** in the person of **Peter Lombard** of Novara (d. 1160), bishop of Paris, by way of his *Sententiarum libri IV*. His agnomen *Magister sententiarum* derives from the title. Its contents include: 1. God; 2. creatures; 3. incarnation, redemption and virtues; 4. the last things. Contradictions of assertions in Scripture and church fathers are drawn up in order to prove their resolution.

b.   The other school is represented in the **mysticism of** [the monastery of] **St. Victor**, founded by William of Champeaux*.* Teacher: **Hugo** (d. 1141), son of a Saxon count, and his student **Richard** (d. 1173), a Scotsman. These men too rated dialectics high, albeit as the lowest rung of cognition. With them, as with the Areopagite and with Bernard*,* contemplation is the objective. But while these teachers operated, Hugo with metaphysics, Richard with sanctification, the Victorines achieved contemplation by means of psychology. They researched the prerequisites and capacities of the mind. The path to contemplation is self-recognition, because the objects of the world come up in human life, their forms are stamped on the soul, and the soul is the image of God. The stages of contemplation are *cogitatio, meditatio,* and *contemplatio*.

c.   At the same time in **Germany**, similar tensions were being resolved, if less dazzling externally, then at so much the greater inner depth. Two brothers, the provost **Gerhoh** (d. 1169) and the dean **Arno of Reichersberg** (1175) in Bavaria, challenged the adoptionism stemming from Abelard*.* Chiefly **Volmar of Triefenstein** (1181) in Frankenland and Bishop **Eberhard of Bamberg** had made a distinction (in the adoptionist sense) in the doctrine of the Eucharist concerning the natures of Christ. Only the spiritual substance of his flesh and

blood, they taught, is present in the Eucharist. Gerhoh challenged this dialectic, and posited the reverse, that anyone who receives the flesh of the Logos receives also the Logos of the flesh, in order to express the inseparability of the two elements. His Christocentric worldview reveals itself with particular clarity in his principal work *De investigatione Antichristi*: in his sacrificial love, Christ has, as it were, made faith in the forgiveness of sins necessary for us. That did not sit well with Alexander III, Abelard's disciple, and he avoided agreeing with Gerhoh when Gerhoh solicited his support.

At the same time, **exegetes** equally as balanced appeared in Germany, Alger of Lüttich (d. 1131), and Rupert of Deutz (d. 1135), who expressed their ideas in the sense of consubstantiation or impanation, when the Eucharistic controversy was in progress here.

d.   This mode of piety however was even more graphically characterized by work done in the field of **canon law**. After Pseudo-Isidore*,* other law collections were undertaken, hardly a one of which could avoid falsification: Burchard of Worms (d. 1025), Anselm of Lucca (d. 1086), Deusdedit (d. 1099), and Ivo of Chartres (d. 1116). The Camaldulensian Gratian of Bologna then summarized the same body of material, using the scholastic method (1140); his work was entitled *Concordantia discordantium canonum*; thereafter known as the **Decretum Gratiani,** it formed the basis for canon law studies, mainly in Bologna and Paris. From now on, legists (teachers of Roman law), and decretists (teachers of canon law) were two indispensable faculties in the universities.

e.   It may be said that on the whole the piety of this era evoked a stronger consciousness of sin, an intensification of asceticism, and thus made of the monasteries nurseries of mysticism. German mysticism remained in the shadows as yet. Only two women emerged here: Elizabeth of Schönau (1164), and Hildegard of Bingen (1179), who in their visions mainly castigated the evils of their day. What is obvious in all of these endeavors is that this mysticism still missed the kernel of the Gospel.

§126. Monasticism and the Laymen's Movement.

a.   The immediate visible results of this intellectual revival are to be sought in **monasticism**. Bernard had founded the monastery of Clairvaux in 1115, soon to become the most important Cistercian monastery. By 1150 the order boasted 500 abbacies. The importance of the **Cistercian order,** as Bernard constituted it, was only transient, attached as it was to the person of the man. In missions, however, and in the cultivation of the soil, and the Germanization of Eastern Europe, he achieved prodigies.

b.   At Cluny under **Peter the Venerable** (1122-1156) Bernard entered into a benevolent environment. Peter was an altogether mellow, amenable person. Under his abbacy Cluny became somewhat less abrasive in its regimen than it had been. Perhaps this was so because it was superseded by the Cistercians, who now took center stage. Differing with his friend, Peter preferred to defend the milder idea of monasticism. This milder view at this time also actively contributed to the new art of southern France. He had accepted Abelard*,* and saw heretics subdued by the Word rather than by the sword.

c.   The order of Premonstratensians preceded the Cistercian order. Its founder was St. Norbert of Xanthen (1082-1134), the son of a count, and a favorite of Henry V. A bolt of lightning turned his mind toward poverty and itinerant preaching. In order to pursue this course, he founded the monastery of **Prémontré** in Champagne, a house which now practiced care of souls and preaching in the neighborhood of the monastery, instead of itinerant preaching. There was a vast expansion. In 1126 Norbert was elevated bishop of Magdeburg, and his order spread into the country of the Wends. Their **constitution** was monarchical: at the head was an abbot general of Prémontré. The order was organized into provinces (circaries). Female members did not live in separate convents, but in the order's houses for the monks. They worked up soil already cultivated, but did not try to make the wild arable. The order's habit was white. Because of its preaching program, the order was often

in conflict with the bishops. For that reason, the curia never sided with the order. In **England** around this time the Order of the Gilbertines was founded where male and female members followed female leadership. There was still social ranking among the members, for whom the rules of different orders obtained: for the women, the Benedictine rule, for the men, the Augustinian. The men moreover were only lay brethren. (135.)

d.   Other foundations are those of the Templars and the Knights of St. John. The **Templars** were founded in 1118 by Hugo of Payens with nine French knights, who added to the three monastic vows a fourth, namely, to combat infidels. There was a grandmaster with the rank of prince, knights of the order, clerics, serving brethren. Additionally, they nursed the sick. Their garb was a white cape emblazoned with a red cross. The name derives from the palace of King Baldwin II, which was partially at their disposal. The **Knights of St. John** were founded in 1121 by Raimund de Puys, modeled on the Templars. Originally it was a monastic society, founded in 1050 by Maurus of Amalfi, the merchant, to care for the sick. Their constitution included military and hospital service, as with the Templars. Their garb was a black cape emblazoned with a white cross. The name derives from the church of John the Baptist, adjacent to the first hospital. The orders had many members, great wealth, and conflict between themselves.

e. There were lay brethren in these orders too. But lay piety became palpable in other ways as well. **Laymen's associations** took shape, modeled on the monastic ones. The **Humiliates** (*humilis*=meek) seem to have migrated from Milan. They consolidated into men's and women's societies for communal labor (textile weaving) and celibacy. Somewhat similar are the **Beguins** (female) and **Beghards** (male) who lived in the so-called Beguinan courts (comprised of individual huts, hospital, and church), subsisting from their communal labor, but additionally from the care of souls and from nursing the sick. These laymen's associations were not rule-bound to the same extent as the monastic orders. Members could return to secular life. For all that, their daily existence was disciplined by set rules. (135.)

f.   This lay piety, when all is said, brought **preaching** into prominence, though it was not preoccupied with doctrine, but with inculcating moral strictures, a reflection of the temper of the time and of the Catholic church. And since everyone was conscious of sin, private **confession** became a priority.

g.   **Doctrine** too developed considerably from this ferment. Take, for example, the number of **sacraments**. Paschasius Radbertus allowed two, Hrabanus Maurus four (by taking Radbert's two apart): baptism, confirmation, bread, chalice. Hugo of St. Victor had many: 1. acts necessary for salvation: baptism, confirmation, Eucharist; 2. acts useful for salvation: holy water, confession, extreme unction, marriage; 3. presupposition for the above: consecration of priests, vestments, vessels. Then he also spoke about 7 sacraments. For **Lombard**, these seven were fixed. **Penance was a sacrament**. In Gratian's decree, the question came up as to whether grace could be obtained without confession, and how. **Lombard** and the two Victorines conceded forgiveness to God alone. Lombard, being a disciple of Abelard, stressed confession less, but allowed for temporal punishments (including purgatory) to be atoned by priestly absolutions. The Victorines reckoned the eternal punishments to be commuted into temporal punishments by priestly absolutions. In the south of France the doctrine of the **immaculate conception of Mary** came up. Anselm and Bernard were the last to protest against it. From the 9th century on, the **greater** and the **lesser ban** are distinguished from each other. The greater (*anathema*) excluded from all church fellowship, while the lesser, only from altar service and the reception of the sacrament. Innocent III was the first to order the loss of civic rights to be included as a penalty under the greater ban. The **interdict** became a recognized penalty when an entire area was put under ban at the Synod of Limoges (1031).

h.   Owing to previous developments, much had changed from what it had been. The ideas of Otto I and Charlemagne had displaced the external relationships of church offices. The **metropolitans** had lost much power and prestige. They were no longer the ones who represented the unity of the empire and the position of

the prince against claims from the outside, but the curial idea had come out on top. The archbishop assumed his dignity with the pallium (a broad cape), which he received from the pope. The **bishops** lost ecclesial influence largely because of their political activity which came their way as princes. This brought about a severe reduction in theological studies, preaching, and other ecclesiastical competencies. The **archdiaconate** now began to figure strongly; duties came to include offering synodical judicature, making visitations, and supplying parishes **with pastors.** But the influence of **pastors** expanded. With population increases and colonization, parishes were bound to multiply. Parsons preached regularly, heard confession, and performed the customary official acts. The instruction of the young, however, was missing. Only in the cities did one ever see independent **urban parish schools** close to the cloister schools. In the cities too they founded independent establishments for the care of the sick and poor, the kind the orders had introduced.

i.   One peculiar phenomenon occurring in the rise of the **cities** and the wave of independence of the citizenry is that the papal-ecclesial principle regarding lay investiture receded in importance. Yet in the 11th century the episcopal city comprised one congregation, although collegiate churches also stood next to the cathedral church. In the 12th and 13th centuries, however, cities installed their own self-elected pastors. In the **country** it was just the opposite. The independent churches, belonging with the pastor to the lord of the manor, became **patronage churches,** meaning, the lord of the manor had only the right of nomination, whereas the bishop filled the position. The pastor's income consisted in the local proceeds of the parish, a share of the tithes, and stole dues (*jura stolae,* the revenues coming from functions performed when the priest wore the *stola*) for the rites of baptism, wedding, burial, etc.

k.   Much changed also in the way people participated in church life, as many innovations little by little crept in. **All of life** was now environed with **church forms:** baptism, marriage, burial. The church was in on weddings from the banns to the nuptial mass. The nuptial mass was said after the marriage. This mass, according to Germanic law, is the *traditio puellae* ["the handing over of the girl"] by the father or his substitute. The church wedding became customary only later on. Even apart from the frequent church services, priests were necessary, for instance, when artisans were admitted into the guilds and corporations, whose development parallels the blooming of the cities. There were saints' images on the roadsides, prayers, benedictions, legends, relics, images, saints, helpers in need. **Mariolatry** was proliferated by the chivalric minne-poetry. The feast of the immaculate conception of Mary was first celebrated December 8, c. 1140. The *Ave Maria* became a regular component of every prayer from the end of the 12th century onward. There were feasts of fools and asses. In the feast of fools, participants parodied the higher clergy. In the feast of asses, Balaam's ass appeared along with the Old Testament writers, together with Vergil and the Sibyl, to simulate the prophecies of Christ's coming. These feasts, deriving from the Roman carnival (this, again, from the ancient Roman saturnalias) did not detract from the sincerity of people's belief in miracles. With the simple-minded there is much right understanding and also criticism, both subconscious and imperfectly articulated, rather felt than spoken. These feasts point also to the other extreme of the soul-life of this time, **disdain for the world**. Frenzied pursuit of gratification and exuberant lust for life (especially where the commercial boom of the cities everywhere imposes itself) accompanied a highly defined sense of sin. This sensibility did not arise from knowledge of the law of God, but from the feeling of dependence on the church. The church took charge of the forgiveness of sins. The priest played advocate and judge. By confession and good works one had to stay on the good side of the church: fasting, giving alms, prayers, pilgrimages, building churches, self-mortification, crusade, monastic life. The earnest temper of this soul-life jeopardized the indulgence theory, a mechanism the scholastics were already putting into practice.

l.   The flowering of art and poetry went hand in hand with the laymen's movement. The **Romanesque style** experienced a continuous evolution varying from country to country, most importantly in Germany and

France. Two ways of building were popular in **Germany**, the flat structure with a wooden roof (St. Michael's in 1033 and St. Godehard's in 1133 in Hildesheim), and the vaulted structure with the round arch. Building vaulted ceilings resulted from frequent church fires. There were interlocked junctures of nave, aisles, and transept; cruciform vaulting; opulent exploitation of the outer walls, and harmonious complement of all individual parts. The cathedrals at Speyer (designed perhaps by Otto of Bamberg), Mainz, and Worms are prime examples. Architects in France applied the cupola and barrel-vaulting to top it all. Hence the aisled churches. Principal examples are Cluny (1039), and Caen. In Italy, the ancient church basilica was in their blood. Some attempts at innovation: the (leaning) cathedral of Pisa (1118) and the Byzantine-oriental basilica in Venice; in Sicily, impressive Norman structures. In **Spain**, Moorish elements insinuated themselves. In England under Norman hands churches were given greater length and narrower breadth. Already too there are the stirrings of the Gothic style, which, unlike the Romanesque, derives less from ritual needs than from purely technical and esthetic motivations.

m. Freemasonry accompanied this building business. In the 12th century, architecture passed from the monks' control into the hands of laymen. The renowned master builders turned their builders' associations into corporations, which in the current of the time were organized in the builder's hut where their tools, their worship service, and their professional secrets had their place.

n. Sculpture did not enter the scene as an independent art as yet. In painting, the Byzantines still were the models, accounting for the greater glory of the Romanesque, more chromatic than that of the Gothic. Only **stained glass** developed along with church architecture. In **music**, the Benedictine Guido d'Arezzo contributed notation in 1050, making possible the combination of bass (*cantus*) and soprano (*discantus*) parts (*punctum contra punctum*, point-counter-point). The **poetry of the common folk** too rose to new heights in the animal legends of Reynard the Fox and Isegrim. The last editor of the *Nibelungenlied* in the 12th century gave it a light coat of Christian varnish.

§127. Impotence of the Papacy.

a. While the creative temperament was thus soaring to its medieval meridian, the **papacy** had sunk into impotence again. Not that it was subject to the imperial power; on the contrary, the emperor was the pope's man. But the popes were men of no consequence, especially when contrasted with the towering figures of Bernard, Norbert, and Petrus Venerabilis. The papacy actually was not leading the church at all. But it was still in control, now more than ever. No longer did bishops and their synods counterbalance the papacy as equal powers, for the pope alone could ratify for general acceptance an interpretation of Scripture and synodical resolutions. But the participation of the papacy was negligible. Moneymaking was everything, and, for that reason there was too little and irregular supervision. What is more, there was no mind for the great questions of the time. Popes convoked synods only when it suited them. So once again, Bernard urged reform of the papacy in his *De consideratione sui*, and the assemblies of canons aimed for it. The political power of the papacy was completely done for. In Rome, of all places, republicanism set in, initiated by the Pataria movement in the north.

b. Honorius II (1124-1130) had to put up with the encroachments of Roger of Sicily. At his time in Germany, **Lothair of Saxony** (1125-1137), not Henry V's sister's son Frederick of Swabia of the Staufen family, was elected through clerical influence. By this manipulation Henry's opposition gained control. The Staufers Frederick and Conrad were furious, of course, and in Italy, Roger II of Sicily took southern Italy away. But Lothair, as the pope's man, enfeoffed with Mathilda's properties, in 1135 defeated the Staufer. The Saxon northern march he gave to the Ascanian Albrecht the Bear, who thereafter styled himself the Margrave of Brandenburg. At that time too the Pomeranians were converted by Otto of Bamberg, and the Cistercians and

Premonstratensians cultivated the soil.

c.   Meanwhile, a conflicting election had taken place in Rome. **Innocent II** (1130-1143) was elected through Bernard's influence in opposition to the majority pope Anaclete II (1130-1138). But Anaclete held with Roger and Milan, and was acknowledged in Italy, while Innocent was accounted pope only in France and Germany. When Anaclete died, Innocent recognized Roger's status in Sicily. But now Lothair defeated Roger as well, in 1137, but died right after. Now Innocent favored the election of the Staufer **Conrad** (1138-1152) in lieu of that of Lothair's son-in-law, Henry the Proud of Saxony. Here immediately **Welf** and **Weibling** faced each other down. But Henry died in 1139, and in 1140 his brother Welf VI was defeated at Weinsberg. Meanwhile Innocent had convened the (10th general) Lateran council, where he excommunicated Arnold of Brescia and Roger. The **Pataria movement** had by this time extended from the cities of Tuscany and Lombardy, down to Rome. During the insurrection Innocent, Celestine II, and Lucius II died. **Eugene III** (1145-1153), a student of Bernard's, had to yield to Arnold of Brescia. Arnold had endowed the Pataria with a spiritual character insofar as he demanded of the clergy a return to apostolic poverty, as the mind of the time dictated. St. Bernard was his opponent notwithstanding, because he was a student of Abelard. The pope of course recognized the commune, but seldom resided in Rome.

d.   Under Eugene's reign, for all of that, thanks to Bernard's preaching, the **second crusade** (1147) got under way. In the East the situation was such that the conflict between Moslems and Latin Christians ought to have erupted long before. The Latin principalities were at each other's throats, Byzantium agitated against them, the disunity at home made itself felt here abroad as well, and, most serious of all, their immorality (chiefly that of the Pullanians-*pullum*, the young-, children of Frankish men and Oriental women), earned them the contempt of the Moslems. But these Moslems, themselves, divided into emirates, were at war with one another. The crusaders, moreover, had the fleets of the Italian commercial cities and of chivalric orders on their side. At this time **Imadeddin Zenki**, the emir of Mosul, conceived the ambition to build a greater Moslem empire. In 1144 he conquered Edessa. And since this victory placed in jeopardy the whole existence of the Latins in the East, Eugene and Bernard issued the call to a crusade. In **France**, in 1147 Louis VII (1137-1180), successor to Philip II and Louis VI, went on the crusade, and the pope was in control of things in the country. Conrad III also sallied forth. But due to schisms and harassments, the crusade remained a misadventure. In Europe people were talking about a judgment of God, fodder for revolutionaries and heretical movements.

e.   Bernard had arranged it so that the princes in eastern Germany would be exempt from participation in the crusade in order to undertake a crusade against the **Wends**. Here Christian influences were already active since the beginning of the century, after the old mission of Gottschalk had again failed. Since 1121 the Poles had worked without success, and after that the Spanish monk Bernard, because he really wanted to convert the **Pomeranians. Otto of Bamberg** was more successful when he made his appearance with a resplendent retinue in 1124 and 1128 and without any further doctrinal preparation performed baptisms. The bishopric of Julin (later Kammin) was organized in 1128. At this time Adolf of Schaumburg, Henry the Lion, Albrecht the Bear, and Waldemar of Denmark subjugated the Obotrites in **Mecklenburg** and on **Rügen** by force of arms. Henry of Uppsala brought the Gospel to **Finland** in 1157, but suffered a martyr's death. Just so, the mission advanced from Sweden to **Estonia, Livonia,** and **Courland,** pioneered by the monk Fulco in 1171. But it was the Germans who first got anything done that was worth talking about. Meinhart from Holstein became bishop of Üxküll (1186).

§128. Heresy.

a. The **heretical movement** may be called the final emanation of subjectivism in this century, always in association with the revolutionary movement under the corporate name of **Cathari**. The Cathari came from

Bulgaria. There the Greek emperors had settled the Paulicians and the Euchites, who at that time and place, were called Bogomili (friends of God). The two schools, with much in common, united as Cathari (καθαροι, the clean ones, Germanized: *Ketzer*). Commerce with the West brought them to the conjunction in the Alps where Italy, France, and Germany bump elbows, and the cities promoted the confluence of foreign ideas. Here they were called Bougres (Bulgarians), Publicani (Pauliciani), Tisserands (Weavers), Albigensians (after the district of Albigeois), and in Italian *Albanesi*. As early as **1167** they were able to hold a great **general Catharian council**. Among their number were the four eminent French heretical preachers: Tanchelm, Eon de Stella, and Peter of Bruys (student of Abelard; his followers were the Petrobrusians), who was burnt at the stake in 1138. Henry of Lausanne was his successor.

b. The **doctrine of these Cathari** had something in common with the idiom of Marcion and of the Paulicians. It is dualistic. World and man are a mixture of both kingdoms, of the good and the bad. Christ is the Redeemer by instruction. The elements of light must be emancipated from material substance. Hence it is essential to avoid anything that brings one into contact with the kingdom of darkness: marriage, wealth, craving for meat, etc. There were two classes of members: apostles (*electi, perfecti*) received their consecration through the sacrament of comfort (*consolamentum*) of the Holy Spirit. They seceded from the church, and regarded all priests as mortal sinners. The *credentes* (*auditores, catechumeni*) might live in the world, in fact, even in the Catholic church, but were obligated on their deathbed to receive the *consolamentum* if they hoped to be saved. Many on that account submitted after their consecration to the *endura* (death by starvation). The apostles were organized as bishops, *ministri*, and *diaconi*. (130 c.)

b. Despite the Resurgence of Empire the Church Is Still Victorious, 1152-1198.
§129. Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III.

a. Conrad's successor was his nephew **Frederick of Swabia, Barbarossa** (1152-1190). He had a magnificent personality, matching his achievements. Immediately he embarked upon the **enhancement of his royal prerogative**, including the king's influence on episcopal elections. His personal charm and the obvious decline of the papacy ensured his success in this. Once again German bishops became civil servants of the German king, and in fact they did it not ungladly. But as soon as the papacy got a capable man on the Roman chair, the perennial war had to break out all over again, and now, in the most glamorous era of the Middle Ages, with redoubled ferocity. And this time the conflict dragged on until the Hohenstaufen line was eradicated. Yet this event again precipitated the fall of the papacy. Frederick made peace with the Welfs by enfeoffing Henry the Lion of Saxony with Bavaria. Henry now turned eastward; Frederick married Beatrix of Burgundy, and turned southward, toward upper Italy. There the Lombard cities were under the sovereignty of Milan. The nobility and the gentry had amalgamated with the commons into one congregation, governed by consuls from all three estates.

b. In Rome **Hadrian VI** (1154-1159), a vigorous Englishman, occupied the papal see; he was successor after Eugene's death to Anastasius IV. He had expelled Arnold of Brescia, and when Barbarossa had extradited Arnold to him, Hadrian had him strangled at the stake. The emperor whom he had crowned, however, he treated with supreme papal presumption. When Frederick was unable to conquer southern Italy for him, he joined arms with William of Sicily, Roger II's son, and with the Lombards, and at the *Reichstag* at Besançon in 1157, he directed the emperor, through his legate Roland Bandinelli, to designate the empire as a *beneficium* (fief). Against this measure the German bishops rose up under the leadership of Rainald of Dassel, together with the entire German populace. The emperor appealed to Roman law, which Irnerius taught in Bologna. He traveled to Italy, and in 1158 summoned an imperial diet on the Roncaglian Fields, where he directed the imperial laws to be set out by the Bolognese jurists. In addition, Frederick demanded the Mathildan properties,

and war with the curia seemed imminent.

c.   Just then the pope died, and Cardinal Roland Bandinelli was named pope as **Alexander III** (1159- 1181) in a split poll. The emperor's cardinals, however, had elected Victor IV, and the emperor confirmed him. Alexander III was compelled to flee to France. Rainald directed the German bishops in Würzburg to swear never to acknowledge Alexander; France, England, and Spain did recognize him. In 1162 Frederick sacked refractory Milan. Paschalis and Calixtus would succeed the counter-pope Victor. In 1163 the emperor led a third fruitless march on Rome. Alexander, however, made his way back to Rome. With Lombardy and Byzantium in league against him, Frederick advanced on Rome a fourth time and occupied it, but was forced to yield to malaria. At this juncture the Lombards joined the Normans, and in 1176 Frederick lost the battle at Legnano, because Henry the Lion had left him in the lurch. And thereupon **peace** with the pope was sealed at **Venice (1117)**.

d.   Around the same time Alexander made a deal with **England**. When Louis VII of France had returned home from the second crusade, he divorced his unfaithful wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Soon thereafter she married Henry of Anjou, who in 1154 would become king of England, as son of Mathilda (daughter of Henry I of England) and of Godfrey of Anjou, and with the huge inheritance of his wife brought with him the better part of western France to the English crown. Henry was the first of the **Plantagenets (1154-1399)** (*planta genista*, the broomcrest on the helmet) to accede to the English throne. Henry subdued Wales, began the subjugation of Ireland, and also imposed the oath of fealty on the king of Scotland. Under his rule a collection of English laws and customs was initiated and the jury panel instituted.

e.   Clashing with **Thomas Becket, Henry II** (1154-1189) wanted to validate his prerogative over the church in order to bend the church to his will, when Becket turned against him after Henry had named him, his favorite, archbishop of Canterbury. In 1164 the bishop withstood even the conference of estates of Clarendon. The *Constitutio* of Clarendon stated: 1. election of bishops to take place in the royal chapel, and by consent of the king; 2. restriction of ecclesial jurisdiction by governmental supervision; appeals to Rome only by royal permission; 3. episcopal trips abroad only by royal permission; 4. prohibition of excommunication of councilors and vassals of the king without royal dispensation. Thomas fled at last to the pope, who threatened Henry with excommunication and interdict. When in 1170 Becket duly returned and stuck with his position, he was murdered at the altar owing to an ill-humored word of the king. Now, when the king's sons and the commons were outraged at the sacrilege, the king in 1174 did penance at the grave of his enemy. The pope in **1179** could convene the brilliant **3rd Lateran Council**, where he nailed down the **papal election** with the **two-thirds majority rule**.

f.   Around this time Emperor Frederick outlawed Henry the Lion because he had failed to show up at his trial after he had waged war on the bishops of Cologne and Halberstadt. **Bavaria** went to the **Wittelsbachs**, Saxony to Bernard, Westphalia to Cologne. Henry left for England. This circumstance also helped settle the peace with the Lombards in 1183. The subdued Italian cities had to pay war indemnities, and the emperor had upper and middle Italy in his possession. This much accomplished, the empire for a few years was poised at its meridian. Frederick gave his son Henry VI in marriage to Constance, the heiress of Sicily. In Germany, welfare services became unnecessary because bondage and serfdom disappeared. The blood feud and family feud gradually became obsolete. Spiritual and secular literature improved substantially. In France, the **troubadours** had begun to sing with Bertran de Born taking the lead, and the German knights had followed suit. Otto of Freising, Frederick's uncle, had described the history of the world down to 1158, and William of Tyre, the first crusades. In theology, Victorine mysticism made gains. Even humanistic philosophy was represented in the persons of Sylvester of Chartres and William of Conches.

g.   Amid all this the news was broadcast that Saladin, a Kurd, who in 1171 had terminated the dynasty of the

Fatimids, as sultan of Egypt had defeated the king of Jerusalem (1187), and had occupied Jerusalem itself. In Rome meanwhile, Lucius III, Urban III, Gregory VIII, and Clement III (1187-1197) occupied the papal chair. This time it was the kings who sounded the trumpet for the **(third) crusade (1189)**. Emperor Frederick, Philip II, August of France, and Richard the Lionhearted of England got underway with their armies. But Frederick drowned after a victory at Philomelium in 1190, in the river Selaph in Cilicia. In 1191, Acre had to surrender. During the siege, the **German order** was founded. Soon conflicts broke out among the crusaders. After striking an accord with Saladin, Richard returned in 1192. Saladin died in 1193.

§130. Henry VI. The Waldensians.

a. **Henry VI** (1190-1197) had stayed at home as deputy of his father. After his father's death, he obliged the reluctant Celestine III (1191-1198) to crown him emperor, but had first to grapple with a widespread web of **conspiracy of princes** (Henry the Lion, Richard I of England, and Tancred, who contested his accession to the throne of Sicily). Richard was captured en route home from the Orient, Henry the Lion had to submit, and Tancred died. In swift succession then the emperor won southern Italy, was crowned, and was about to unify the Apulian and the German crown and lead an expedition to Constantinople when he died in Messina in 1197. The Norman magnates had, prior to his death, elected the two-year-old Frederick II king of Rome.

b. Frederick Barbarossa and Henry represented the emperorship externally with panache. This factor also had a quickening effect upon the general mind, and many a seed sank into the soil whose fruit would later help lead to the decline of the papacy. For the time being, **the papacy was in the ascent as yet.** The emperors themselves were unable to shed the notion, engendered by the papacy, of the holy Roman empire. Once the self-evident idea that the church must be free from secular power had been expressed, it was unfortunate for the empire that it did not get this truth clear. Because it did not, even inferior popes could stand up to the great emperors. This truth, however, germinated among the populace. All but the folksong of the later great secular literature is papal through and through. Yet once more a great pope must come along who would carry the papal idea to the verge of decay before it could misfire.

c. It was in this era that the sect of the **Waldensians** sprang up. A merchant in Lyons by the name of Waldes in 1177 gave up his wealth and began itinerant preaching. His adherents called themselves "the poor of Lyons" (*pauperes de Lugduno, pauperes perfecti, amici credentes)*. In common reference they were no doubt often cast together with the Cathari, but, at least at first, they remained in the Catholic church, did not espouse dualistic errors, and for them external forms played less a role than they did for the Cathari. They did stress knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Before long they amalgamated with the *Humiliates* in Lombardy. The Lateran council forbade itinerant preaching, and in 1184 the Waldensians were excommunicated. Now they began to administer the sacrament of penance, whereas baptism and Eucharist could, in their mind, still be administered only by the Roman priests. Not until 1200 when the Lombards had renounced Waldes did they distance themselves even further from the Catholic church, in that they instituted their own Eucharist. (138.)

C. The Papacy's Total Victory, 1198-1268.
1. External Political Developments.
§131. Innocent III Ascendant.

a. **Innocent III** (Count Segni, born 1160) was equal to Gregory VII in all great endowments; further, the state of the world was more favorable to him, enabling him actually to achieve, however briefly, the inner consequence of the papacy. Innocent strove for world control, not in order to emancipate the church, but in order to run the whole show himself. For him, the papacy meant the combination of temporal and spiritual supreme command; the princes were to be vassals of the pope. The pope, while less than God of course, is

more than just a man. He is vicar, not of Peter merely, but of Christ and God. His management is sinless and inerrant. Hence national oaths of loyalty do not count if they oppose the pope. This pope's writings include: *De contemptu mundi,* and letters. He was an accomplished jurist and an administrative genius.

b.   Innocent began by securing for himself the political control of Italy. In Rome he struck an agreement with the commune, allowing the pope to appoint the senator who should run the city. In central Italy he confiscated the Mathildan estates. Southern Italy received Constance from him as a fief, and named him guardian to the young Frederick. In Germany a plurality was again in control. Henry's brother **Philip of Swabia** discovered a rival in Otto, the son of Henry the Lion, and in 1201 Innocent came out in favor of the Welf in return for his pledge to renounce the royal rights over the church. But when Philip gained the advantage, Innocent released the Staufer from the interdict (1207). Yet Philip was murdered by Otto of Wittelsbach. Otto married Irene, Philip's daughter, thus reconciling the factions, moved to Italy, and in 1209 had himself crowned emperor by Innocent. But, when he wanted to exercise imperial control in central and southern Italy, Innocent excommunicated the emperor (1210), and approved the election of the young **Frederick** by the Staufer party after the youth had extolled the freedom of the German church.

c.   With this decision Innocent scaled to the **zenith of his successes.** He had already gained the same concessions in other countries. Additionally, he gained ecclesial concessions: the elections of bishops became the exclusive prerogative of the cathedral chapter, the clergy of the episcopal churches. The other clergy and the lords temporal were excluded. Otto IV and Frederick relinquished the Concordat of Worms. Thus at last the pope had in hand direct authoritative influence over the seating of bishoprics in that he confirmed the electee, decided in tied elections, and employed the *postulatio* (when the election was uncanonical, the pope could grant the request of the cathedral chapter to declare it canonical, and could also allow the *translatio*, the transfer of bishops to other bishoprics). Because German bishops were sovereigns, and independent territorial sovereigns, by introducing spiritual territories in 1200 the pope thereby acquired an expansion of his political power in Germany.

d.   In the victory at Bouvines (Otto IV had joined up with England and Denmark, Frederick with Philip Augustus of France; at Bouvines Otto was defeated (1214), and in 1215 Frederick was crowned in Aachen), Philip II Augustus of **France** (1180-1223) regained the territories which in his time had been lost to England when Henry II married Eleanor of Aquitaine. As Henry II instituted the jury system in England, so in France under his rule the Twelve **Peers** constituted the highest court of justice. Yet he too had felt Innocent's power when in 1200 Innocent compelled him to take back his rejected wife Ingeborg, the Danish princess, in place of the Duchess Agnes of Meran. In 1204 Peter of Aragon came from **Spain** to Rome, placed his crown as an offering of consecration on Peter's tomb, then received it as a fief from the pope. In 1205 a crusading army founded the **Latin Kingdom** of Constantinople, and submitted it to the pope. Innocent himself had instigated the (4th) **Crusade** (1202-1204). But the **doge of Venice** had, in the interest of his hometown, persuaded the crusaders to subdue Zara in Dalmatia by way of compensation for the crossing. Then a Byzantine prince had talked them into the conquest of Constantinople, and Baldwin of Flanders established the Latin Kingdom. (At this time too a **Children's Crusade** was undertaken, in 1212. Thirty thousand French and German children, disregarding every warning, set out to liberate the holy sepulcher, but perished en route, or were sold as slaves). Lastly, a fracas broke out in **England** between John (1199-1216), Richard's brother, and the pope, about assigning the see of Canterbury. The pope instructed a number of members of the English cathedral chapter to elect Stephen Langton, and confirmed the election; and when the king refused to acknowledge him, the pope threatened to impose the interdict, and in 1208 actually enacted it; he absolved John's subjects from their oath of loyalty, and entrusted the enforcement of the decree to Philip Augustus of France. Under expulsion, John did penance, and in 1213 accepted England from the hand of the legate Pandulf as a **fief of the**

pope. And this enabled the English barons in 1215 to wring from the craven tyrant the **Magna Carta**, the basis of English freedom. (133, 137.)

e. The pomp of the papacy came into glaring focus in **1215** at the **4th (12th ecumenical**=churchwide) **Lateran council.** Fifteen hundred prelates and delegates from every Christian country paid homage to the pope as the visible head of the church, and as the judge and lord of the world. What all the popes, chiefly since Sylvester II, had worked for, had been achieved, simply because they had combined the temporal with the spiritual power, most likely unaware of the full implication, which nevertheless inhered in the consequence of the ideas once they had hit upon this sequence of papal ideas (like every human institution, the papacy is a formation of historical evolution; so it remains a mistaken perception to antedate the entire external morphology of papal ideas before their actual emergence to bring them into agreement with I Thess. 2; or to ascribe greater importance to them in the imagination of any respective pope than the immediate conjunctures allow; the basic notion, as stated in the Epistle of Clement, traces them back far enough). What Innocent achieved was: 1. political control in Italy; 2. absolute autocracy in the church; 3. world supremacy. A few months after the council, he died.

f. The council also sanctioned the campaign against the heretics. Innocent had long mandated preaching the crusade also against heretics, thereby introducing into the Germanic states a principle of the ancient Roman empire which was contrary to Germanic law. This ignited the ferocious **Albigensian war (1209-1229)** against Raymond of Toulouse. Raymond had protected the Albigensians, and when Innocent sent his legate Peter of Castelnau to suppress the heretics with the help of the Cistercians, they slew Peter. Whereupon Simon of Montfort was assigned the job of spearheading a crusaders' army to enforce the pope's sentence. To that end the council also resolved to initiate the **Inquisition**. The bishops were charged with making regular visitations and interrogating questionable individuals. As early as this Dominicus Guzman proposed confronting the heretics through Catholic folk-preaching, and in fact a union of Catholic paupers did come into being. But all this came to nothing, because it did not reflect the papal idea which presupposed obedience and not conviction, and because the understanding of the Gospel was missing. Here too the **doctrine of transubstantiation**, since then the shibboleth of papal sacramentalism, was approved; **auricular confession** likewise. But right here at the start, things began to deteriorate, what with the business of nepotism and the financial exploitation of the nations. One finds contempt for the papacy expressed in the works of Walther von der Vogelweide, and the idea of the Antichrist advanced among the sects.

§132. Frederick II.

a. After Otto IV's death in 1218, Frederick was reconciled with his brother Henry. Then in 1220 he allowed his eight-year-old son Henry to be crowned German king, on condition that Apulia and Germany should not submit to a single suzerainty. In 1227 the territories north of the Elbe were again wrested from Denmark, and the conquest of Prussia began, under the leadership of **Herman of Salza**, the grandmaster of the **Teutonic Knights**. That order was founded in 1190 by the merchants of Bremen to be a hospital organization. In 1199 it turned into a titled order of knights. Hereupon the German lordships moved to Prussia where in 1231 they founded Thorn, and later Marienburg. In 1237 the Brethren of the Sword amalgamated with this order.

b. Pope Honorius III (1216-1227) was distraught at the election of the young Henry to the German throne. He allowed himself to be appeased by the promise of a crusade. But before Frederick kept his promise, he tranquilized Sicily, and gained a reliable fighting force in the Saracens whom he had transplanted to Apulia. Then in 1227 the plague kept him from setting out on the crusade, whereupon Gregory IX (1227-1241) excommunicated him. The next year Frederick went to sea **(6th Crusade, 1228-1229)** and reclaimed Jerusalem in a deal with the sultan of Egypt. Then he hurried back, and chased the crack papal troops out of his

territory, and in the Peace of San Germano forced the pope to absolve him from excommunication, on his promise to prosecute heretics.

c.   At the Diet of Worms in 1231, to begin with, he enforced a new constitution that would ensure minor sovereigns (***domini terrae***) equality with hereditary dukes in their territorial and juridical rights. But the suburban citizen law (prohibiting cities from accepting suburbanites) dealt unfavorably with the **cities** which, since 1150, had flourished, thanks to business and commerce, and the conversion from barter to monetary exchange.

d.   The following year, in 1232, the emperor introduced the Inquisition, only to find his heresy judge **Conrad of Marburg,** confessor of Elizabeth of Thuringia*,* assassinated in 1233. In reprisal (1234), a crusading army slaughtered the Stedinger people (name derived from *Gestade*, "shore"; they had remained independent of the archbishop of Bremen). The subsequent years Frederick spent building up his *Monarchia Sicula* (exclusive rights for Sicily). There he created a bureaucratic state along severely monarchical lines and in so far went beyond medieval administration. He divided the country into provinces, governing it conscientiously. Saracen mercenaries comprised the standing army. In 1235 Frederick deposed his eldest son Henry. The scion of the Welf family, Otto the Child*,* he made duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg. In 1237 he ordered his son Conrad elected his successor in Germany.

e.   That same year the war with the Lombards broke out when the pope again excommunicated the emperor. Pope and emperor retaliated against each other with the gravest counter-charges. As in the days of Henry IV and Gregory VII, the exchange produced a polemic literature, composed, on the emperor's side mainly by the chancellor **Peter de Vinea**. He accused the pope of Lombardian (Waldensian) heresy because of his Lombard sympathies, called him Antichrist, and compared him with the dragon in the Apocalypse. The other side accused Frederick of being a heathen (because of his Saracen bodyguards), and that it was he who had coined the phrase about the "three greatest deceivers" (i.e., Moses, Christ, and Mohammed; unsubstantiated, although the court at Palermo, with its mishmash of Norman-Arabic culture, was a hotbed of unbelief). Frederick himself adhered to the church, but skeptically exhibited a cool contempt for many an excess of churchianity.

f.   Gregory died, and Innocent IV (1243-1254), succeeded him after two years; with the Tartar peril looming in the East, he should have been amenable to peace, but turned from friend to enemy of the emperor. He fled to France, and at the council of **Lyons in 1245** Frederick*,* as a heretic, was declared to have forfeited the throne, and in Germany in 1246 Henry Raspe of Thuringia*,* the "king of clerics" elected by the bishops, and in 1247 Count William of Holland*,* presented themselves as counter-kings. The mendicant orders agitated the masses against the emperor. **Conrad IV** found support among the Rhenish cities, and granted them all sorts of liberties. In Italy, Frederick suffered serious reverses. In 1248 his army was beaten at Parma, in 1249 his chief justice Peter de Vinea was convicted of attempted regicide [blinded by the emperor, he beat his head against the wall of his jail until he died]. The emperor's son Enzio was captured by the Bolognese, and just when Frederick had prepared a decisive counterthrust, in league with Count Ezzelino da Romano, he died in 1250 in Apulia.

g. Frederick died, as he knew, undefeated, yet his cause was lost. And that is how the nation perceived it, because the legend of Barbarossa [asleep] on the Kyffhäuser Mountain betrays the melancholy conviction that in Frederick II the empire drew the shorter straw, but because of the luster of the first Frederick's person and empire, that of the second is a mere reflection of the first. Frederick II embodied the forward thrust of the time with all its advantages, but also with all of the shortcomings accompanying it. In scope of vision and in the ability to extricate himself from a tight fix, he was far ahead of the pope and his other enemies. But again, he was just as certainly fettered by the mind of the Catholic church of his time. That is why the new ways of thinking he represented had to appear like the products of rationalism, even if they really were not. Because of

his inner bondage too, the manner in which he met violence and deception with the same means can only leave a bad impression on us. For the same reason he could not maintain a consistency of performance which would have ensured a greater and enduring legacy. A clear understanding of the Gospel would have set all of this to rights. It was a constant struggle of everyone against everyone in which the driving spirit holding them all in bondage, the **unfree mind of the papacy,** came into its own.

§133. Development in England and France.

a. During Frederick's time, a time which in Germany marked the highpoint of intellectual flower in the Middle Ages, even with the papacy less restrained here in its domination than ever before, an **attitude toward the law** took shape in **England**, and to a lesser extent also in **France,** a matter of the **commons** versus the royalty, which would later prove disastrous to the papacy in these two countries. At the moment the papacy was so preoccupied with Germany, owing to the Roman imperial idea, that it disregarded this development. At the same time, one can read the character of the three nations in this parallel. While in **Germany** an evolution was in progress, building on a foundation of profound temperament, **France** stayed put in her external proclivities. In **England**, an equally external practical mind took control, aiming at economic advantages.

b.   Richard the Lionhearted (1189-1199) and his brother John Lackland (1199-1216) succeeded Henry II. In 1215 John was compelled to guarantee the rights of the clergy, of nobility, and of the citizenry, to the barons of the country in the **Magna Carta**. This document allowed the barons, upon payment of their taxes, to participate in royal legislation, thus laying the groundwork for a **constitutional monarchy**. On this foundation there was further construction under **Henry III** (1216-1272). In 1242 the royal assembly acquired the designation *parliamentum*, and by 1265, deputies from certain cities were admitted for the first time. Even the peasant class, generally voiceless in Europe, was permitted to participate in elections. What is more, since that time two peculiarities of English habit have endured: the **English nobility** has never possessed the class-bound exclusivity which controlled the nobility on the mainland, and has never claimed tax exemption. At the same time, though, from time immemorial, sheer wealth has figured more strongly in gaining power and prestige than it has on the mainland, particularly in Germany.

c.   Meanwhile in **France**, succeeding Philip II, Augustus Louis VIII (1223-1226), who took the cross against the Albigensians, and his son Louis IX, the Saint (1226-1270) ruled, the latter's mother Blanca of Castile holding regency for him at first. Under him the Albigensian war was terminated in 1229, with the result that two-thirds of the estates of Count Raymond of Toulouse fell to the king, and the remaining third to Raymond's daughter, the king's sister-in-law. That is how the Capetians gained a solid footing in southern France. Louis' brother, Charles of Anjou*,* was count of Provence, and eventually (1265) moved to Italy in order to fight the Hohenstaufens, and to subdue Sicily. Louis expanded the legal aspects of the life of his nation in that, in addition to the court of peers he instituted the imperial tribunal in Paris, a ***parlement*** composed of peers and jurists. Neither of his two crusades was of any importance. (141.)

§134. Decline of the Hohenstaufens.

a.   Frederick II's son **Conrad IV** (1250-1254) succeeded him. If his father had already given over to the temporal and spiritual princes all kinds of royal prerogatives, Conrad relinquished the last of these in order to be free to campaign in Italy. In so doing he destroyed the kingship in Germany. In Italy he restored his kingdom to obedience; but just when he was all set to take arms against the papacy, he died. His brother **Manfred** assumed the regency for the two-year-old **Conradin**. Innocent wanted to destroy him too but died before he could bring it about. Alexander IV (1254-1261) could not touch Manfred. Manfred had himself crowned in 1258, and steadily extended his kingdom northward. This prompted Urban IV (1261-1264), a

Frenchman, to summon **Charles of Anjou**, the youngest brother of Louis IX of France, to help in 1263. Under Urban's successor Clement IV (1265-1268), another Frenchman, Charles did get there, tendered the oath of vassalage, and in 1265 was crowned king of both Sicilies. Manfred fell in the battle of Benevento (1266). When Conradin arrived, he was compelled, after the unhappy rout of Tagliacozzo in 1268 to mount the scaffold. The German populace preserved a romantic sympathy for this epigone of the great emperor. Following formal prerogatives, the pope and his confederate supported only what was their due.

2. The Development of Intellectual Powers of This Time.
§135. Monasticism.

a.   Secularization became evident in the **monastic community**, especially in the chivalric orders, and then even among the Cistercians. What brought this on was the accumulation of wealth, participation in trying to control world and church, and the means by which this control was gained. A deeper cause was skepticism, or open unbelief, rampant especially in France as one result of the crusades, fragmenting the previous uniformity of the worldview. Also, an entirely new genus of monasticism sprang up, the **mendicant orders**. In the process, an idea from heretical circles carried over to these church institutions, namely, lay preaching.

b.   The **Franciscan or Minorite order. Giovanni Francesco Bernadone**, born in 1182, the son of a wealthy cloth merchant in Assisi, in 1208 conceived his idea (thanks to a sermon he heard on Matth. 10) about the apostolic life of poverty and itinerant preaching (the identical idea held by the Cathari, Patarines, and Waldensians). A free society formed around him and the Portiuncula church in Assisi, which society and its endeavors Innocent III recognized verbally in 1210. In 1212, the female branch of the order came into being through **Clara Sciffi** of Assissi, called the Nuns of St. Clara. In 1219, Francis moved away, with the intention of converting the sultan of Egypt. Returned, he composed in 1221, at the instigation of Rome (that is, Cardinal Ugolino, later Gregory IX), a relaxed rule for the order which Honorius III would confirm in 1223 after a thoroughgoing revision. The rule forbade individuals, and the order itself, to own property, and prescribed living exclusively from begging. A *minister generalis* was in general charge, the *ministri provinciales* superintended the order's provinces, and guardians supervised the individual houses which the order later maintained. A general convention met annually. The Nuns of St. Clara and the **Tertiaries** (lay brothers, who however kept their secular jobs) joined them. The Minorites had permission to preach anywhere, to hear confessions, and to administer absolution, and they answered directly to the pope.

c.   That is how a free association turned into an order. *Ordo fratrum minorum*, abbreviated O.M., the Minorite or Franciscan Order. Francis was not altogether in favor of this imposed regulation, as his testament shows. In 1224 he resigned from the leadership, was replaced by **Elias of Cortona**, and died in 1226. He represents the great corollary to Bernard. Bernard exemplified the love for Jesus, Francis, the love for the brethren. A great evangelical impulse motivated both men, which in that era was effectual. Francis was a mystic, because, given the lack of doctrinal clarity, emotion was unable to assert itself in any other way. Further, his perception of nature was keen, enabling him to stir up the artistic talents of the order in the fields of lyric poetry and sculpture. But otherwise he remained under the servile spell of the papacy. Therefore, the evangelical stimulation of his activity was necessarily lost to the church, and his order inevitably became a principal servant to the papacy.

d.   But **opposition** broke out in the order itself, even before the end of this era. The testament of St. Francis was by-passed soon after his death. In 1230 Gregory approved the collection of money by middlemen in the interest of the order; Innocent approved the possession of churches, houses, estates, etc. by declaring them papal property, granting the order only the right of use. Most of the general superintendents since Elias belonged to this lax school. But rigorists, under the name of ***Zelatores*** or ***Spirituales***, rose up against these

violations. In opposition to these people, the others designated themselves *Fratres de communitate.* The *Zelatores* adopted the ideas of the Italian Cistercian abbot **Joachim of Floris** (d. 1201), who, like **St. Elizabeth of Schönau** and **St. Hildegard of Bingen**, had prophesied that the world would end in 1260, and who had proclaimed the German empire to be the Antichrist. But now the *Spirituales* appealed to the emperor, and broadcast the papacy as the Antichrist. The Franciscan Gerhard of Borgo summarized these theories in the *Liber introdoctorius in evangelium aeternum*, and John of Parma*,* the order's general (1247-1257), supported him. John was deposed, and Gerhard captured. John's successor **Bonaventura** (1215-1274) adopted a moderate position.

e. The **Dominican or preaching order. Dominicus Guzman**, a titled Spaniard, in partnership with Bishop Diego of Osman*,* devoted himself to the conversion of heretics by itinerant preaching. When he wanted to found a fellowship, Innocent III had no ear for his idea, but Honorius III was more inclined. In 1216 he confirmed the preaching order *Ordo fratrum praedicatorum, O.P.*, later more particularly constituted as an order of Augustinian canons. The order naturally was given responsibility for the **Inquisition**, as it had been inspired by the idea of converting heretics. Like the Minorites too, the preaching order answered directly to the pope. These two orders shared the papal assignments until the rise of the Jesuit order. A major part of that work centered in academic activity. It was in this capacity that they came into conflict among themselves. In this contention they produced the greatest and last of the erudite scholastics.

f. In association with the two orders, lay brotherhoods sprang up, whose members, to be sure, kept their outside jobs, but as far as possible submitted to the ascetic regimens. These were the **Tertiaries** or Penitential Brethren, *fratres poenitentiae*. They were called Tertiaries because, alongside the female or second branch, they counted as the third branch of the beggar orders, the "Mendicants."

g. The influence of the orders extended even farther. The preaching of David of Augsburg (O.M., d. 1271) and of his protégé Berthold of Regensburg (O.M., d. 1272) was influential in the remotest circles. Mechthild of Magdeburg (d. 1277 in the Cistercian cloister of Helfta at Eisleben) already then used the German language to write his mystic essay, "The Fleeting Light of the Divinity," and with it introduced later mysticism. The Dominicans popularized the **rosary.** Books of legends, such as the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus a Voragine (O.P., d. 1298) and *Dialogus miraculorum* by the Cistercian Caesar of Heisterbach (1240) gained currency. The **Corpus Christi festival** was founded in 1245 in Lüttich [Liège], and in 1264 Urban IV made it official. The Portugese **Anthony of Padua's** preaching excited **flagellant pilgrimages**, which the Joachimites continued to promote (after 1260). **Hymnography** too profited from the movement: *Dies irae* by **Thomas of Celano** and *Stabat mater dolorosa* by **Giacopone da Todi** (d. 1306). Other orders included the **Carmelites**, founded in 1238, and the **Augustinian Eremites** in 1256. (142c, 143.)

§136. Scholasticism.

a. The **revival of scholasticism** coincided at first with the general revival at this time, which must be attributed to the influence of overseas commerce with the orientals and Greeks. In terms of theological erudition it meant that Aristotle now became entirely accessible in Arabic-Jewish translations, and in the original Greek. His long current *Dialectics* was augmented by his *Physics, Metaphysics, Ethics,* and *Politics*, in the editions of Avicenna (d. 1037), Avicebron (d. 1070), Moses Maimonides (d. 1166), and Averroes (d. 1198). It is easy to imagine how avidly these works were devoured. Their availability after 1200 helped to make **universities** out of previously existing schools. The term "university" then meant a collegial body of teachers and students, not, as later, a collegial body of sciences. Paris, Oxford, Cambridge were such universities. It was the Franciscans and Dominicans who made Aristotle the focal point of inquiry exclusively, and thus also put the universities into the service of the papacy.

b.   The first to head in this direction was **Alexander of Hales** (d. 1245 when a teacher in Paris). He set out a system of Christian doctrine in his *Summa universae theologiae*, following Aristotle's modes, that is, an independent dogmatic structure of doctrine in place of the previous customary translations of church fathers by John Damascenu*s* and Lombardus. But unlike Aristotle, he posited volition, not reason, as the mainspring of everything. **Albertus Magnus** (d. 1280), a Swabian count who made the Dominican school in Cologne the leading seat of learning in Germany, succeeded him. Following Aristotle's lead, he distinguished himself especially in the **natural sciences** insomuch that he was popularly regarded a wizard. His fellow order member **Thomas Aquinas** (d. 1274), an Italian count who taught in Cologne, Paris, and Naples, scaled even higher heights. He set out a theology fusing church doctrine and natural logic into one uniform world view. Both **Dominicans** wrote commentaries on Aristotle*,* theological summaries, and commentaries on the *Sentences*. In the opinion of these men, the **papacy** controls church and state; in the realm of the mind, **tradition** controls faith and reason.

c.   But now the **Franciscans** objected to this theology. They remained Platonic realists and disciples of Anselm*,* and via Anselm, disciples of Augustine*,* and adhered to Alexander Hales*'* principle of volition. **John Fidanza (Bonaventura)** of Tuscany (d. 1274), teacher in Paris, then Minorite general superintendent and cardinal, modeled his teaching along these lines. But already at this time a critic of the conventional scholasticism arose from their own circles, who brought ancient nominalism back into vogue. **Roger Bacon** (O.M., d. 1292), a teacher at Oxford, *Doctor mirabilis* (or *profundus*), concentrated on Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic language disciplines, as well as on natural science (optics, chemistry, and astronomy). He made astonishing observations (refraction, magnifying glasses, artificial lightning), spoke of ocean vessels and terrestrial vehicles which would operate without sails, steering gears, or draft animals, and in his *Opus majus seu de emendandis scientiis* paved the way for **empiricism**. For these advanced views the Franciscans incarcerated him, but later released him. His student was **Duns Scotus**.

d.   The internal development of the Franciscan order traced above, which lauded Bacon in opposition to the papacy, reflects a progressive evolution in the imagination of the time in general. Formerly, differences within the realm of church doctrine occurred, but they never ranged beyond differences between individuals, and a prohibition of controversy would settle the matter. Then the great division between Realists and Nominalists emerged, but this rested on formal philosophical grounds. Now whole **orders** got into it **against one another**, and in fact on grounds of doctrine and practice, and in the case of the *Spirituales,* an order itself divided, resulting in one party finding itself at odds with the pope. More than this, pantheistic mysticism separated itself from accepted doctrine and from the church in general, as dramatized in **Amalrich of Bena** (d. 1204) and David of Dinant (d. around 1210), both contemporary teachers in Paris, both declaring the pope to be the Antichrist. They inspired the **Brothers and Sisters of the Free Mind** in 1250, who again, as laity, exerted influence in the circles of the Beguins and Beghards*.* They left their professions, and hoped, by submerging personal volition in God, to achieve Christian perfection (quietistic-pantheistic mysticism). Following this train of thought they arrived at the notion that, as sinless people, they stood above church order, and accordingly rejected papacy and hierarchy. (143.)

§137. Practical Work in the Church.

a.   The **Inquisition**. After the Albigensian war, Gregory IX set up a tribunal in every diocese for hunting down heretics (1229). In 1232 he removed the Inquisition from episcopal supervision, and transferred it to the Dominicans (*Domini canes*: the Lord's bloodhounds), who thus immune, went mad with the weapons of torture and secular prosecution, and their favorite, the stake. The concept of heresy came to include usury, fortune telling, and disobedience to the clergy. In Germany in 1233, the fiend **Conrad of Magdeburg** was

murdered. In 1234 the Stedingers were eradicated for refusing to pay church dues. Only in France and Spain did the Inquisition make much headway.

b.   At this time in **Spain**, the contest against **Islam** forged ahead, as in the East it fell back. After the Umayyads were overthrown in 1031, the small northern principalities under the leadership of Navarre gained ground: Asturia, Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia. But first the **Moors** of Morocco once again rose to power under the Almoravids in 1085, and then under the Almohads in 1184. But after the battle of Tolosa in 1212, the Moors were confined to Granada in the south, and Castile, Aragon, and Portugal divided up Spain. Navarre belonged to France. The **chivalric orders** of Alcantara and Calatrava traced their origins to these contests.

c.   In the East, after Frederick II's death, the **Chovaresmians** supplanted the Seljuks. In 1244 they conquered Jerusalem. This prompted Louis IX to set out against them. He was captured in the **6th Crusade** (1248-1254), the one against Egypt. He escaped and ventured in the **7th Crusade** (1270) against Tunis. There, with a large part of his army, he died of the plague. In 1291 Acre, the last hold of the Christians, fell to the foe. In 1261 Michael III Paleolog*us* of Nicaea abolished the Latin *imperium* when he subdued Constantinople. The **Mongol storm**: hailing from the region of Amur, **Temudjin** had subjugated the Mongolian peoples, and now, as Jenghis Khan (the chief Khan) of all the Mongols, he moved west. In 1218 he pushed the Chovaresmians off to Arabia, conquered Russia, but was defeated in 1241 at Liegnitz (Wahlstatt: electoral center) by the German and Polish knights. Then the Mongol storm moved on to the Near East (Baghdad fell in 1258) and finally in 1260 paused momentarily in Palestine.

d.   Mission. Armed with the means of the Inquisition, the mission of the church turned eastward. In 1202, in the **Baltic province**s, Adalbert of Buxthöven*,* a canon of Bremen, founded the **Brethren of the Sword**, who in 1237 joined the **Teutonic Knights**. This order was founded in 1190 as an order of hospitalers by the Bremen and Lübeck merchants. Only titled Germans were allowed to wear the white mantle with the black cross emblem. When things began to collapse in the East, Herman of Salsa in 1228 responded to the call to Prussia sounded by the Cistercian monk Christian of Oliva*;* Christian's **Brother Knights of Dobrin** were being wiped out there. The Teutonic Knights conquered the country. The pagans were exterminated, Christians were colonized, and in 1309 Marienburg was founded. In 1293 Sweden subjugated and Christianized **Finland**. Grand Duke Jagello of Lithuania was baptized in 1386, the end of mission efforts in Europe. Ramon Llull (1234-1315) worked among the **Mohammedans** until his martyrdom in 1315. He had thought up a specially designed strategy to enable him to demonstrate the truth of Christianity to educated Moslems; *Ars magna*, cabalistic and scholastic argumentation; Lullists. The popes and Louis IX sought in vain to approach the **Mongols** through the mission. Only in China did the Venetian traveler Marco Polo attain to high honors, and the Franciscan John of Monte Corvino continued the effort there later (after 1291).

§138. Secular Culture.

a.   Another outgrowth of the subjective temper, which in the previous two hundred years had brought the laity up to an intellectual level rivaling the clergy, appeared in secular **art** and **poetry,** now elaborating secular themes as well as spiritual, and in the course of time increasingly preferring these. This preference can be traced to the economic prosperity of the territories and nations of Europe. Wealth nourished a vigorous lust for life, which often contrasted curiously with the asceticism of the time. Both of these contrasting phenomena came to expression in the signal works of imagination of that era.

b.   **Poetry** took the lead, as it always does, and **France** is the country where this change from the spiritual to the secular had its inception, parallel with the change in theology and in the practical life of the church. Thus the Crusades gave birth to medieval chivalry. Along with it evolved the poesy of chivalry. Already in the 11th century, the class of troubadours sprang up in **southern France**, who cultivated the *Minnelied*, but also

employing ecclesial themes with scorn and satire. In **northern France** they worked out the epic, passing on to other countries the legends of the Emperor Charlemagne and the Bretonese Arthurian legend. In **Spain**, a folk love-lyric became popular in association with the national poesy inspired by the Cid. Along with it, **religious poesy** gained favor. Nationalism and religious fanaticism thus found voice in the rise of Spanish chivalric orders. In **Germany**, the 12th century brought forth the last products of spiritual poetry. Subsequently there was a flowering of lay poetry in the minnesong. Also, **Walther von der Vogelweide** (d. 1230) and the singer competitions at the Thuringian court, with their keen polemic against the usurpations of the Roman curia. The **courtly epic** followed, treating particularly the Arthurian legend and the legend of the holy grail, (grail, *cratalis*: shell with the body and blood of the Lord?). And **Wolfram von Eschenbach** (d. 1220), especially in his *Parsifal*; **Hartmann von der Aue** (d. 1220), in his "Gregorius on the Rock" and "Poor Henry;" **Godfrey of Strassburg** in his "Tristan and Isolde." Blossoming along with these was the folk epic, particularly the *Nibelungenlied* and the *Gudrunlied*. In these native works the struggle against Rome, the chivalrous veneration of women, and particularly that of Mary*,* the glorification of human love disregarding morality and religion, and the exaltation of ancient German virtues like valor and loyalty, etc., all found their poetic expression. Also the legend of the Emperor Barbarossa*,* asleep on the Kyffhaüser, awaiting the expulsion of the black ravens in order to restore the glory of the empire, took literary form among the people. Already then in **Italy,** the new age soon to rise in the Renaissance dawned in **Dante Alighieri** of Florence (1265-1321). As a Ghibelline he was a partisan of the empire as against the papacy, and on that account was banished (1301) from Florence. His works include the *Divina commedia* and the political monograph *De monarchia.*

c.   In **architecture**, the spiritual influence naturally prevailed for some time longer in the construction of the great cathedrals. The **Romanesque style** had undergone further development since the time of the Carolingians, assuming different forms, however, in different countries (§126 l.). In the 12th and 13th centuries the **Gothic style** superseded the Romanesque. The Gothic style owed less to purely spiritual, that is, ritual, interests, than to technical and esthetic ones. Its rise is related to the laymen's movement and the individuation of secular interests. The secular master builders engineered the changeover. The trend toward colossal structures made the pointed arch style imperative, because a nave breadth of thirty feet exerted as much stress as a round-arched stone vault could support. The change to Gothic style put the pressure of the vault upon regularly spaced points of the walls, which were supported by buttresses. This design allowed pillars and windows to relieve the pressure on the walls, and offered an opportunity to beautify every last element of the building, up to the finials in the keystones of the vaulting and the topmost pinnacle, down to the minutest detail; *wimperge* (pointed gables over windows and doors), *fiales* (turrets), tracery, rosettes, pillar clusters, cross-vaulting, middle and western European ornamentation, glass painting. Here there was opportunity for experimentation in magnificence and the extension of logical, mathematical construction, and the exercise of artistic individuality. This explains the much greater variety of stylistic forms from country to country in the Gothic style rather than in the Romanesque.

d.   This architectural mode began in **northern France** around 1150, and continued until superseded by the Renaissance in the 15th century. In France, there was Notre Dame in Paris, 1163-1360; the cathedrals of Chartres, Rheims, Amiens, with their stunted towers. In **England,** there were the cathedrals of Canterbury, 1177-1185; Westminster Abbey in London, 1245-1300; at Salisbury, York, Winchester, cathedrals were built on the French model, except that they retained the old English preference for unusually extended length and narrow width. In **Germany** at first there was the transitional style, which grafted only arbitrary elements of the Gothic onto the Romanesque (pointed arch and ribbed vaulting). Later, the true Gothic evolved in the cathedral at Cologne (foundation stone laid in 1248 in the tenure of Bishop **Conrad von Hochstaden;** dedication of the choir in 1322, with construction continuing from 1516 to 1842; completion in 1880); the minster at Strassburg

(begun in 1230, facade built in 1277 by **Erwin von Steinbach**); the minsters at Freiburg in Breisgau, Ulm, Prague, Vienna, Basel, etc. **Italy** adopted only individual elements of the Gothic style; wall surfaces, isolated towers, marble surfacing of the facade, retaining the preferences for the horizontal to the vertical line, as in German structures; S. Francesco at Assisi, cathedrals of Siena, Florence, Milan. In **Spain,** Moorish motifs amplified the Gothic; cathedrals of Toledo, Burgos, Seville, and others. -The Gothic style additionally lent itself particularly to secular architecture, and in the countries named above it inspired resplendent masterworks in town halls and palaces in cities and castles.

e.   **Sculpture** too found an opportunity in this style for further development. Uniquely beautiful works were produced, with stylized ornamentation employing botanical motifs. The representation of animate life still betrayed considerable gaucherie. The forms transmitted from the Middle Ages, bearing the stamp of the ascetic ideal, were as yet predominant. It was not until the Renaissance that a change was wrought in technique when Dante's contemporaries in Italy, **Nicolo Pisano** (d. 1280) and his son **Giovanni Pisano** (d. 1328), began to break free from the conventional sculpture of the Middle Ages, and modeled their work on the natural, breathing figures of antiquity. Painting, except for glass painting in the Gothic style, had little chance to develop since wall surfaces were eliminated. The painters **Cimabue** (d. 1302) and **Giotto,** like their contemporaries the Pisanos, were precursors of the Renaissance. (161.)

III. The Disintegration of the Medieval Church, 1268-1517.
§139. General Summary.

a.   In the subsequent age down to the Reformation, all existing perceptions and associations dissolved. The internal causation of dissolution was the legalism of the papacy, till now controlling the mind and determining it still further. The external driving forces were the new perceptions and designs already appearing in the previous period in the wake of the Crusades, and now branching out: the expanded range of vision, commercial recovery in the transition from barter to monetary exchange, urban planning, the burgeoning of craftsmanship, new inquiries into Aristotle, and familiarity with the *belles lettres* of the ancient classical writers. All this had its inception in the victory of the papacy over the German empire in the fall of the House of Hohenstaufen. From this whole milieu new nations rose to prominence: France, England, Spain, while Germany was pushed somewhat into the background. Commerce and business, art and highbred education advanced steadily until they became commonplace. The old feudalism disappeared, and the lower classes of the population took part in public affairs. For all that, this popular development did not forge ahead to democracy as yet, but once again gave place to the absolutism of princes. Scholasticism too, given its formal structure at the time, had to yield, only to give way to an alternate method of thinking without gaining much content. Similarly, a new mysticism arose which mirrored the advancing ideas of psychology.

b.   The reform ideas, intimately related as they were to the transformation in the field of scholasticism and mysticism, did however withstand the papacy, with qualified success, in its aspiration to world control. Yet nowhere could anyone attain to really clear perceptions and animated forms **because the legalistic nature of the papacy** still held minds in chains at every point. It was only when all authentic ideas, as consummated in Luther, were clearly set out, in that this man surveyed the whole world from the high vantage point of the Gospel, that every element fell into place, and fresh, vigorous forms took shape in every area of life.

c.   The **disintegration** preceding the Reformation, as portrayed, is consummated in three tremendous stages: A. To begin with, **everything goes awry**, when the papacy flounders under French hegemony. B. Subsequently, the impotence of the reform movement becomes apparent in the three great councils, necessitated by the papal schism. C. When the reform effort is abandoned, the Renaissance has a free hand to bring into full view the **collapse of every alliance**.

A. French Domination of the Papacy in the Babylonian Exile, 1268-1377.
1. The Pope's Attempt to Impress His French Ally Brings the Papacy to Avignon.
§140. The Imperial Idea Abandoned.

a.   The papacy, abetted by the French, had prevailed in the fall of the Hohenstaufen, and the German empire had been toppled from the eminence it had occupied in the Middle Ages. But there were other contributing factors to this outcome as well: a. **The empire** had over-reached its calling in its theocratic universalism, and in its attempt to render the church subservient to its aims it had defied evangelical truth, which subconsciously had registered also in the mind of medieval Christendom. b. The imperial idea had exhausted itself, unable any longer to produce an original personality. c. The rise of the third estate in urban life was hostile to the ancient imperial rule.

b.   On the death of Richard of Cornwallis (1272), the college of seven electoral princes elected **Rudolf of Habsburg** (1273-1291) German emperor. This action changed the empire from a hereditary to an electoral monarchy. The electors limited the empire's power. By the same token, though, it served their interest to defend the empire against the usurpation of the pope. Rudolf was a simple soul who espoused no particular ideals. He wanted to administer the kingdom and to that end to enjoy directly the recognition of the pope.

c.   Urban IV (1261-1264) and Clement IV (1265-1268), the popes who had overthrown the Hohenstaufen with the help of the Frenchman, Charles of Anjou, were themselves Frenchmen. This in turn initiated the decline of the papacy. Its nemesis was its dependency on France, which dealt with the papacy more ruthlessly than the German emperors had ever done. Charles of Anjou (1265-1285) at once conjured up a rival to the pope right in the **college of cardinals**, when, by interfering in the papal elections, he created vacancies in the papal see, and abetted the power of the cardinals, and the political chicanery rampant among them, when individual cardinals would endorse the conflicting interests of the Italians, French, or Spanish.

d.   Before long he made himself a nuisance to the popes, and even more so to the cardinals, with his intrigues in Rome and Sicily. At length in consequence, they elected **Gregory X**, a worthy Italian, who at the **second council of Lyons** (14th ecumenical) in 1274 elevated the dignity of the pope when he set in motion the promulgation of a new papal election law (requiring the electoral college to convene at the place where the late pope had died, in immured conclave, after three days limited to a one-course meal, after five days, to bread and water) and a **union with the Greeks**. In Greece, Michael Paleologus (1261-1281), who had brought the Latin empire there to an end, won over John Beccus, the refractory librarian of the refractory bishop Joseph of Constantinople, to the cause of the union, and named him bishop. But after the overthrow of the emperor, Joseph was reinstated, and the union ignored.

e.   It was with this pope that **Rudolf** met in Lausanne (1275), and waived all imperial rights to church government. Thereupon Alphonso of Castile of his own accord declined the imperial crown. For the rest, Rudolf attended to the empire and his own domestic authority. From Ottokar of Bohemia in the battle on the Marchfeld, in 1278 he wrested Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, and gave them to his own sons. In Thuringia, Frankenland, and along the Rhine he defended the cities against the robber-knights. Count Otto of Burgundy he compelled to recognize the feudal suzerainty of the kingdom. In this way he completed the transition **from the universal imperium to the German kingship,** the return from the standpoint of Otto I to that of Henry I.

f.   When in the wake of three insignificant popes, Innocent V, Hadrian V, and John (XXI) XXII, the energetic **Nicholas III** (1277-1280) assumed the papal throne, Rudolf relinquished to him even the imperial coronation. That was sensible, but at the time was taken as weakness. Hereupon Nicholas again took up the fight against Charles I of Anjou, and in the process instigated the **Sicilian Vespers**, which first erupted in 1282 under Pope Martin IV (1281-1285) and restored Sicily to the hands of a descendant of the Hohenstaufen, Peter III of

Aragon. The next three popes, Honorius IV (1285-1287), Nicholas IV (1288-1292), Celestine V (1294), continued under Charles II of Anjou's (1285-1309) influence, and were preoccupied in combatting the factions of cardinals from the houses of the Orsini and Colonna. **Boniface VIII** (1294-1304, the Francophobe Cardinal Benedict Gaetani), however, wanted to reactivate the suspended claims of Gregory VII, this time against the French and English king.

g. Meanwhile **Adolf of Nassau** (1292-1298) had become emperor in Germany, a person of nugatory importance. His opponent and successor **Albrecht I** (1298-1308), the son of Rudolf, perpetuated his father's policy in every detail, even in 1303 submitting to Boniface VIII to wear the German crown in fief. This fired the ambition of the French king **Philip IV**, who had brought the popes under his sway, to aspire to the position the German empire had formerly occupied.

§141. Defeat of the Papacy at the Hands of Philip IV of France.

a. Blinded by the impotence of the German empire, till now the universal power, Boniface miscalculated the political perceptions of the nations and their implication for the church. It was in **England** that these new ideas first took shape. Ever since 1215 and the Magna Carta the English gentry had demanded participation in government for the three organized estates, the clergy, the nobility, and the citizenry. These new views on constitutional practice necessarily affected also the response of the nations to the unlimited power of the pope. **National assertion** rocketed, primarily that of the English and French. They regarded Rome as an alien power, and no longer put up with her usurpations. So the English commons were of one mind with the king when something had to be done about the unreasonable demands of the pope in regard to commissions and appeals. In 1366 the papal feudal tax was repealed.

b. Eventually, in 1242, the English **parliament** convened under **Henry III** (1216-1272), and in 1265, under Count Simon of Montfort-Leicester, representatives of certain cities also found admittance, which resulted in merchants and artisans gaining political status. This plan was fully implemented in the period under discussion, under the last **Plantagenets,** the **three Edwards** (I, 1272-1307; II, 1307-27; III, 1327-77), going by the term **self-government**, and finally in 1343 parliament organized into upper and lower houses.

c. During this time the last **Capetians** were reigning in **France** (1270-1328). The **last (7th) crusade** occurred (1270) at the time of the vacancy of the see at Rome, after the fall of the Hohenstaufen, under Louis IX of France (1226-1270). This king had provided for governmental polity and judiciary by instituting the appointment to an imperial court (*parlement*) composed of nobles and jurists in Paris. Fame also has erroneously ascribed to him a pragmatic sanction granting freedom for the Gallican church. His brother was Charles I of Anjou. His son Philip III was the father of **Philip IV the Fair** (1285-1314), whose sons, Louis X, Philip V, and Charles IV, were to succeed him. These Capetians saw to the increase of crown estates, but no less to the commons in the abolition of serfdom in crown states, and to conscientious fiscal administration. These measures developed a strong sense of national identity in the French, and they stood by their king. It was at the most illustrious of these princes that the pope aimed his attack.

d. **Boniface VIII,** a self-assured, ruthless man, first of all struck a blow for the recognition of his authority in Rome when he destroyed the house of Colonna, together with its family seat Palestrina in 1299, even though he had to swallow the defection of the Sicilians. Then he turned on Philip IV of France, engaged in war at the time with Edward I of England. Both kings had taxed the churches for war purposes. Boniface forbade such taxation in 1296 in the bull *Clericis laicos*. In England, the clergy sided with the pope, but the king enforced the taxation anyhow. In France, Philip responded to the bull with a prohibition against any kind of monetary exportation, and with this action brought the pope to his senses.

e. In the year 1300 Boniface set up a **jubilee indulgence**. For visiting the graves of the Apostles in Rome one

could receive full remission of sins, to become effective the first year of every new century. Many people came to Rome, and the pope grew even more self-assertive. To be sure, he had to accept a second set-back at the hands of England in 1301, since he had declared Scotland a papal possession. But that same year the strife between him and Philip of France flared up again, about vacant benefices, which the king claimed as royal possessions. To the bull of censure *Ausculta fili*, the king replied in a derisive letter in 1302 and by convoking the general states, now also allowed the third estate to be represented in the parliament. In 1303 [1302] the council convened in the Lateran, and the pope thereupon promulgated the bull ***Unam sanctam*** in which he restated the old doctrine of the two swords, in order to set forth the dependence of the secular power on the spiritual. This usurpation the royal advocate **Peter of Dubois** and the Dominican **John of Paris**, a teacher at the university, challenged, in that they placed the independence of the French hereditary kings above that of the German kingship, which, being merely an elective monarchy, in every case required papal confirmation, and defended the French kings against papal supremacy. **Dante** too wrote his *De monarchia* against this pope. The king and parliament for their part replied with the most serious charges of false doctrine and scandalous conduct against the pope. Philip forestalled excommunication by ordering the old man suddenly taken prisoner by the chancellor William of Nogaret and the exiled Colonna Sciarra. Boniface died from the agitation.

f.   Boniface was avaricious and ambitious, and he lacked political tact. Favoring the French king were the patriotism of his people and, since the Crusades, the wholly altered perceptions of Christendom. That is why Boniface was unable to achieve what even Gregory VII had only aspired to. In this defeat the political impotence of the papacy came to light, and the Roman bishops never again recovered from it. To begin with, the papacy sank ever more deeply into the hands of France. The king's victory was final when Pope Benedict XI (1303-1304) was obliged to acquit the king and the Colonna, and Clement V (1305-14) had to emigrate to **Avignon** (1309), and there, at last, in order to be able to cancel the proceedings against Boniface, had to surrender the wealthy **Templars** to the king. That order, because of its independence, was a thorn in Philip's eye, and because of its wealth, chiefly amassed in France, a desirable spoil. On that account the Templars were charged with idolatry (veneration of Bahomet, perhaps a distortion of Mahomet), of debauchery, and greed. After the king had, on his own initiative, taken action against them by arrest, torture, and the stake, and in spite of the resistance of the religious at the **Council of Vienne** (1311-12), Philip induced the pope in 1312 to dissolve the order, and by 1314 was quickly right at hand to execute the grand master Jacob of Molay and his associates.

In its reactionary doings the papacy was of course following the essential designs of the Antichrist, and in a certain respect, played it smart in this respect. But the papacy did not understand the signs of the times in the sense of the Gospel. The national pride surging up everywhere might have led to great achievements. In that situation, however, the pope's maneuvering for power could only once again strengthen temporarily the power of the princes, pitted also against the nations. In consequence the papacy in turn was forced to disavow its own interests, and to adopt immoral measures.

2.   German Imperialist Controversy Dissolves
All Medieval Expectations of Papacy and Empire.
§142. The Struggle between Emperor and Pope.

a.   In alliance with France, the papacy once again successfully launched an attack on the German empire, but only to unleash the **imperialist controversy,** in the course of which all foundations of medieval culture disintegrated. Clement adopted an entirely different policy toward Germany than toward France, and in fact with Philip's consent. When after the assassination of Albrecht, **Henry VII of Luxemburg** (1308-1313) was elected instead of Philip's brother Charles, the pope did confirm the election and promised the imperial

coronation. But when the coronation in 1312 did take place, it was not in St. Peter's, but in the Lateran, because Robert of Naples (1309-1313), son of Charles II, the pope's vassal, had occupied the inner city, and the emperor was on the verge of punishing Robert. Henry died suddenly in 1313, and the next year, so did Clement.

b. These deaths notwithstanding, the struggle between the two parties of successors reached a new level of complexity. In Avignon, the 72-year-old cobbler's son **John XXII** (1316-1334), a Frenchman, was elected after two years of wrangling between Italian and French cardinals. A diligent scholar and conscientious administrator and businessman, he jealously guarded the rights and riches of the pope. When **Louis IV the Bavarian** (1314-1347) and **Frederick of Austria** were contesting the election, he withheld recognition in 1317 from both contenders. When Louis won out in 1322 and answered an appeal from the Ghibellines in 1323, decamping to Italy in defiance of the pope's threats, John promulgated the bull *Venerabilem* (1324) asserting that Leo III had created the empire in the year 800. At this opportunity the disgruntled Minorites foregathered around Louis.

c. As late as the **Council of Vienne** (1311-1312) Clement recognized the position of the Spirituals, with the injunction to re-adapt themselves to the order on pain of excommunication. Defecting from the Spirituals because of this affront was the even more rigorous persuasion called the Fraticelli, who carried the concept of poverty to the furthest extreme, and for that in the coming years some of them had to suffer death at the stake in France. But when a Beghard was burnt at the stake by the **Dominicans** because of his doctrine of poverty in 1321, and John XXII had declared the opposing position of the Dominicans to be orthodox (1324), the **Franciscans** under the order's general **Michael of Cesena** rose en masse against the pope, and rallied to the side of Louis the Bavarian, who immediately thereafter directed to the future legitimate pope his **Frankfurt Appellatio** (Sachsenhäuser Appellation) against the false prophet. Among these opponents of the papacy, now growing vocal all over Europe, were the Parisian professors **Marsilius of Padua** and **John of Jandun** who composed a civil and canon law memorial entitled *Defensor pacis*. In it they pronounced the German empire independent of the pope. The laymen's union of the Apostolic Brethren founded by Gerhard Segarelli, an artisan from Parma, took the same position, and for that its founder was burnt at the stake (1300). Now when John summoned Michael of Cesena to Avignon and instigated his deposition when he refused to come, Michael, in league with **William Occam** and Bonagratia of Bergamo, shifted his allegiance to Louis. That is how the **imperialist** party was formed. Rising up against these defenders of imperialism was a **curialist** faction including Augustinus Triumphus of Ancona, the Spanish Franciscan Alvarus Pelagius, and the Regensburg canon Conrad of Megenberg, men who carried the glorification of the pope to a pitch hitherto unrealized.

d. In 1325 John cursed Louis; but Louis made a truce with Frederick, moved to Italy, and in 1328 managed to get Nicholas V, a Minorite pope, elected in the interim, to place the imperial crown on his head. It did not help; he had to pull out in shame because of the inconclusive war. His pope ate humble pie. But Louis was not received back to grace. John died in 1334 after he had named a commission at the last minute to pass on his pet doctrine about the state of departed souls who will not get to see God until the Last Day.

e. When Benedict XII (1334-1342) had settled in to Avignon by building his palace there, yielding to the pressure of French diplomacy, he refused to absolve Louis of his excommunication, the **electoral union at Rhense**, an assembly of the German electors, declared (1338) that papal confirmation of the imperial election was unnecessary, and the Reichstag in Frankfurt in the following year decided that anyone named by the electors became emperor automatically by right of law. Meanwhile in France, the Capetian collateral line of the **Valois** had acceded to the throne (1328-1589). Against the first king of this line, Philip VI (1328-1350), **Edward III of England** raised a protest, and the **Anglo-French war** (1337-1453) resulted, which, after the

first English victories over Philip at Crécy in 1346, and over John the Good (1350-1364) in 1356 at Maupertuis, finally petered out under Charles V (1364-1380) in France's favor, with England forced to give up France all the way to the borders of Calais, Brest, and Bordeaux. In this struggle Louis the Bavarian had sided with England, and posed a real threat to France and the pope.

f. But Clement VI (1342-1352), who by this time in 1346 had purchased Avignon from Johanna I, the grand-daughter and successor of Robert of Naples, declared the German king without honor or right, and proposed **Charles IV** (1346-1378) of Bohemia as emperor. This prince, dubbed "king of clerics" by Occam, renounced all rights to Italy. But Charles had to wait until 1355 for the imperial coronation under Innocent VI (1352-1362), after the death of Louis (1347) and Günther of Schwarzburg, who had been elected Louis' successor by Louis' partisans in 1349. The next year Innocent issued a new basic imperial law in his **Golden Bull**, reconstituting the electoral college under three clerical and four secular princes, and designating the election of the emperor to be independent of the pope. That is how the prestige of the pope, and also of the French, dwindled away. All constitutional concepts in general, in the state as well as in the church, were in a state of dissolution.

§143. Dissolution in All Cultural Areas.

a. The dissolution of ecclesiastic and scholastic perceptions was related to the German imperialist controversy. The constitutional ideas, at issue in this controversy, had been long understood in **England**, because the English nation had appropriated them in their constitutional conflicts. Still, in England it was rather economic interests that were at issue. In **Germany** men were investigating the ultimate principles of things. The origin of this investigation lay in the Franciscan order and its conflict with the pope and the existing perceptions in the church. In scholasticism till now, the aggregate had added up to the single idea that defined itself intellectually, along the lines of Augustine, in the mind of the Dominican **Thomas Aquinas**, that the whole function of theology boils down to proving church doctrine, by logical demonstration, to be in harmony with reason, and necessary.

b. Against this intellectualism, which not only eliminated the living human temperament, but was in itself wrongly oriented, the English Franciscan **Duns Scotus**, a student of Roger Bacon, who transferred from Oxford to Paris in 1304 and in 1308 to Cologne where he died, set forth the primacy of the will as he defined it in his four principal tenets: a. God is less absolute being than absolute will; b. man's will is free (opposing the doctrine of original sin); c. Christ's merit becomes visible by virtue of *acceptatio gratuita Dei* and is not *eo ipso superabundans*; d. *Mariae immaculata conceptio*. For him, theology comes down to a practical science which teaches the way to salvation as revealed by God. Hence theology has nothing to do with things human reason can perceive, but with things which are as they are because God wants them so. Therefore, he also disavowed the justification of prevailing logic as a practical science (*universalia sunt ante res* or *in re*; realism), and sharply criticized prevailing scholasticism without intending to deny church doctrine along with it. Duns Scotus clearly went the way of Abelard, but advanced beyond him; because Abelard still believed that dogmas rhymed with reason.

c. This line of instruction led **William of Occam**, Duns Scotus' student, even further, that is, to his *via moderna*, rehabilitating the nominalism of Roscellinus (*universalia sunt nomina, post res*), a system previously suppressed. Occam was an English Franciscan and professor in Paris. In the conflict between the Spirituals and the pope he had fled in 1328 to Louis the Bavarian, and died in 1347 in Munich. Before Occam, Durandus de St. Pourcain, another teacher in Paris (d. 1332), had already denied the reality of universal concepts, and ascribed reality to particulars. Occam called the universal concepts *termini*, signs which exist only in the soul of the cognitive man. But he also maintained about particulars that in their essence they are undistinguishable.

For that reason, believing and knowing part company. Faith can be substantiated only by the authority of the church, not by reason, and the dogmas, he insisted, needed to undergo a sharp philosophical critique. Because theology and philosophy were thus kept apart, delineating a double truth as it were, this deeper insight into logic at all events did not yet at the time encourage a profitable questioning of church doctrine; on the contrary, it was precisely with the Nominalists that ecclesiastical superstition was rampant. This new bias acquired the name *via moderna*, and over the subsequent years was everywhere unquestioned, especially in Germany and at the universities.

d. University life experienced a particular resurgence at this time when, by the efforts of Charles IV*,* even before his imperial election, Bohemia gained a university in 1347 in Prague, and in 1388 Cologne followed suit. At all the universities, Nominalism, or Terminalism, was in vogue, but, like the scholasticism it supplanted, it lost itself in formalism because, to begin with, everybody had enough to do already, besides being still too much cramped in the straitjacket of the papacy to attack church doctrine and to return to the original sources as the Waldensians had done. Only Nicholas of Lyra*,* the Franciscan at Paris (d. 1340), pointed out the simple literal sense of Scripture, with the reservation that such interpretation remained subject to the Holy Mother, the church. Thomistic scholasticism was fostered mainly in England, standing rather in the wings, and in fact by Thomas Bradwardine (d. 1349). Because Thomism cultivated the study of Augustine, Thomas emphatically opposed the **Pelagianism** of his time, and prepared the ground for Wycliffe's work. (157 d.)

e. **In the wake of this development the Franciscans and Dominicans, having seized nearly all of the academic work for themselves, found themselves at odds with one another. It happened at first in the province of **mysticism. The ideas of Joachim of Floris were worn out. Amalrich of Bena turned them right around into their reverse, libertinism, and this kind of mysticism lived on in the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, often to be found among the Beghines and Beghards, and bringing these societies into ill repute. Now as the Franciscan order had more or less farmed out **Nominalism** to the **Terminism** of Occam, and thus adopted into its program a new intellectualism and formalism, by the same token they also abandoned the study of Augustine which they had originally taken up and which Thomas Aquinas had handed down to the Dominicans; it remained for the Dominicans, more competent as they were from their research in Augustine*,* to cultivate the emotions, and to find the right materials and the right sources for the Nominalist intellectual work that came later. (151 e.)

f. **This was undertaken in **German mysticism. The main seedbeds of this mode of piety were the Dominican monasteries on the Rhine, particularly in Cologne and Strassburg. In upper Germany the chief exponents were: **Master Eckhart** (1260-1327), student of Albertus Magnus*,* whose theological position was condemned in 1329 as pantheistic; **John Tauler** (1300-1361), student of Eckhart*,* who labored as a preacher in Strassburg during the time of the Black Plague (and later, by his writing, strongly influenced Luther), author of the slender volume *The German Theology,* containing Eckhart's basic ideas in popularized terms; and Henry Suso (1295-1366), Eckhart's student, scion of Swabian nobility, who practiced asceticism in Constance. In northern Germany, **John of Ruysbroek** (1293-1381; *doctor ecstaticus*) worked in a prebendary chapter near Brussels. Whereas the Bernardine mysticism found only temporary union of the soul with God in the state of ecstasy, this later piety was quietistic, and experienced the ultimate rapture in **"serenity."** It internalized the life of the soul in this way, and directed it toward active love for the neighbor. It embodied psychology in self-observation, influenced German prose writing and painting, and was a vital pre-condition to Renaissance and Reformation. (The vernacular was used in songs and in sermons and other writings addressed to the laity. German **schools of painting** arose: in Ulm led by Hans Schülein*,* in Colmar by Martin Schöngauer*,* in Augsburg by Hans Holbein the Elder*.* In the 15th century, these contrasted stylistically with the Flemish school

led by the van Eyck brothers and their north German adherents in Cologne and in Westphalia. Instead of representing the realistic miniature perfection of incidentals and landscape or architectural backgrounds, as the Flemish school preferred, these upper German painters expressed rather moral and genial aspects of life with cleaner, clearer, and more precise definition, inspired by the contemporary mysticism of their environment. (151 f., g., k.)

g.   The laity too, especially women, participated in mysticism. In Strassburg a circle of the **Friends of God** formed, joined in 1350 by Ruleman Merswin and the enigmatic "great friend of God from the uplands." The commons on the whole remained untouched by mysticism. Popular piety with its pilgrimages, indulgences, relics, miracles, and church customs such as marriage, of course, became institutionalized, but remained largely perfunctory conventions. The horror of the "Black Plague" brought on the **Flagellant migrations** (1348-1351). On the other hand, the vernacular Bible, a legacy of the Waldensians, turned up here and there among the common folk. More frequently read were story bibles, legendary versions of biblical history. The *Biblia pauperum*, a completed edition of the old picture cycles dating back to the 14th and 15th centuries, is still readily available today. The dances of the dead, pictorial representations of how death approaches the most diverse human vocations appeared in this era, and were disseminated chiefly throughout France and Germany. (151 i., 158.)

h.   Hymnology dropped from the high level to which it had attained in the previous period. To be sure, the Dutch achieved much by founding the **first Netherlandish school of music**, and introduced contrapuntal singing by Guillaume Du Fay, even in the Roman chapel. As late as 1322, however, John XXII imposed a ban on the descant. Certainly in **poetry** a new era dawned, namely the Renaissance. **Dante** (1265-1321), the Ghibelline poet of Florence, forerunner of classic modern poetry, and one of the very greatest poets in the world, composed his monumental *Divina Commedia* in defiance of papal ideas; Petrarch (d. 1374) had broken with scholasticism, and in letters and poems paid respect to classical studies; Boccaccio (d. 1375) in his frivolous novels disregarded all moral compunctions. Similarly, the three-dimensional arts strained across previous barriers to a free, natural perception. In sculpture, the genius of the great Niccolo Pisano (d. 1274) soared in this era thanks to his even greater son Giovanni. In **painting** a similar process unfolded when Cimabue's (d. 1300) student Giotto (d. 1336) founded the **older Florentine school** which began to create familiar, lifelike figures in contrast with earlier conventional idealism. (155 a.)

<center>§144. The Return of the Papacy to Rome.</center>

a.   In Italy, held together as it was by the emperors down to the time of the fall of the Hohenstaufen, the various territories went their own ways. In the south, the two dominions of Sicily and Naples gathered strength. The southern section fell (1282) to a line of the House of Aragon after the **Sicilian Vespers**, and was in fact directly united with Aragon in 1406. Naples remained with the House of Anjou, but in 1343, thanks to the highly talented Johanna I (1342-1382), Naples went to the female line. In the north, in Tuscany and Lombardy, the **great commercial cities** developed in the wake of the resurgence of commerce along the Po, which, unlike the German urban leagues, focused rather on the advantage of individual leading cities. In Milan, the Visconti had ruled as viceroys since the time of Henry VII of Germany, and as dukes since that of Wenzel. Venice reached its meridian in the time of the Latin imperium (1204-1261), but continued to acquire property in Greece and the islands. Not until 1284 did Genoa achieve importance when it acquired Corsica and Sardinia. All these cities bore a republican stamp in spite of the princes, and there was frequent turbulence between princes and people. At last, patrician families representing the huge money interests ruled the people, and because of the business boom and the advantage they themselves gained from it, the people were satisfied with the arrangment. (146 h.)

b. The papacy had landed in Avignon partly because of the insecurity stirred up in Rome by baronial conflicts. These conflicts seemed to be losing steam. This lured the **popes back to Rome**. Earlier under Clement VI, Cola di Rienzo, an apostolic notary, had toppled the baronial overlordship and in 1347 set up a republic. He himself had to run away from the people, but made it to Prague, and was extradited to Avignon by Charles IV. Innocent VI (1352-1362) then sent Rienzo to Rome, hoping that he might succeed in containing the anarchy for the papacy, and there he was murdered (1354). Cardinal Albernoz brought the riots under control sufficiently for Urban V (1362-1370) to make the move (1367). But even with the help of Charles IV, which proved unavailing against the commune (and ignoring the entreaty of St. Bridget, from a Swedish family of princes, in Rome, congenial to the Friends of God), he returned in 1370 to Avignon. Gregory XI (1370-1378) yielded to the pleas of St. Bridget and her daughter Catherine (not the same as her contemporary St. Catherine of Siena, daughter of a dyer), to stand up to the anarchy in Rome by his personal presence; in 1377 he transferred the curia to Rome, but again, disappointed in his hopes, he contemplated returning to Avignon. His death in 1378 intervened. (148 a.)

c. This ended the episode of the papal exile in Avignon under French influence. The interim had achieved this much: it raised the shadow of a doubt about the papacy's claim to universal world dominion, and introduced the documented justification of this doubt. The exile however never even budged the bondage of the mind which the papacy exercised over the congregations, because the contestants in the entire course of the conflict engaged, not the means of the Gospel in the spiritual interest of consciences, but used reason and force in the interest of external power. Nevertheless, this contest had roused moods, and in the subsequent period contributed to the elimination of the princes' private interests, while the common interests of the church universal emerged into prominence.

d. Papal dominion after John XXII. Bishops moved from being vassals to becoming officials. The provisions of the pope replaced the franchise of the cathedral chapters. The **curia** trained itself to administer business affairs. This administration fell to various boards. The *Signatura Romana* for business affairs was directed by the pope himself, without the cardinals; the *Dataria R.* decided in public cases; the *Poenitentiaria R.* in classified; the *Consistorium R.* in dogmatic questions. The *Camera R.* administered finances. These departments were now widely expanded, owing especially to the allocation of enormous revenues coming to the cardinals.

e. After the Crusades, the conversion from barter to monetary exchange took place, first in Italy and France, then in the other western nations. The church, till now always in charge of business affairs, at once cooperated in this conversion, and remained the principal financial power. This conversion had come about right during the interim in Avignon. There in Avignon the curial residence lay on the line where the commerce of the Levant developed, up from the plain of the Po, across the Alps, along the Rhone and the Rhine, as far as the Hanseatic cities, and over to London.

f. The sources of the curial revenue. First in line were the revenues of the patrimony of Peter. Then came "Peter's Pence," a house tax in England, and the feudal tribute of England, Ireland, Sicily, and Aragon. Further, the pallium fees paid for the archepiscopal pallium, annates (taxes on the first half year's revenues), reservations for appointment, which really did not belong to the pope, expectances (pre-payment for a benefice), commends for bestowal of a benefice on revocation, *ius spoliarum* (estates of bishops), tithing of church property, absolutions, indulgences, dispensations, appellations, privileges, etc. Since Boniface VIII, the pope has worn the tiara.

B. The Papal Schism and the Futile Reform Councils, 1378-1449.
§145. General Summary.

What had been in the making in the recent struggle between emperor and pope now became a manifest reality, the **total collapse of the empire and the papacy**. Subsequently, powerful popular movements surface in state and church. But these movements cannot ward off the actual evil in that the ideas addressed to reform do not stand forth in the light of the Gospel. Therefore, they seem to portend revolution, and at first merely help to generate the absolutism of individual princes. Along with this fermentation, the idea of reform rises in scholasticism. But because it loses itself in externalities, owing to the poverty of evangelical understanding, the councils prove unavailing and early on contribute to establishing the absolutism of the princes.

1. Political Circumstances.
§146. Political Circumstances in England, France, and Italy.

a. In England imagination, dormant since Anselm, wakened again. The poet **Geoffrey Chaucer** (d. 1400), the father of English poetry, showed particularly in his *Canterbury Tales* how the imagination of the people was beginning to take note of the social atmosphere in published criticism and with refined satire. The same phenomenon was happening in the domain of the church.

b. Already under Edward III, in unison with the dissatisfaction on the mainland with the empire, critics spoke up in protest against papal encroachments, provisionsm and reservations, and chiefly **John Wycliffe** (1324-1384) made an issue of this. He was a student of Thomas Bradwardine and a teacher of philosophy at Oxford, also after 1363, of theology. When Urban V demanded his tribute in 1365, then 33 years in default, Wycliffe sided with the parliament when it declined payment. Heading a commission, he was sent in 1374 to Bruges to negotiate with papal legates about discontinuing the tributary percentages. On his return, he supported the taxation of the clergy, and for this was rewarded with the parish in Lutterworth.

c. Now, in his treatise *De dominio divino*, he supported the **reform ideas**. For that he was charged with heresy, and in 1377 the bishop of London initiated legal proceedings against him. Immediately thereafter Gregory XI condemned isolated sentences of his treatise taken out of context, and opened new proceedings against him. Still, both times the nobility and civilians stood up for the national-minded teacher.

d. At this point Wycliffe too took up the **theological offensive**. In his doctrine of the Law of Christ, he set forth Scripture as the source of religion, and translated the Vulgate into English for the laity. Then he stressed the universal priesthood ("poor priests"), and at first sent out ordained clerics, and later also laymen, as itinerant preachers. In this action he had attacked the claims of the papacy for the clergy. But now he went a step farther when he assailed the *Donatio Constantini,* and the doctrinal training of the 11th century, as presumptions of the Antichrist. The church of Christ is the *communio praedestinatorum*. The pope in his scramble for power and wealth, and with his perversion of doctrine, is the Antichrist. Extreme unction, ordination, and the particularized baptismal ceremonies, are his operational means. Above all, the doctrine of transubstantiation is a contrivance of the Antichrist. The Eucharist has only sensory importance, and in fact only for the believer. In the same vein Wycliffe rejected the veneration of saints and images, auricular confession, indulgences, festivals, etc. It is plain to see how Wycliffe moved right ahead in the direction of the rationalizing Ratramnus and of the legalistic Calvin in the doctrine of Scripture, the Eucharist, and predestination.

e. The episcopate, thanks to the peasant insurrection of 1381, won the support of King Richard II and elements of the nobility. Condemned at the "Earthquake Council" in London in 1382 (during the council an earthquake occurred, and Wycliffe construed this to his advantage), Wycliffe withdrew to his parish at Lutterworth and in 1384 died. His chief work is the *Trialogus* which represents *Alithia* (Truth), *Pseudis* (Lie) and *Phronesis* (Prudence) disputing with one another.

f. Related to the **Lollard movement** (from "lulling": singing softly; as Wycliffites were called who engaged

mainly in itinerant preaching, but even earlier had made themselves felt also politically), already active by this time, the revolt of Wat Tyler broke out under the last Plantagenet, Richard II (1377-1399). The barons won out again, and at length Richard himself was deposed in favor of Henry of Lancaster, the protector of Wycliffe. **The house of Lancaster 1399-1485** was enthroned. Now English patriotism ran high. At first, under Henry IV (1399-1413), to be sure, the Lollards were persecuted because they sided with the poor. Henry V (1413-1422) however rekindled the war against France and with it focused the mind of the people on a national idea.

g. In **France,** Charles VI (1380-1422) had gone mad, and immorality had broken out as a by-product of the feud between the houses of Orleans and Burgundy over the regency. This made it possible for Henry V of England to win the battle of Agincourt in 1415, and to be recognized as king of France by the Burgundian party. But shortly afterwards, in 1422, both kings died. Charles VII of France now brought it about that the French rose united under **Jeanne d'Arc** and defeated the English (1429-1431). Even after the death of the "Maid of Orleans" (sent to the stake in Rouen in 1431 by the English), the movement held out until in 1453 the English were unconditionally defeated. Henry VI of England (1422-1461) had to worry about the **War of the Roses** (1455-1485) just then breaking out. (153 a., b., d.)

h. In **Italy** Genoa lost out to her opponent Venice in the war of Chioggia (1378-1381). On the other hand, Florence was riding high after crushing a riot of day laborers and factory workers in 1387 which had gone on for some time. In the course of the 15th century the banking house of the **Medici** rose to formidable power here, and in the subsequent period carried the absolutism of the princes to victory as well. (153 c., d.)

§147. The Political Circumstances in Germany.

a. In **Germany** Charles IV imposed a tax on the imperial cities in order to get the funds to engineer the imperial election of his son Wenzel (1378-1400). This brought into the open the antagonism between the cities and the knights and the related **urban** and **chivalrous leagues**. The Swabian urban league, formed in 1331, was renewed in 1376. The Rhenish urban league, founded as early as Conrad IV's time, was now amalgamated with the Swabian league. The northern urban league, the *Hansa*, had been operating since 1344. The chivalrous leagues included: St. George's League, the Lion's League, the *Schlegler* or the *Martinsvögel* versus the Swabian urban league. The battles of Sempach and Döffingen took place in 1386 and 1388. To counter the club law [right of private warfare] in forest and field, secret courts of criminal justice were formed. Things went increasingly to pieces because of Wenzel's incompetence. At the borders of the empire super-powers sprang up. In the north, the Scandinavian kingdoms in 1393 joined together as the **Calmarian Union**, in the east the kingdom of Poland took shape under the Jagellites and in 1410 took Lithuania away from the **Teutonic Knights** after the battle of Tannenberg. In the southeast, in 1396, the Osmanites defeated Sigismund at Nicopoli. That is why, already in 1400, the electors had chosen Ruprecht of the Palatinate in Wenzel's stead, but he was also unable to change the situation any more. And when he died in 1410, owing to a split in the imperial election and Wenzel's obduracy, there were three emperors alongside three popes.

b. Following the death of Jobst of Moravia and given Wenzel's compliance, **Sigismund** (1410-1437) retained the empire in 1411. After the Council of Constance, however, and the death of Wenzel in 1419, the Bohemians waged the **Hussite wars** (1419-1434), refusing to recognize the perjured prince as king until the Council of Basel broke the resistance by complying. Accordingly, the government returned to the House of Hapsburg, to Albrecht II (1438-1439) and his nephew Frederick III (1440-1493), the latter steering toward absolutism, although this never really became systematized in Germany. (154 a., d.)

2. The Papal Schism and the Reform Councils.
§148. The Schism and the Council at Pisa.

a.   In Rome, the cardinals had elected, nearly unanimously, Urban VI (1378-1389), the last pope who was not a member of the college of cardinals. His severity against the French intrigues of the cardinals provoked a counter election after only a few months, that of Clement VI (1378-1394), who thereupon remained in Avignon. Three more elections were held in Rome: Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and Gregory XII*;* in Avignon, following Clement's death, there was Benedict XIII. Adhering to the Roman were Italy and Germany; to the Frenchman, France, Spain, Scotland. The chaos that this development excited, and the redoubled demands for money, made it possible for the **reform party** of this period, goaded by the Franciscan and imperialist protests against the papacy, to get organized. (153 c., d.)

b.   Heading the movement were the Paris university chancellors **Pierre d'Ailly** (1389), **Nicholas of Clemanges** (1393), and **Jean Charlier Gerson** (1395), Occamists all three, and Victorine mystics. The episcopalist idea, that the ecumenical councils superseded the pope, an idea already advanced in *Defensor pacis*, and then in 1380 by the Parisian Germans, Conrad of Gelnhausen and Henry of Langenstein*,* herewith gained currency, and the demand for reformation of the church in head and members now gained momentum with a demand for an ecumenical council empowered to judge the pope. So imperialism had turned into episcopalism or conciliarism. Thus this *via concilii* accorded with the *via cessionis* (abdication of the wrangling popes), as recommended in 1389 to Clement by the Burgundian party, and shelved his *via justitiae* or *compromissi* (investigation of and decision on the legitimate pope), which the Orleanists had granted him. In the year 1408 the cardinals decided in Leghorn for the conciliar plan, and convoked an ecumenical council to meet in **1409** in **Pisa**. Under **Gerson's** leadership the synod deposed Gregory XII and Benedict XIII*,* and elected a Greek, **Alexander V**. But no preparatory work had been done to initiate any kind of basic reform, and so the council adjourned for three years. Alexander died shortly thereafter in the next year, to be succeeded by the adventurer Balthasar Cossa as **John XXIII** (1410-1415). When both of the others refused to abdicate, there were three popes, as in the following years there would be three emperors. (149 d.-g.)

§149. Huss and the Council of Constance.

a.   Meanwhile the Wycliffite ideas had ripened in **Bohemia.** Already in the previous period Bohemia, till then practically a cultureless country, had grown conscious of itself, when Charles IV founded the University of Prague and the Prague archbishopric separated from Mainz. **Waldensian persuasions** had held sway here for a long time. Conrad of Waldhausen (d. 1369), John Mielicz of Kremsier (d. 1374), and Matthew of Janow (d. 1394) had long since been railing along these lines against the abuses in the church, and urging repentance and genuine Christianity.

b.   By way of the marriage of the daughter of Charles at the English court, **Wycliffe's** philosophical writings had in the last decade of the 14th century penetrated to Bohemia, and before long ignited the contest of German Nominalists against the Realism of the Bohemians. The scholarly contest had also roused national opposition. At this very time John Huss (1369-1415), professor, priest, preacher of the new chapel of Bethlehem, and father confessor to the queen, had long been pressing for earnest Christianity, which is easy to explain because he immersed himself in Augustine. Huss's was not an original mind, but he was an earnest man. He became acquainted with Wycliffe's theological works in 1402, and fell in with them to the extent that from now onward, his own writings consisted mainly of excerpts from Wycliffe. In 1403, the university, under German Nominalist leadership, condemned 45 of Wycliffe's propositions.

c.   In national, scholarly, and ecclesial regards, Huss had till now enjoyed the support not only of the archbishop Sbynko, but also that of Stanislaus of Znaim and Stephen of Palecz. But when King Wenzel joined Huss and the Bohemians on the question of the schism and Huss's reform, in support of the Council of Pisa, the archbishop's attitude changed, now supporting Gregory XII. Huss aggravated his displeasure by

convincing the king to win over the council to alter the **constitution of the university**, giving the Bohemians the majority vote. The Germans (Saxons, Bavarians, and Poles) had until now three votes as against the one of the Bohemians. Now Wenzel combined the three German nations, and gave them one vote, but the Bohemians, three. The Germans consequently withdrew and in 1409 founded the **University of Leipzig**. Later, Alexander V*,* and then John XXIII*,* heard charges of Wycliffite false doctrine against Huss. In 1410 the issue escalated to the point of revolution in Prague, and in 1411 to the excommunication of Huss*.* And when John sanctioned preaching for a crusade against Ladislaus of Naples (the partisan of Gregory XII) and allowed the sale of indulgences, and when Huss now flared up in a fury against this outrage, and again as always found the populace on his side, it was then that the **great ban** struck him down. Huss subsequently left the university and the capital at the king's request. (150 a., b., d.)

d.   When presently Sigismund became emperor, he pressured the pope, who himself had stymied the council in Rome in 1412, to convoke an **ecumenical council at Constance**, which accordingly convened in 1414-1418. Again the leading lights were Gerson and d'Ailly. That the council was bent on carrying out the reform became clear from the change in the protocol which pitted the nations (French, Germans, English, Italians and later Spaniards) against the mass of Italians. The council set three goals for itself.

e.   The first goal, to **eliminate schism** (*causa unionis*), it reached in a hurry, and to some extent correctly, when in May 1415 it deposed John*,* who had fled, and then was captured. Gregory abdicated, Benedict maintained his pretensions, but was confined to Peniscola in Spain. In the same stroke episcopalism was raised to a dogma by the decretal *Haec sancta synodus*.

f.   The second goal, **doctrinal supervision** (*causa fidei*), the synod disposed of poorly, unable to do otherwise, bound as it was by its legalistic and papistic mental constitution. **Huss** had come with an imperial safe conduct. In the course of events political considerations forced Sigismund to countenance the violation of his promise of safe conduct and Huss's being taken captive. After a hurried, rigged trial, all you could expect of the Nominalist friends of reform, hopelessly lost as they were in the red tape of external forms, never having understood Huss's inwardness, and really only wanting to curb the crassest rapine of the pope, Huss was burned at the stake on July 6, 1415. His friend **Jerome of Prague** met the same fate the next year.

g.   The third goal, **reform** (*causa reformationis*), never materialized at all. Sigismund wanted to take care of the reform before the papal election, but the French and the cardinals wanted to speed up the papal election because the Anglo-French war was erupting again. The partisans of Rome won out. Martin V (1417-1431) was elected and at once thwarted the reforms, mainly by concluding three **separate concordats**, namely, with the partisans of Rome, with Germany, and with England. These agreements came down to the following external trifles. The college of cardinals would from now on be international, and comprise no more than 24 to 26 members; regarding financial affairs, only minor restrictions should be undertaken. Thus the fundamental malpractices remained in force.

§150. The Hussite Wars, the Council of Basel, and the Concordats.

a.   After Huss's death, Jacob of Misa had taken over the leadership of the Hussite societies. He had condemned withholding the cup, still with Huss's consent, and administered the sacrament *sub utraque forma*. When Wenzel died in 1419, the enraged Bohemians refused to recognize the perjured Sigismund as king. That is what brought on the insane **Hussite wars**.

b.   The Hussites were at odds with each other. The **moderate Prague faction,** the Calixtines or Utraquists (so named for their mode of Eucharistic celebration), whose main following came from the university, the citizenry of Prague, and the nobility, in 1420 stated their demands in the **four Prague Articles:** 1. Free preaching; 2. Chalice for the lay people; 3. Apostolic poverty of the church; 4. Ecclesial discipline among the

clergy. The radical **Taborites** (after *tabor*, camp, expanding into a city) without reservation followed the Wycliffite ideas of the law of Christ along iconoclastic lines which, to top it off, they combined with chiliasm and communism. Their adherents were mainly rural folk. Until 1424 the one-eyed **Ziska** led them, and then after his death, the **two Procopiuses**, and from 1427 onward they carried the horror of war to neighboring countries. At Taus an immense crusade army under the leadership of the Cardinal Julian Cesarini was routed, whereupon imperial and papal heads conceived the idea to try and settle the issue peaceably. (158 a.)

c.   Martin V had expressly convoked the council at Pavia (Siena) in 1423, but what with the wars, the princes and nations had no time for it. In 1431 the pope called the second council to **Basel (1431-1449),** conferred the leadership on the anti-Hussite Cesarini, but died before the proceedings ever got started. Besides Cesarini, the leading lights of the council were the French cardinal Louis d'Aleman, Nicholas of Cusa, who represented the bishop of Trier, and Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini, who acted as secretary of the council. The synod organized itself into deputations rather than into nations, each of which received definite assignments, a hint that they meant business about reform. The radically democratic cast of the council, but also its incompetence at reformation, showed up right away in the energetic reforms concerning papal finances. When Eugene IV (1431-1447) remonstrated against this thrust in 1431 with adjournment and transfer to Bologna, the council in 1433 compelled him to make the best of it. That same year the council brought the Hussite wars nearer to conclusion by the **Basel Compacts**, which modified the Prague Compacts, but only a little. Such progress however, in addition to other reforms, stiffened the resolve of the reactionary minority. In 1433 Sigismund was crowned emperor in **Rome,** and the year following the Hussites suffered a decisive defeat at Bömischbrod.

d.   Meanwhile, the Turks were really crowding the Greeks to the limit. Emperor John VIII Palaeologus resumed relations with the pope in order to revive the old 1274 union. Nicholas of Cusa went to Constantinople to negotiate. Eugene directed the council to Ferrara to accommodate the Greeks. After tumultuous sessions, the minority in 1437 withdrew with Cesarini, in 1438 opened the council in Ferrara, and in 1439 transferred it to **Florence**. Here in the presence of Emperor John and Bishop Bessarion of Nicaea, the union was sealed by hushing up the dogmatic differences (*filioque,* purgatory, and status of the blest), sufferance of the various rites, and marriage of priests among the Greeks, and acknowledgment of the primacy of the pope. But this meant little. In 1453 the Turks took Constantinople, and Bessarion stayed in Italy and himself came close to becoming pope.

e.   At the same time the council at Basel lost general sympathy when it deposed Eugene IV, and in 1439 elected Felix V (Amadeus of Savoy). After repeated changes of venue for the council, Felix resigned in 1449 and the council disbanded.

f.   Meanwhile the political powers had already begun to deal with both sides. Charles VII of France in 1438 declared his neutrality in the **Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges**, and again repeated the "Gallican liberties" of 1407, which the Basel reform had put forward as basic to the Basel reform. The German electors were proceeding similarly in 1439 in the Mainz Acceptation Documents. But when Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini terminated his service in the council in 1442, entered the service of Emperor Frederick III, and won him over to Eugene's cause with Roman promises of the imperial crown and Hapsburg advantages, and when in 1446 at the Frankfurt Reichstag the bishops of Cologne and Trier found themselves isolated when they insisted on the Constance and Basel reform, and then in the **Frankfurt Concordat of the Princes** with Eugene in 1447, confirmed later in 1448 by the Aschaffenburg or **Vienna concordat** with Nicholas V (1447-1455), everything could be allowed to stay pretty much the same. In this crisis, the pope was still the victor.

§151. Intellectual Life at the Time of the Councils.

a.   The councils expressed an urgency toward reform, although they were unable to pinpoint the source of the

trouble or by what means to correct it. This urgency was also part and parcel of the liquidation of medieval concepts which had already set in during the previous period. Consequently, this liquidation proceeded apace in the wake of the councils. Simultaneously the new cultural elements of the coming age were already emerging. Midway through the Council of Basel the Greeks had showed up. Immediately afterwards, Constantinople fell, driving even more Greeks westward. They were the ones who brought on the **Renaissance** and promoted the study of the Bible in the original language. In Italy the re-awakening of classical antiquities accompanied the pursuit of wealth and of the enjoyment of life, and bred a new heathenism. But for Germany, it was mysticism which first signified change. The two forces of mysticism and humanistic biblical research combined to become the precursor of the Reformation. In this milieu there were three individuals who still maintained the old ideas of the counciliar era.

b.   The Spanish Dominican John of Turrecremata in 1450 set out the ideas of curialism in his treatise *Summa de ecclesia eiusque auctoritate*, long a standard work. Nicholas of Cusa had done the same for episcopalism in his treatise *Concordantia catholica* (1433). Yet later, he himself became a curialist.

c.   As a professional scholar **Nicholas of Cusa** (1401-1464) is a very interesting personality because he unites in himself the whole imagination of his time, scholasticism, mysticism, humanism. His concept of God: the timeless unity, the absolute maximum and minimum, simultaneous know-how and being (*possest*). Flashes of truth in all religions. Reform of the Julian calendar. Conception of the world not Ptolemaic. Cusa's principal work, *De docta ignorantia* took aim at the scholastic method.

d.   Raimund of Sabunde in Spain (a teacher of medicine, philosophy, and theology in Toulouse), in 1430 adopted a divergent position in his natural theology by which he tried to bridge the Occamist severance of knowing and believing. There are two sources of the knowledge of God: the book of nature and the Bible (150 a.).

e.   For the rest, the study of the Bible, already promoted by the Renaissance, and the general censure of degeneracy, progressed in Italy and Germany. The strife between Franciscans and Dominicans over the *Immaculata* [the immaculate conception of Mary] began in earnest, now that the Council of Basel had ratified the Franciscan doctrine. France, the University of Paris, and the Council of Basel were in favor, while the popes (!) were opposed.

f.   In Germany, somewhat removed as it was from the traffic of history, **mysticism** matured in Ruysbroek's student Gerhardt Groot, and again in his student Florentius Radewyns, when they **combined the Brethren of the Common Life** with the **Windesheim congregation** at Zwolle in the vicinity of Deventer in 1393, a significant event in the pursuit of pedagogy and training in the Netherlands. This was an uncoerced association, one that assumed the monastic vow, albeit not necessarily for life. The merger was minded to encourage the rebirth of the time by strengthening their own good will (*fratres bonae voluntatis*) by means of contemplation (*fratres devoti*), in cooperative labor (*fratres de communitate*), and by the care of souls and the instruction of the young.

g.   **Groot** (1340-1384), a wealthy canon in Deventer, forsook the secular life to become a Carthusian monk and a penitential preacher. When the mendicant friars hindered his activity, he joined hands with *Radewyns* and others. Before his death he instructed his colleague to convert the union into a monastic association. They accordingly chose the rules of the Augustinian prebendaries, and in 1387 founded the canonical chapter of Windesheim at Zwolle. From this circle **Thomas á Kempis** (d. 1471) rose to notice, also perhaps the treatise *De imitatione Christi*. (157a.)

h.   The **idea of the congregation** (consolidation of several monasteries for the purpose of reform) in time took hold in all of the orders. In the **Mendicant orders**, as resulting from the opposition of the rigoristic party to the monastic majority, the congregation of the **Observants** came into being (strict constructionists of the

monastic regulations), who after 1437 had their own vicar general. The great penitential preachers Bernardine of Siena (1380-1444) and John of Capistrano (1385-1456) belonged to this order. Vincentius Ferrér (d. 1419) was a Spanish Dominican. The other party of mendicants bore the designation of **Conventuals** (they remained with the order's majority after the severance of the Observants). This segregation eventually caught on in all of the orders. In 1439 the **Bursfeld congregation** of Abbot John of Hagen was formed among the **Benedictines** on the Weser River. The **Augustinian canons** in 1393 were regulated by John Busch*,* a Windesheim native, and thus began the **Windesheim congregation**. (156 d., 157 b.)

i.   In other respects life in general kept going downhill with luxurious living, sensuality, and the mania for recognition. That was due in part to natural degeneration, in part to the influence of the arrival of the Renaissance. In **Italy**, the Renaissance had earlier celebrated its first victories in the previous period. This gained momentum now in the urban boom, chiefly in the city of Florence, under the direction of **Cosimo di Medici**. Gemisthos Plethon (d. 1450), Bessarion (d. 1472), and Marsilio Ficino translated Plato, and this pagan presently enjoyed virtual religious veneration. Historical criticism came into vogue. Laurentius Valla critically examined the Donation of Constantine and the Vulgate. In the field of art, the **early Renaissance** (the Quattrocentro [15th century]) soared, with Brunelleschi (1377-1446), with the sculptor Donatello (1377-1446), and with the painters Fra Angelico da Fiesole (1387-1455), Masaccio (1401-1428), Fra Filippo Lippi*,* Filippino Lippi*,* and Botticelli Ghirlandajo (pre-Raphaelites).

k.   Thus secular education in poetry and the plastic arts took the lead in re-directing the fixed imagination of the Middle Ages which in its medieval, ascetic world-view had distorted all purely human things into caricatures, until the images of saints, for example, took on a tubercular and lifeless aspect; artists now really began to look at objects with unimpaired vision. With this shift in focus the early Renaissance began to render human forms in art with improved proportions, and to represent them in natural motion. The human thought-process in philosophy and theology had not advanced this far as yet. The humanism of the subsequent period would have to take this leap. (155 e.)

C. The Renaissance and Humanism Confirm the Disintegration, 1450-1517.
§152. General Summary.

a.   In the political arena, England, France, Italy, and Spain had developed **absolutism**, while in Germany the **sovereigns** were still successfully fighting against it. The prosperity of the cities and of the third estate had supplanted the old feudal polity. For an actual constitutional monarchy, however, the time was not yet ripe. This could only come about when the importance of the individual would be recognized, as it would come to be in the Reformation. But wealth as a rule creates power, and without constitutional checks, it turns into absolutism.

b.   Absolutism directly took the intellectual and business **advances** into its service as well, and promoted them for its own interest. The advances, accelerated as they were by humanistic studies, by discoveries and inventions, were bound at first to play into the **disintegration**, because as yet no one could look beyond this leap, and so could not understand its ultimate implications. At the same time, the forward leap was also bound to work toward **sobriety in thinking** - since an expanding purview of the environment invariably brings this about - and thus to forge the weapons of the Reformation.

c.   So to begin with, the forward leap engendered **doubt** in the intellectual sphere, and beyond that, encouraged wealth and power. But doubt associated with unlimited power and wealth engenders immorality, the gravest manifestation of the bankruptcy which of necessity preceded the Reformation.

1. The Political Relationships.

§153. England, France, Italy, Spain.

a. In **England**, thanks to the War of the Roses (1455-1485), the House of **York** acceded to the throne in the person of Edward IV (1461-1483). **Edward** virtually never convoked parliament. After Edward V, his son, was soon murdered, and there followed Edward's uncle and murderer Richard III (1483-1485), who preserved the illusion of constitutional government. But he too would soon be replaced by Henry VII of **Tudor** (1485-1509), who came from a Lancastrian collateral line. Henry VII reconciled the factions by marrying Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV. He terminated the War of the Roses which had practically eradicated the Norman nobility. In consequence the nobles could no longer ride around with armed retinues. An irregular tribunal (Star Chamber) proceeded against every intimation of crime against the crown. By enforcing order and economy, Henry VII was able to get along without parliament. Henry VIII (1509-1547) was not a force to be reckoned with until the time of the Reformation. From this time forward the **Tudors** reigned until 1603 with thoroughgoing absolutism. (193.)

b. In **France,** Charles VII's victory over England had strengthened the power of the dynasty. By rescuing Gallican liberties with the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1438, he had won over to his cause clergy and populace, and further secured this power base in 1455 by creating a standing mercenary army. His son Louis XI (1461-1483) triumphed at last in 1477 at Nancy, against a conspiracy of powerful magnates, in particular Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and with him Artois, Burgundy, and Franche Comté fell to France. Added to these, through extinction of the princely houses in question, were Maine, Provence, and Picardy. Once more Charles VIII (1483-1498) defeated the magnates, with the help of Swiss mercenaries (*Reisläufer*) and acquired Brittany through marriage. In 1493, in order to be able to move to Italy, he ceded Artois and Franche Comté to Philip the Fair, the son-in-law of Charles the Bold and son of Maximilian of Hapsburg.

c. In **Italy, Florence** had burst into full flower under the great-grandson of Cosimo di Medici, **Lorenzo** (*il Magnifico*, 1472-1492). As a generous patron of art and science he broadcast his fame and with it the influence of his power throughout the world. Outside of Florence, his mode of operation in Italy was to maintain the balance of power of the states. With the help of Charles VIII of France, Florence expelled Lorenzo's haughty son Pietro II during the time when the Italian people were under the spell of Savonarola's [1452-1498, Dominican monk] penitential preaching. At this same time **Niccolo Machiavelli,** the Florentine historian, wrote his treatise *Il principe* in the interest of the prince. (Savonarola's influence evaporated upon his death in 1498.) It took the Medici till 1512 to return to power. Similarly, in **Milan**, the Visconti, and (after 1450) the Sforzas, took over the city government. In **Urbino** it was the Montefeltra family, in **Ferrara** the Este family. In **Naples**, united with Hungary in the previous period under Charles III (d. 1386), a relative of Johanna I, and under his son Ladislaus (d. 1414) and Ladislaus' sister Johanna II (d. 1435), Johanna II had adopted Alfons of Aragon and Sicily in lieu of a natural son. Alfons then, in partnership with his son Alfons II, strove to encompass all of Italy under his supremacy. The population of the northern cities, however, regarded the Aragonians as invaders, and consequently, at the close of this period, northern Italy was engulfed in a war involving all of the world powers. (154 d.)

d. In **Spain** in 1469, Castile and Aragon were amalgamated in the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand the Catholic. The control of the crown was notably consolidated by the foundation of a municipal federation (*Hermandad*), which under royal sanction smashed the robber-barons' castles with its ever-ready military, and by applying the Inquisition to the political processes. The combined power of the two "kings" in 1492 broke the 10-year resistance of **Granada**, the last Moorish city in Spain. That very year **Columbus** discovered America after **Diaz** had circumnavigated Africa, and **Vasco da Gama** had sailed as far as India in the interest of Portugal [Goa, 300 m. south of Bombay on the west coast]. Thus the Spanish peninsula suddenly thrust itself into the midst of the great upsurge of that era, and further, when Cortez conquered **Mexico** (1519-1521),

and **Pizarro** Peru (1532-1533), and **Magellan** discovered the passage to the Pacific Ocean by sailing around South America (1519), together with the Genoese **John** and **Sebastian Cabot**, who in the service of England discovered Labrador, Spain helped the entire scientific world to gain an expanded overview, in order to reconstitute most perspectives in the area of the natural sciences.

§154. Germany.

a.   At this time **Germany** lay subject to the incompetent, but all the more conceited Hapsbuger Frederick III (1440-1493). In the east, the Bohemians under Podiebrad, and Hungary under Hunyadi, divested him of the regency of both countries which he was governing for Ladislaus, the posthumous son of Albrecht II, and in 1457 Podiebrad and Hunyadi's son **Matthias** *(Corvinus)* assumed an independent regime. Matthias fought the Turks and despoiled them of Bosnia. Later, he attacked Bohemia and united this country and Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia [middle Germany] with Hungary. Victorious, he then moved to Vienna and resided there until 1490. His successor in Bohemia and Hungary turned out to be the Polish prince Vladislav II, whose daughter subsequently married Ferdinand of Austria (1529), thus re-uniting these eastern countries with the House of Hapsburg. In the northeast, the **Poles** had wrested West Prussia from the Teutonic Knights, and to it enfeoffed East Prussia. In the western sector of the empire the wars of the sovereigns were raging; chiefly the **Hohenzollern** and the **Wittelsbach** families were at each other's throats. Frederick made it his priority to secure the Netherlands for his house.

b.   **Charles the Bold** of the French dynasty in Burgundy, in power there since Philip the Bold (son of John the Good) determined to restore ancient Lorraine. Franche Comté and the Netherlands, that is Artois, Flanders, Holland, and Zeeland, fell to Burgundy by marriage. Now Charles the Bold wanted to acquire Lorraine, which lies between these areas, in order to make himself independent of France. To this end he had joined up with Frederick III by bringing about the marriage of his daughter Marie and Maximilian, the son of Frederick. Charles fell in the battle of Nancy (1477). France seized the southern countries. Maximilian was given the Netherlands. His son was Philip the Fair, who in 1496 married Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Their son was Charles who ruled in Spain from 1516, and in Germany from 1519 as **Charles V**.

c.   Earlier, in 1486, the electors had chosen **Maximilian** as King of Rome and thus designated him for the imperial throne. When in 1493 Frederick III died, the whole world longed for peace. The Diet of Worms in 1495 resolved a universal and perpetual public peace. To this end, they organized an **imperial board** empowered to pronounce a verdict on every breach of the peace. They further decided on a universal tax, the "common penny," and annually to convoke a diet. But the tax never materialized, and in 1500 at Augsburg it was abrogated, and now an **imperial government** composed of twenty members was put in place, empowered to supervise the business affairs organized under an imperial instead of a monarchial political principle. But all of these plans miscarried. The subsequent years were crowded with wars. In 1512 another attempt created ten districts, each with a functioning captain to preserve the public peace. During this time **Maximilian** was almost always preoccupied with war over Italy.

d.   In the year 1494 the Milanese called on **Charles VIII of France** for help against Alfons of Naples, and Sicily. He drove the Sicilians out of the Italian mainland. Yet the French were unable to hold on to the south of Italy, and in 1503 were themselves driven out by the Spaniards. Until 1714 Naples remained a Spanish province. In 1504 Charles returned under the pretext of intending to enforce the Basel Resolutions. Then, in the time of Savonarola, Florence expelled the House of the Medici. But Louis XII of France (1498-1515) remained in northern Italy, and in 1508, along with Maximilian, Ferdinand the Catholic, and Pope Julius II, he formed the **League against Venice**. The Venetians, however, understood how to alienate the pope from his confederates (1510). The pope accordingly instituted the **Holy League** with Spain, Venice, and England. The

French responded to this alliance with the **National Council of Tours** in 1510, which reactivated the Pragmatic Sanction. Also, Maximilian directed the humanist Wimpfeling to draft the German *Gravamina* [grievances against the papacy]. Thereupon in 1511 France and Germany jointly convoked the Council of Pisa. But Julius excommunicated France at the **ecumenical Lateran Council in 1512-1513**; yet nevertheless he signed a concordat with Maximilian*,* and the fickle emperor joined the League in 1512. This action forced France in 1513 to withdraw from Italy.

e.   Under **Leo X**, Lorenzo's son (1514-1521), Louis recognized the Lateran Council, but **Francis I** (1515-1547) defeated the Italian Swiss at Marigno, and in 1516 the pope signed a concordat with him, favorable to king and pope, but depriving the French church of the Gallican Liberties. Charles of Spain and Maximilian too resolved their differences, and France retained a dominant presence in northern Italy and Spain in the south. During this time Germany had not profited in the political exchanges, but for waging war, it had discovered the power of **gun powder in 1330**, and for the mind, **the art of printing in 1449**. (170.)

2. The Renaissance.
§155. The Renaissance in Italy.

a.   The lapsed reform on the one hand, and on the other, the renewed pursuit of the ancient classics spurred among the wealthy in **Italy** a new kind of temperament, hard to describe because of its complex morphology. Its elements were these: 1. **Abandonment** of previous views while **holding on to** the old ecclesial legalistic-ascetic forms. This combination involved a degree of **untruthfulness**. 2. **Adoption** of new conceptions, which, being pagan Greek, contradicted asceticism, and on one hand corrected and clarified the vision for the temporal, and on the other, stimulated the sensibilities. This ferment helped art to come alive, and gave the **Gospel** new means of perception and expression in cognition and language. At the same time, it spawned a **new paganism**. This explains how Plato (Marsilio Ficino*,* d. 1499) and Aristotle (Pietro Pomponazzi*,* d. 1524) could be equated with Scripture at the same time that Ficino could pave the way for a **restoration of Christianity** by returning to the sources. It was he who inspired Faber Stapulensis and John Colet*,* and the latter, in turn, Erasmus*.* In Italy it was particularly Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) who attempted to combine the Neo-Platonist, cabalistic, and Christian elements in one system. Also art in particular, working through its preeminent champions, helped people to grasp the Gospel, at first no doubt within Savonarola's frame of reference, just as the German folksong had done in earlier times. Simultaneously, however, the brazen, ruthless self-interest of heathenism spelled itself out in violent and sensuous terms in politics and social life.

b.   Meanwhile the **papacy** was absorbed in the political power struggle of the popes. The only ecclesiastical justification for their shenanigans lay in their futile warfare against the Turks, and even this was partly a result of their political aims in Italy. For the rest, they looked for ways to block conciliarism and to help curialism on the way to victory. At first, the Renaissance ideas in art and education were predominant, until Paul II [1464-71]; then there followed a ruthless reign of violence and lust, until Alexander VI [1492-1503]; the last two popes then combined both propensities.

c.   Nicholas V (1447-1455), founder of the Vatican library, concluded the Vienna Concordat, and in vain preached a crusade against the Turks. Calixtus III (Alfonso Borgia*,* 1455-1458) knew nothing but hatred for the Turks and was devoted to nepotism. Pius II *(*Arenas Silvius Piccolomini*,* 1458-1464) tried ineffectually at the "Congress of Princes" at Mantua in 1459 to generate a campaign against the Turks, admitted his change of mind in his *epistolae retractionis (Aeneam rejicite, Pium recipite* ["reject Aeneas, accept Pius"]), in 1460 condemned the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges against France, and conciliarism in the bull *Execrabilis*, and attempted to convert Mohammed II by means of an epistle. Paul II (1464-1471), though ostentatious, sensuous,

and prodigal, ran an exacting regime, free from nepotism.

d. Sixtus IV *(*Francesco della Rovere*, 1471-1484)* was the first in the **second series of popes**. One of the most vile, he schemed, by conspiring with the Pazzi [a Tuscan banking family] in 1478, after a useless campaign against the Turks (1472), to eradicate the Medici. But Cosimo's grandson Lorenzo escaped. Office juggling and licensed prostitution went on side by side with sound practice in law and art. Innocent VIII (1484-1492) was known by the couplet: *Octo nocens genuit pueros totidemque puellas*. *Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem*. ["Octo the crook begot boys and just as many girls. So Rome can justly call him father."] He sold Dshem, the second son of Mohammed*,* for cash to his brother Bajazet when Dshem was handed over to him as a captive, and for this received as a gift the point of the lance from Christ's crucifixion. He made sorcery trials a household word all over Europe, thanks to the inquisitors Jacob Sprenger and Henry Krämer and their *Malleus maleficarum* ("witches' hammer"). Alexander VI (Roderick Borgia*, 1492-1503*), grown enlarged thanks to his own and his children Caesar's and Lucretia's immorality and ruthlessness, tried to sell Charles VIII of France to the Turkish sultan, and on the other hand ceded all newly discovered lands west of a line of demarcation to Ferdinand and Isabella*.* Pius III reigned only twenty-six days. Julius II (1503-1513), a nephew of Sixtus IV*,* ailing from earlier debaucheries, took up the reconstruction of St. Peter's, and fought mainly against France in northern Italy, as recounted above (§154). **Leo X** (1514-1521), Lorenzo's son, was a refined, art-minded, but irreligious person.

e. This climate was propitious, particularly in Florence at the time of Innocent VIII*,* to a repentant reaction. Beginning in 1489, **Girolamo Savonarola**, the prior of the Dominican cloister of San Marco, had come out preaching repentance, and with his prophecies had excited terror even among the rich, insomuch that many renounced the life of luxury. This also hastened the expulsion in 1494 of the Medici. Neither the cardinal's hat nor intimidation could sway Savonarola. But when in 1495 the French were compelled to yield, the nimbus of the prophet evaporated, and the libertine youth, with the help of Alexander VI*,* brought him to the stake where he was burnt in 1498. Notwithstanding all this, the impulse of repentance affected the susceptible artists of the **High Renaissance** (Cinquecento). The hub of this movement was in Rome and Florence and it ended in 1527 with the *Sacco di Roma*. In Rome, Bramante completed the cathedral of St. Peter. It was chiefly **Michelangelo Buonarotti's** (1475-1564) colossal figure that dominated the field of art quite beyond this period, in sculpture and architecture. Next to him stood the great painters **Leonardo da Vinci** (1452-1519) and **Raphael Santi** (1483-1520). For these men, in every area of plastic art, classical energy and beauty were paramount. They hardly outdid the Greeks in art, to be sure, except in painting, but simply applied Greek forms, and these from the period of the Roman amalgamation, to more modern conventions. Painting on the other hand underwent further technical development in chromatics and perspective. At all events, the primary concern here too remained classical human beauty in the free movement of forms. (188.)

§156. The Renaissance in France.

a. While the Italian Renaissance was subsumed in irreligiosity and preoccupation with art, as educated Italians had been for the most part spiritually calloused, western and northern **humanism**, more intent upon literary inquiry, took the lead in the direction of the Reformation. The absolutism of the princes, however, impeded this progress by spawning national churches which were entirely subordinate to the kings.

b. Intellectual life in **France** at the end of the 15th century was insignificant. It exhausted itself in the political struggle over the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, as Gerson had already introduced it in the previous period. Louis XI in 1462 acceded to Pius II's annulment of this sanction. The National Council of Tours in 1510 reinstated it under Louis XII*,* but already in 1516 Francis I again yielded it to Leo X in his own interest. The pope would receive the annates [the first year's revenue of a newly elected bishop], and the king would

acquire the authority over the church. In France, the humanist **Jacob Faber Stapulensis** (Lefevre d'Etaple), a student of Marsilio Ficino, rose to prominence as a teacher of classical literature in Paris, but after 1507 applied himself chiefly to biblical studies. One misses a certain depth of temperament in his approach, and he remained caught up in the law. He opposed the *via moderna* as propounded by Occam, charging it with nominalism, which denied the perceptibility of things. As an adherent of the *via antiqua* he defended realism and with it self-evidently the perceptibility of particulars without the abstract subtlety of scholastic theology, and operated as an intermediary between humanism and scholasticism preceding the Catholic Counter-Reformation.

c.   In **Spain** too, the Concordat of 1482 had rendered the church subject to the authority of the king. The Inquisition became a state institution, and fanned the fanaticism of the populace generated in the wars against the Moors into rage against the Jews and Moors. The fact that Peter **Arbues**, the Judge Inquisitor was murdered in 1485 was due to political motives. Here under **Cardinal Ximenes**, humanistic inquiry now emerged. The Cardinal particularly promoted and protected Antonio of Lebrija and called him from the school at Salamanca to the newly founded school at Alcala (Complutum), where until 1517 (or 1522), scholars collaborated in compiling the **Complutensian Polyglot**.

d.   This work nevertheless did not undermine, but rather strengthened ecclesiastical authority and even led to further expansion of monastic living, as in Italy and France. The Order of Christ, composed of knights and clergy and founded in the previous period, now received from Alexander VI particular privileges (permission for the knights to marry), and expanded broadly. Similarly, the Hieronymites (founded 1370) acquired such vigor as to spread all over Italy in the form of the Jesuates [called on Jesus's name loudly when preaching], the Minimi [extreme sect of Minorites, founded in 1436], and the Nuns of St. Brigitte. Lastly, in 1501, the Order of Annunciates was founded in France.

e.   In **England**, opposition to the papacy in Avignon had created a climate of national pride. But the energy of the people had worn itself out in the two great wars of the previous two centuries. Thus the Tudors became absolute princes, and in this capacity they also controlled the English church. Here **John Colet**, another student of Ficino, also inspired by Mirandola and Savonarola, began in Oxford to direct inquiry away from scholasticism back to Holy Scriptures (1496) and to influence Erasmus and **Thomas More** (after 1499). Humanism in England smacked more of the French than the German.

§157. The Renaissance in Germany.

a.   The major work was done in Germany. Here two movements rose, in themselves not directly associated with humanism, yet affecting its activity: 1. The Netherlands Reform, promoted mainly by the Brethren of the Common Life. These circles produced, among the foremost, John Pupper van Goch (d.1475), prior of a canoness cloister in Mecheln (Cleve), John Rucherath von Wesel, professor in Erfurt and preacher in Worms (d. 1481), Wessel Gensfort (d. 1489) from the Brethren in Zwolle, influenced by Thomas à Kempis. Religious inwardness and a striving for reform distinguished these scholars, and their influence extended over the entire northern half of Germany.

b.   2. A member of the Observant Movement in the Order of Augustinian Eremites since 1432, Henry Zolter had served at first as vicar, then as vicar-general, and the Union of the Five Convents founded by him formed the foundation of the Saxon Congregation of the regular Augustinian Observants whose Vicar-General Andreas Proles made the Congregation a force in Germany and the Netherlands in the fight with the Prior General in Rome. Proles' successor was **John von Staupitz.** who not only combined the German with the Lombardian Observants, but also planned, without avail to be sure, to incorporate the Conventuals in this alliance.

c. German **humanism** entered into close touch with these movements, drawn together by similar temperamental makeup and partly by a community of pursuit and of locality. **Erfurt** (founded in 1392) was the original center of German Humanism. At the end of the pre-Reformation period **Maternus Pistorius** had assembled his students there under the name of "The Poets" for the purpose of studying the classics (Crotus Rubianus, Eoban Hessus). Nearby there lived the **Scholastics** Henning Göde and George Trutfetter. In Gotha the canon **Conrad Muth**, the actual father of Erfurt humanism, was at work. He sharply opposed hierarchy and scholasticism. Many of the poets belonged to the circle of the **Muthians**, also specifically the knight **Ulrich von Hutten**.

d. In the rest of Germany, **universities** had sprung up in every principality. In **Heidelberg** (founded in 1386), Rudolf Agricola worked under the directorate of the Erfurt scholar and bishop John von Dahlberg. In **Freiburg** (founded in 1456) Ulrich Zasius the jurist stood for humanism. His students John Eck and Urbanus Rhegius taught in Ingolstadt (founded in 1472). From here Conrad Celtes, one of Agricola's students, moved to **Vienna** (founded in 1365). **Reuchlin**, a jurist but more interested particularly in Hebrew studies, transferred from **Tübingen** (founded in 1477) to Ingolstadt. In **Nürnberg** the councilor Willibald Pirkheimer attracted devotees of classical studies; in **Augsburg** Conrad Peutinger did much the same. In the year 1502 Frederick the Wise of Saxony, who not only occupied the first chair in the electoral council, but also was a patron of the new curriculum because it encouraged the revival of his duchy as well as of Leipzig which belonged to the other Saxon line, founded the new University of **Wittenberg**, and as a devout Catholic Christian amply supplied the local castle church with relics.

e. Near the end of this period a controversy broke out in these circles which indicates the direction of events and defines the attitudes. John Pfefferkorn, a baptized Jew, advocated the eradication of rabbinical literature because of its attacks on Christianity. The emperor called for professional opinions on the issue. Reuchlin defended this literature as an important linguistic source of the Hebrew language. The theological faculty of Cologne supported Pfefferkorn, and pronounced 43 of Reuchlin's propositions heretical. Reuchlin countered in the idiom of the day with unvarnished invective. Jacob von Hochstraaten, the inquisitor, cited him to a heresy tribunal. The pope referred the case to an investigating commission in Speyer, which in 1514 acquitted Reuchlin. In 1516 Rome imposed silence on both parties, and in 1520 annulled the Speyer judgment and condemned Reuchlin. Meanwhile however, as early as 1515 and 1517, the Erfurt Poets had published, in partnership with Crotus Rubianus and Hutten, the ***Epistolae obscurorum virorum***. These epistles held the inquisitors and their supporters up to general ridicule. In the meantime, the last important scholastic, **Gabriel Biel**, had been teaching in Tübingen, although every university still employed representatives of scholasticism during the Reformation era. (188.)

§ 158. Populist Movements.

a. Apart from all this there was yet another movement, one of great significance, however, because it permeated the grassroots of society, and so when Luther appeared it helped his message to make very rapid progress from country to country and to grasp people's hearts. The **Hussite** remnant had not ever been able to accommodate itself again to the Roman church. They sought out congenial priests and organized conventicles. Even the Utraquists under the leadership of Gregory, a nephew of Rokyczana (the bishop of Prague, who as Utraquist principal had concluded a peace with the Council of Basel), maintained their position, and in 1457 founded the ***Unitas fratrum*** in partnership with Michael von Senftenberg, the parish priest at Podiebrad's castle Kunwald, going under the name of Bohemian and Moravian Brethren (Grubenheimer; Pickhards=Beghards). In 1467 they appointed three brethren to be consecrated by a Waldensian bishop, one of them, Matthias von Kunwald, as their bishop. When in 1500 he died, the episcopal office was allotted to four

seniors, of whom Lucas of Prague remained prominent down to the time of the Reformation.

b. The **Waldensians** had spread out in the 14th century in every direction from western Switzerland as Lombard, Piedmontese, and German groups. The Lombards lived quietly until in 1561 they were eradicated as Protestants. As late as 1477 the Piedmontese were fighting successfully against a crusading army. Thereafter they joined the Bohemian Brethren. Among the Germans the Waldensians, called Winklers [because they worshipped in secret corners], named Frederick Reiser and Anna Weiler their leaders, both burnt at the stake (1458). Also in Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Mecklenburg, the quietist Waldensians emerged and were persecuted.

3. The Situation in Europe.
§159. The Political Situation.

a.   Germany was in complete shambles. The emperor counted for nothing because the landed magnates jealously guarded their independence. The empire was comprised of a mass of small territories, among which the larger provinces assumed a dominant position: Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg, Brandenburg, both Saxonys, Hessia, and Braunschweig. Add to these the numerous cities, dependencies of the empire. Hardly another factor so palpably, and yet so favorably, accelerated the natural progress of the Reformation as this splintering, the vainglory of the magnates, and their greed and the impotence of the empire. Related to this splintering was the economic recession of the Hanseatic League which confronted the Union of Calmar in the north. This recession the elite of the southern German cities could not withstand. For before long the wave of the great overseas discoveries made itself felt in the diminution of the importance of even the southern German commercial cities. The lesser nobility and partly also the peasant class were in a sad plight. Thus while a patrician leisure class lived in the cities, from the seventies of the 15th century onward, peasant uprisings occurred repeatedly well into the 16th century (*Bundschuh* in Swabia).

b.   Mighty kingdoms had arisen which encircled Germany. In all of them national sentiment ran high with the result that, in the western lands, Spain, France, and England, **national churches** had come into being. Only Italy was split up like Germany. France and Spain had helped themselves in this free-for-all. Spain had the upper hand, thanks to the discovery of America and the marriage of Maximilian's son Philip the Fair to Joanna the Deranged, the second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Thanks to Charles V, Spain became connected with the German emperorship, but it was exactly this that made its struggle for rank with Germany inevitable, to be fought out afterwards in the five Italian wars (1521-1559).

c.   In the north, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark had allied themselves in personal union since 1397, although Sweden had successfully fended off the alliance. In the east the Jagellons from Poland-Lithuania had formed a powerful state which, to the east, held the Muscovian state within its borders, in the north threatened the German concerns of the German princes and of the Hansa, and after 1490 extended itself westward and southward across Bohemia and Hungary. To the dangers thus lowering on every side, there was now added the Turkish war in the southeast.

§160. The Church Situation.

a.   In respect to church-life Europe was flourishing externally, for never had people been so busy in the practice of piety. In comparison with the population the number of churches and personnel was disproportionate. Cologne had 40,000 inhabitants, 11 foundations, 19 parish churches, 100 chapels, 22 cloisters, 12 hospitals, and 76 religious convents. There were three thousand cloisters in all of Germany. Worms had 6000 inhabitants, 1500 monks and clerics, whereas Nürnberg, with 20,000 inhabitants, had only 450 around the year 1450.

The dogma the Franciscans preached about the immaculate conception of Mary gave rise also to the cult of St. Ann (mother of Mary), and there was a flood of images and pictures of the two in every imaginable place.

Of the quantity of relics, the collections of Frederick the Wise and Albrecht of Brandenburg offer some idea: 5,005 in Wittenberg, guaranteeing half a million days of indulgence; in Halle, 8,933 items and 42 intact corpses of saints, with an indulgence value of 40 million years.

There were pilgrimages to the graves of the Apostles and the *Scala Sancta* in Rome, to Saint Michel in Normandy, to S. Iago di Compostella in Spain, to the Sacred Blood in Wilsnack, to the miracle-working images of Mary in Aachen and Regensburg. There were confraternities (*confraternitates, sodalitates*), where laity, both men and women, joined with monks in order to take part in prayer events and good works, then also in the resulting indulgences (the *Rosenkranz* confraternity of the Dominicans in Cologne).

There were countless infirmaries, hospitals, and bountiful provision for beggars.

b. But the whole business had something **sickly** about it, in part nurtured by the great penitential preachers of the mendicant orders. For one thing, the mere heaping up of "good works" was a sign of moral servitude under the papacy. Then too, what was missing was the thought of earnestness with regard to sin's dilemma. People practiced pious deception and promulgated superstition. Preaching no longer counted, and the Bible was not a household book. (15 Bible printings between 1466 and 1488, 11 of them in High German; between 1488 and 1521, only three.) Cheek-by-jowl with this were the contradictions of wealth and sensuous gratification, mainly among the clergy; and because at the same time church contributions were on the rise, substantially increased by the indulgence racket which was often dishonestly managed, the people just hated the representatives of the church. Nobody was sure of his ground, and nobody was free in his conscience.

c. A postscript on the **Jews** must be inserted here. In the eastern Roman empire the Jews suffered persecution, except during the reign of Heraclius. That was why in the 8th century great bands of them migrated to the country of the Chazars along the Volga, and there founded a kingdom which endured until the 11th century. **Everywhere else in Europe** Jewish colonists turned up. Among the Arian Goths and among the Merovingians they were well off. Likewise, among the Moors in Spain, and it was chiefly here that the flower of the literature of Spanish Judaism sprang forth, among the most illustrious phenomena of their entire intellectual culture. After Saadja (d. 942) in Egypt still protested against the employment of Greek philosophy as Alkendi, Alfarabi, and Avicenna taught it in the Arabian-Mohammedan school in Baghdad, Maimonides (d. 1204) in Cordova, a student of the Mohammedan philosopher Averroes (d. 1198) in Cordova, introduced Aristotelian philosophy into Jewish theology in his great commentary on the Mishna [compiled about A.D. 200]. One contemporary was the poet Jehuda ha Levi (d. 1150) in Castille. In Germany too, the Jews enjoyed a respite as the "chamberlains" of the emperor, to whom they paid a protection fee, but after the **Crusades**, persecutions set in in France. Then they began also in Germany, England, and, mainly after the eviction of the Moors, in Spain.

d. The Jews were hounded out of **France** in 1181, but were recalled in 1198 because, owing to their acumen in financial dealing, they were useful in the business boom. They had a similar experience in **Germany**. The government imposed all kinds of limitations on them such as segregated urban housing, attire, wearing beards, and oddly, sanctions on usury. They were banished from **England** after 1290, from **Poland** and **Lithuania** under Casimir IV*,* from **Russia** in the 15th century, from **Hungary** in the sixteenth. In **Spain**, the Inquisition bore down on them, and also on the Marannos, the new Christians, Moors and Jews converted by coercion. Thus at the beginning of the 16th century, western Europe was virtually depopulated of Jews. In the **Asiatic empires** they showed up as far east as China, though only sparsely, whereas they found sanctuary in North Africa and Turkey.

§161. Survey of Secular Art and Literature in the Middle Ages I.

a. Medieval literature and art in Europe in its entirety is **Germanic**, inasmuch as all of these peoples were Germanic: the Anglo-Saxons in England, the Franks in Gaul, the Goths in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, and lastly the Lombards in Italy. In all of these countries **mixed races** evolved through the Celtic infusion of the aborigines, with whom later the Moorish element in Spain and the Saracen in southern Italy intermingled. Not until the 9th century did a **distinction** develop between France and Germany. Italian and Spanish literature bore its peculiar **Romanic** character right away in its inception in the 11th century. Later, in the second half of the 14th century, the specific **English** character of Old English literature became pronounced. But owing to the unity of this whole culture, a given factor of the predominance of spiritual ideas and of Germanic origin, these evidences of imagination were more closely related at first than later, when Humanism and Reformation had developed the national distinctions still obtaining today.

b. The foundation of medieval cultural ideology is Germanic. In literature, the Germans continue to draw from their Indo-Germanic associations the ideas of Siegfried (Achilles)*,* of Hildebrand and Hadubrand (Oedipus and Laios). According to Tacitus*,* they extolled their ancestor Tuisto and his son Mannus*,* as well as Donar (Hercules). Later, Arminius became the national hero. In the migrations of nations, the **Goths** stood out at this time as the most talented among the Germanic tribes. They received the first **Bible translation** from the hand of Ulfilas*,* and with it, as typical of Germanic evolution, their language entered the field of literature. Gothic heroes and their enemies passed over into heroic legend, to remain as such on the continent: Ermanrich, Theodoric the Great, Attila, and Odoacer.

c. The Goths still belong to ancient time, primarily because their culture mirrored the ancient prototype. The first to inherit their place among the German tribes were the **Franks**, who possessed more talent for organization than creative genius. The first signs of their literature in the Gallo-Romanic tongue were the Frankish heroic legends, already current at the time of the Merovingians. The basic elements of these legends were the ideas later come to light in the Nordic Edda, and in the Nibelungen and Gudrun sagas. Only the 8th-century Hildebrand saga has come down to us. Then **England**, whither the Anglo-Saxons had emigrated already in the time of the Goths, first derived its culture from the Franks. This culture, however, was principally of a spiritual nature. The English transmitted it to Germany, where Charlemagne combined the spiritual, ancient, and German national elements, and uniformly disseminated them over all western Europe, albeit the actual energy concentrated in the **north**, mid-way along the Rhine. That was the extent of **German culture**.

d. There even the various literary genres had already evolved: theological doctrinal treatises, sermons, historiography, legal parlance in collections of laws, verse in the form of heroic saga, Christian lyric poetry. But under the Carolingians, the nations and their cultures went their own ways. Independent perceptions, languages, and mores took shape, and even the various literary genres developed in unique ways. **France**, turned French, took the lead in culture under Charles the Bald*.* The Frankish heroic legend suggested the content for the *chansons de geste* which became popular in the 9th and 10th centuries (the Haager Fragment from the legend cycle of William of Orange). In that era, Charlemagne occupied center stage in legends.

e. The Latin tongue, come into fashion in its day, rendered little service to French literature as such. Since the 10th century, too, literature was for the most part spiritual, owing to the Cluniac Reform. Yet **music** now unmistakably experienced definite influences from Italy which in time would lead to further development in French monasteries. The theories advanced by Gregory's choral schools were perfected by Guido d'Arezzo in the 10th century, and were presently extended in England, France, and Germany, and applied to to part singing and instrumental music.

f. The beginning of the 12th century found the **Normans** gaining precedence (the era of William of

Normandy, Lanfranc, Anselm). They reworked afresh the existing old Frankish heroic legends and spiritual verse ("Song of Roland"), but also experimented with novel themes, and interwove these with the familiar. At the same time, an anti-Norman sentiment materialized in southern France, growing palpable in poetry and music. From the Celts the French derived their vehement, impassioned accent, from the Normans artistic seriousness, and from the **Provencals** sensuous charm; and in music, from the 11th to the 13th centuries, southern France was already distinguishing itself from Normandy in that the Normans developed counterpoint, and the Provençals developed melodic line.

g.   Now in France there followed the flowering of old French poetry, the time of the last Capetians, 1137-1328. It was the time when France achieved ascendancy over the privileged interests of the magnates, and created recognition for the kingship by advancing the **third estate**. As secular circles represented mainly by the middle class entered the field of literature, a sober, critical tone became perceptible, which soon inaugurated a literary genre, unique in form and content, the imperialistic polemical tract. As it did for the Parisian schools, the poetry of France set the standard for Europe at this time. The court romance with its theme from Bretonese legend, was blended with the legends of Aeneas and Alexander (Song of Alexander, the Romance of Troy, King Arthur, Tristan and Isolde, Erec, Lancelot, Percival), the Legend of the Holy Grail, and was mixed with biblical and oriental ingredients handed down from the Crusades and local legends. Added to these were the beast legend and the fables elaborated on the ancient fable by parodying the heroic legend (*contes, lais, fabliaux*). All of these forms were in the nature of the **epic**. Concurrent with them we find the **court and art lyric verse** of the Provençal troubadours and their *chansons d'amour* (Bertrand de Born and the "Courts of Love"). Also the beginnings of **drama** are traced to this era from the spiritual Shrove Tuesday plays.

h. This literature arose thanks to the resurgence of France in the Cluniac Reform and the Crusades. Simultaneously, beginning with Charlemagne, the **plastic arts** had evolved into the Romanesque and Gothic. The sense for architectonic beauty grew strong on the basis of ancient models, and builders also worked through the scientific principles involved, so that, thus equipped, they could now apply their own ideas to the requirements of the church. The Romanesque changed more and more into Gothic when architecture as a definitive science and the sense for the purely formal came increasingly to the fore. Sculpture and painting lacked any definite scope as yet. The specific basic elements inherent in this **French culture** were already coming to light: the yen for sophisticated external form (elegance), as displayed in language and court etiquette; the formal mind-set for witticism; in the province of morality, the proclivity toward sensuality; in the spiritual province, traditionalism, that is, securing control over consciences by adhering to the dictum of the fathers; or contrariwise, rationalism and radicalism, that is, breaking with the ideas of the fathers by employing intellectual formalism. Both proclivities placed France in the service of the external interests of sovereignty. Similarly, in the field of plastic art, where the predisposition to the practical, to pomp and circumstance, was symptomatic of the same interests. In poetry and music, there was a proclivity toward sensuality. All in all, there was an intimation of externalism in contrast with the inward tendency of the Germans. (138c, d.)

i.   In **Germany** meanwhile a change had been taking place. Even before France and Germany had separated, the spiritually focused time of Louis the Pious had inspired the *Heliand* [a poetic retelling of the Gospel in 5983 lines] and soon thereafter the Gospel harmony of Otfried the Weissenburg monk, and the *Muspilli*, the epic of the world's decline. At that time too they were singing the naively vigorous *Ludwigslied*. In this transition, literature in Germany deteriorated by the end of the 9th century because her historical center of gravity was shifting further east. Already at this time the trend toward **inwardness** on the part of the Germans became apparent in the theological conflicts between Radbert and Ratramnus, on the one hand, and Hrabanus Maurus on the other.

k.   The **Ottonian** age produced new ideas. A cheerful way of life blossomed forth. But it was from Italy that the impulses to literature were coursing. The literary language was Latin. Farces and novels, imported from the Orient via Italy, provided the content. Besides these, beast fables traveled the same route. There were of course some genuine German themes: Otto with the Beard, Duke Ernest of Swabia, and the content of the *Waltharilied* of Eckhart (925). The prose dramas of the Gandersheim nun Hroswitha, the knightly song *Ruodlieb* by a Tegernsee monk (1021), and the entire sequence of poets, musicians, architects, painters, schoolmasters, and physicians from Notker I Balbulus (912) till Notker III Labeo (1022) of St. Gall, demonstrates the ready participation of the **monks** in secular compositions.

l.   The Cluniac Reform had brought on a regression inasmuch, on the one hand, the popularity of secular themes diminished, and on the other, French influence made itself felt. Materials carried over from the Bible and legendary literature flourished, even as the French grew theologically. And when the **secular poets** came into prominence again, they brought French themes with them into Germany. The crusades encouraged this admixture, as they had created an international chivalry under French leadership. With the marvels of the Orient they brought back a passion for worldly adventure, fiery colors, and delight in sensuous luxury; the ideals of courtly manners, particularly homage, and the social isolation of chivalry.

m.   The spiritual poets celebrated these innovations too. The priest Lamprecht (1125) imported the *Song of Alexander*, the priest Conrad of Regensburg (1130) the *Song of Roland*. But he also composed the *Imperial Chronicle*. The secular minstrels in turn yielded to the spiritual influence in selecting their repertoire. The lives of King Rother and Duke Ernest were embellished with crusade adventures and legends; the animal myth (*Reynard*) was told from the French perspective. Numbered with these were the ***Vagantes***, loafing theological students, who abandoned themselves to wild slumming, roistering, and erotic songs.

n.   Then, when the **nobility** entered upon the literary scene at the end of the 12th century, the **first radiant period** in German art and poetry began to dawn. In the fine arts, the Gothic style came into its own, which, however, was treated by the Germans in the old powerful manner, as in its time they had treated the Romanesque. In literature to be sure they retained the French themes, addressed from the courtly point of view, but the **German language** underwent a formal reconstitution in the Middle High German period which helped bring to prominence the masters of this time: **Walther von der Vogelweide** (d. c. 1230) and **Wolfram von Eschenbach** (d. c. 1220). These pioneers shook free from French influence and introduced a more original and deeper tone to German poetry.

o.   Their predecessors were Henry von Veldecke of Maastricht (1180; *Eneide*), the Palatinate Frederick von Hausen (1190), the Alsatian Reinmar the Aged in Vienna, and the Swabian Hartmann von der Aue. These poets were not yet entirely free of French influence. Walther von der Vogelweide however applied himself to the **German folksong,** and in his polemic, loyal to the emperor, he spoke up against the presumptions of the papacy, which succumbed ever more abjectly to French influence. The Bavarian Wolfram von Eschenbach internalized in his *Parsifal* the externalized, stale Arthurian chivalry, countering the prevailing French ideas with his German mysticism. The same time saw the revival of the **Nibelungen and Gudrun legends,** which portrayed the concept of fidelity in unsurpassed manner. Perhaps we may draw the conclusion at this point that in Germany the distinctive character of inwardness we were talking about was strongly pronounced in contrast to France. (138 b.)

p.   In **Italy**, the mind had long lain fallow, ever since the time of Theodoric the Great. The Lombard wars, Italy's insignificance under Charlemagne, and the pornocracy under the last Carolingians, all hardly conduced to an intellectual resurgence. Nevertheless, the spiritual influence beginning at Rome permeated the whole world because to some extent the Frankish rulers had installed the bishop of Rome as the spiritual leader of the world. This explains how Gregory's music and liturgy could penetrate every country, and how, in the 10th

century, these beginnings could be perfected by Guido of Arezzo. Up to this point, this was choral music. Further development occurred in France and in the Netherlands. Since, from the beginning of the Crusades, France had extended its influence beyond its borders in all directions, now also in Italy a literature took shape modeled on that of the Provençals. The court of **Frederick II** was the hub of these endeavors.

q. Spanish national literature was the latest among the Romance literatures. Since the 11th century Castille had taken the lead among the small Christian ethnic groups in northern Spain. A considerable immigration from France had taken place in the wake of the Cluniac Reform. Simultaneously a literature sprang into being, which in the north adopted the narrative and didactic model of northern France, in the south, the lyric model of Provençe. The *Cid* and its world of thought constituted the main theme of this poetry. Narrative prose came into vogue in the 13th century, and was cultivated chiefly by the royal family itself. For their theme they borrowed the Arthurian legend of France. Then besides this, religious poetry flowered; the Benedictine monk de Berceo, c. 1225. With the same wave from France there came Romanesque and Gothic architecture with their related incentives to sculpture and painting, inspiring Spaniards now to express a glowing mysticism suffused with Moorish elements.

§162. Survey of Secular Art and Literature in the Middle Ages II.

a. In **France**, however, ever since Louis IX (around the middle of the 13th century), literature was on the **decline**. The spirit of chivalrous adventure was exhausted. The third estate was in the ascendant, though not yet at meridian. Business interests predominated. Reflective poetry grew popular, colored by allegory, satire, and moralizing, the regular corollary or aftermath of spiritual decline. In this climate Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were reworked. Similarly, they recast epic poetry with a moralistic slant, in fact as literature to be read, rather than for oral presentation. Lyric poetry escaped to the northeast, to the poetic societies called the **Puys**. Similarly, dramatic poetry, for which the procuratorial writers of Paris had founded the comic stage, fell into the hands of the citizenry. By this means the resurgence of the fine arts and music in the Netherlands was preparing the way to take the lead in Europe in the second half of the 15th century.

b. In the century of the English War (1330-1450) a political-historical trend dominated in **France**. National consciousness blended with civic forms of composition in chronicles and ballads. Now the play was the thing, especially the *mystéres* of the religious folk stage which had evolved out of the spiritual carnival plays. In Paris a singular fraternity (*Confrèrie de la Passion*) dedicated itself to this purpose. Related secular productions were the *Moralité* and the *Sottie*, both in the satirical vein. This transitional stage accordingly is of particular importance, because it affected neighbors to the south, west, and north.

c. Nor did the prime season in **south Germany** last long. Walther [von der Vogelweide] was already lamenting the decline of court morality. In Germany chivalry went by the board in the struggles of the Hohenstaufen and in the urban boom. The middle class took over. Chivalric poetry deteriorated. Proverbial and didactic poetry developed as noted above in France. Ulrich von Liechtenstein in his *Frauendienst* and Henry Frauenlob of Meissen characterized the middle class in the minnesong, the latter with his pretentious but paltry scholasticism. The real didactic poetry was composed by the middle class knights errant: Freidank's *Bescheidenheit* (c. 1230). Arthurian romance too was colored by this influence. Gottfried of Strassburg (c. 1210), a learned bourgeois master, externalized Wolfram's idea in his "Tristan and Isolde" in a shallow, flashy style breathing fervid sensuality, and with this, the chivalric epic began to wither. But legendary poetry and rhymed narrative along with it grew popular, and many a well-told, simple narrative distinguished itself among the mass of comic, moralizing, suggestive stories. Of this kind in Austria were Stricker and his parables and beast fables, in Bavaria Wernher and his village chronicle *Meier Helmbrecht.*

d. If poetry had left north Germany for upper or high Germany, and had made Middle High German the

language of the educated, then in **Lower Germany** it was prose that prevailed. The *Sachsenspiegel* of the jurist Eike von Repko (1230), the first book on a code of law, the *Sächsische Weltchronik*, the first prose historical work, appeared in the Low German language. The south Germans did not get around to prose composition until they learned it from sermonic 1iterature: Berthold of Regensburg (1275) and Meister Eckhart (1327).

e.   But now in **Italy** the new era set in. It was not actually the Renaissance just yet, but rather the dawn before the sun. In **Dante Alighieri** (1265-1321) however, the dawn radiated with greater splendor than the later sun. He was a native of Florence, and by predisposition and experience had in the depths of his soul participated in the greatest things on earth, in joy and grief. This enabled him to observe in his ***Divine Comedy*** the great history of mankind from the vantage point of God and eternity, and to interpret these ideas with elemental power as no secular poet before him except for Homer had ever done, and none after him but Goethe. What is more, he surpassed his predecessors in lyric poetry, and at the same time in the *Convivio* provided his nation with a model of scholarly prose. Before long Petrarch (1304-1374) and Boccaccio (1313-1375) joined Dante*,* poets straining ahead into the time of the Renaissance, only to sink to the external pagan level. The fine arts were already graduating to the the level of the Renaissance: Niccolo Pisano and his son Giovanni*,* the painters Cimabue and Giotto. (138 e.)

f.   In **England** at this time Old English 1iterature was in full bloom. It dated back to around 1250, so the 150 years prior are accounted the Semi-Saxon era, whereas the previous literature was Anglo-Saxon. In this **Anglo-Saxon literature** the most significant product (*Beowulf*) reflects elements of the Finnish legend, related to the Gudrun saga, which was native to the North Sea coast. In other songs still other German legendary cycles come into play. Thereafter the development of this literature followed the same course as the continental. The spiritual influence, absorbed from the Franks but directly connected with Rome, led to the Anglo-Saxon mission in Germany which betrayed a more papist character than that found among purely Germanic peoples. In secular literature this character would hardly have been evident. We find the same kind of products in England as in Germany: Caedmon's (d. 680) and Cynewulf's (c. 780) biblical poems. Alfred the Great made prose official in the legal collections and in his translations, and up until the Norman invasion we find sermon collections, hagiographies, translations from the Bible and the Fathers, and also novelistic narratives besides scholarly works written in the style of the time.

g.   The **Norman Invasion** allowed French culture to exert a more pervasive influence than the other neighbors of France had felt. At first, Anglo-Saxon remained the common tongue. Then a hybrid language emerged with French predominant. Not until 1250 did French give way. In this era literature used the same themes and treated them as was customary in France: chronicles, legends, chivalric romances (in England featuring the figure of Gawain). In **architecture** too, and in music, Norman-French influence became pronounced in the Gothic style, and in the contrapuntal treatment of music, and in music at that time the English made a significant contribution. But because of their isolation they exerted little influence abroad as yet.

h.   The participation of the **Celtic** inhabitants of Great Britain in cultural pursuits receded into the mountains of Wales and Scotland and there developed a high order of folk poetry. Here in England the difference becomes apparent between the north German tribes along the North Sea and the others who, since the time of the Goths, pressed on toward southern Europe, or stayed put in upper Germany. The latter were more amenable to alien art, and typically, their character lacked fiber, with the result that in foreign countries the local aboriginal elements readily assimilated them. In England and the Netherlands the Low German character prevailed to develop an original Low German style, and in England in fact this character forcefully rejected the influences foreign to itself. Indeed, Ireland's culture was largely destroyed by Henry II's conquest, with the admixture of French elements already in process.

i.   It was in the second half of the 14th century that Old English literature burst into flower. Barbour*,* who founded Scottish literature with *The Bruce* and his history of Troy and the lives of the saints, was the forerunner of Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400), the father of English poetry. Chaucer more than any other poet brought about the fusion of the Low German folk element with the Franco-Norman ingredient. It was the time of the great war against France. To this factor we may probably attribute the strains of national consciousness one notices throughout his writings. But he also got to Italy and there became acquainted with the Renaissance in its infancy. In his *Canterbury Tales* the national popular strain found its tongue in the earthy satire and in the humor which Chaucer was the first to bring to modern literature.

k.   A new tone sounded in **Spain** beginning in 1379 under Juan I when educated people began to use the Castilian tongue as their language. Poetry too turned courtly and introduced a new character to join *The Cid*, the **Amadis**, a figure taken from the legend of the Grail, bringing along with Provençal poetry a mingling of sensual love with spiritual themes. Thus as the new language matured, writers also began to use prose in the historiography of the chronicles. When in the 15th century the royal houses of Spain and Germany united in the marriage of Philip the Fair and Joanna, the influence of the highly developed culture of the Netherlands, which already then combined the lifestyle of the early Netherlands with the Renaissance and so enjoyed recognition also in France, now took hold in Spain, to become powerful throughout the whole first century of modern times.

l.   In the **Netherlands** prosperity and public spirit had long prevailed, the latter a characteristic of Low German practice; the former realized by happenstance in that the big cities on the Rhine were situated on the trade route running from the Orient to London. Hence in the evolution of the Romanesque and Gothic, a singular style developed early on here, independent of the particularities of late French Gothic, becoming pronounced in buildings which served civic public spirit, and expressing the ideas of order and convenience. The impressive and beautiful **town halls** in Brussels, Louvain, Antwerp, and others, are examples. The Renaissance ideas were, as far as they had penetrated to that point, accordingly adopted at once, and developed in original ways. Also from that time onward, sculpture came into its own. Painters too, already now in the 14th century formed their own guilds, and as early as the 15th century the **Flanders School** rose to prominence (Jan van Eyck and the Brothers Hubert). In music, Guillaume Du Fay (1400-1474), the father of polyphony, founded the **First Netherlands School**, followed by the Second Netherlands School between 1450 and 1550, which ranked first in the music of the world. This Netherlands culture could be recognized externally in the "Burgundian School" which had arisen in the resplendent court of Charles the Bold between 1450 and 1515 in **France**. Then poetry changed into rhetoric which combined calmness of perception with erudition in arid subjects. A civic strain ran through this poetry, even at court. But folk poetry kept right up with it, and in fact trained itself in the genre of farce with primitive freshness right through the Reformation. At the same time in the upland cities of **Germany** painters and sculptors were beginning to demonstrate the inward tendency of the German genius, as opposed to this Netherlands art, just as the new tendency of the Italian Renaissance was already beginning to affect those German artists.

m. The **Renaissance**, or **Humanism**, represents an altogether new and different world view than the one which had hitherto been the common stock in trade in the medieval countries. It is the unabashed earthly temporal worldview of the ancient Greeks and Romans, who knew nothing about God and eternity, and made no bones about it, so all they had on their mind were earthly concerns such as statecraft, art, and science, and in these pursuits, superficially observed, achieved ultimate mastery. This worldview now became instructress to the nations. If these nations had already gone their separate ways in order to develop their distinct national cultures, the individuation could only accelerate now that they were beginning to acquire a frame of reference so alien, upon foundations which were diverse to begin with. That is another reason why, since this time, the

history of the nations took the course it did, so that from this juncture one has to do specialized historical research.

n.   It was in **Italy** that the Renaissance set in, and from this matrix took Europe by storm. It was in Italy that it became thoroughly pagan and produced a revolution in art and literature. When it came to art, the Italians could look at the ruins of ancient architecture and sculpture every day, and the language of the Romans was more native to them than to the northern peoples. Their spiritual life moreover under the papal economy had on the surface already become so like paganism, mainly through the rise of the Italian cities, that the revolution came about more effortlessly here than elsewhere. Thus we can observe here a rapid flowering not only in architecture, but in original sculpture and painting. The beautiful human body, which in the Middle Ages till now had been viewed always through the spectacles of asceticism alone, with the corresponding results, in accordance with the new perception now took center stage. The same mind animated literature, giving rise to the Renaissance poets Petrarch and Boccaccio; the plastic artists of the **Early Renaissance**: Brunelleschi, Donatello, Fra Angelico, Masaccio, the Lippi, Botticelli, and Ghirlandaio; and the masters of the **High Renaissance** who were already branching into the Reformation era: Michelangelo, Raphael, and Leonardo da Vinci.

o. Presently this mind-revolutionizing influence radiated in every direction from Italy. Simultaneously in **France, England,** and **Germany** Humanism set in, generally distinguished from the Italian kind by an emphasis on purely intellectual interests: Faber Stapulensis, John Colet, Erasmus, and Reuchlin. But the learned disciplines demanded so much attention that the universities became the hub of Humanism, and only in Germany were there associations of native poets, albeit also at the universities. To produce the plastic arts these countries, like Germany, were either too poor, or like England too little talented with fantasy. Everywhere the prevailing poetic efforts receded into the background. Even in opulent **Spain** the Renaissance came into its own in the plastic arts only in the 16th century, because the ecclesiastical influences, originating partly in France and the Netherlands, focused on theological studies.

p.   All of these factors point to Germany as the **heart of Europe**. Here ideas of substance were traced to the root and were set forth with equal fidelity. This characteristic explains why Germany also became the teacher of the other nations. These nations, possessed of outward skills, might boast of considerable outward results, whereas Germany was the arena where even then they were threshing out their interests against one another, and especially against Germany, as they would continue to do often after the Reformation, down to quite recent times. So it is hardly by chance that the Reformation originated in **Germany** and realized its deepest conception in Lutheranism, a conception eventually rejected by the western "Protestant" countries.

§163. Prospectus of Coming Events.

a.   The papacy evolved in the ancient church to begin with, but in the Middle Ages it emerged complete with its claims among the Germanic peoples from the outset. In the process it retained the peculiarities acquired in the ancient period: an inability to appreciate the value of exegesis and history; dogmatism and traditionalism; the development of external forms; the wrong evaluation of the physical side of life and the corollary of the resulting condition, false mysticism; and all these peculiarities converged in the ever more pronounced diversion from Christ's merit to the doctrine of works. All of these elements were fleshed out in time, possibly even more fully, in that at the least they were naively expressed and became ever more exactly defined in line with their characteristic errors (doctrine of transubstantiation, feast of Corpus Christi, Mariolatry, theory of indulgence).

b.   But in the Middle Ages you could discern the other side as well, a phenomenon already observed in the ancient church, that the Gospel was pursuing its determined course. Frequently, the very ones who promoted

the papacy professed the Gospel as well (Cluniacs, Anselm, Bernard, Francis, Dominicans). On the other hand, those who opposed the pope often professed in the same breath identical ideas to those which rationalism later swept out, so that, taken all in all, one must conclude that the papacy and its institutions not only introduced the Word of God to the Germanic nations but also preserved it throughout the Middle Ages, to await the time of the Reformation.

c.   While the papacy, however, true to its basic legalistic character, aimed chiefly at external control, two aspects of its development manifested themselves, which were inevitable concomitants from the beginning: the supremacy of the papacy burst upon the scene with a degree of brutality not to be found among secular despotisms. Employing such means the papacy was taking the first step toward its own destruction. The following will explain these phenomena historically. In the world, compulsion is the natural means of operation. There the main concerns are self-defense against foreign compulsion and the mechanical interests of money and property. In the church, Christ's word rules out every form of compulsion. Here, when compulsion, contrary to the Gospel, initiates the action, it must from inner necessity assert itself with all the more violence, to some extent in judgment against itself. Accordingly, you will find in the church not only all of the underhanded instruments of compulsion (deceit, falsification, unfaithfulness, bribery) and their brutal excesses (inquisition and interdict), but also the side effects of prevailing compulsion (pornocracy, for one). Because the papacy was at the same time however a preeminently intellectual power, in fact, because the Gospel was at the same time proclaimed by the papacy, it represented the ultimate compulsion on earth, and was bound to win out over all opposition directed against it other than the Gospel.

d.   As the representative of iniquity, the papacy could not help but fashion its own defeat with every victory it gained (three victories: against the Carolingians, the Hohenstaufen, the reform movement; three defeats: the first pornocracy, the brazen finance racket, the pagan engulfment in the Renaissance). Such is God's disposition of things on earth ever since the creation of man down to the present. The good, by means of inner strength, should overcome the evil; still, since the Fall, the evil must take effect. If this outcome occurs by the victory of the evil, then the defeat sets in at once. That is the moment of opportunity for the Gospel.

e.   Throughout the Middle Ages, however, the confrontation of the papacy with the Gospel never took place. We find the representatives of the Gospel nearly always on the side of the papacy. That was the cause or the result, or both, of a third phenomenon which gave the Middle Ages their singular character, distinctly different from the modern age: the papacy, even in the Middle Ages, never achieved its complete definition. In the Middle Ages, the papal conception of the one holy church on earth prevailed. They did not make such a fuss at all about doctrinal heresy as in the ancient church. The church instituted the Inquisition merely to maintain external supremacy. The result was that the plethora of antitheses could continue in every ecclesiastical framework (the partisan struggle within scholasticism, in monastic life within the Franciscan Order, between the Franciscans and Dominicans, between secular priests and monks, between Conventuals and Observants, between scholasticism and mysticism, etc.), because never was the antithesis between Law and Gospel actually at issue, and everywhere, the actual overlordship of the Antichrist over consciences remained unattacked. The attack occurred only after the papacy had squared off against all of the world's powers, with the secular interests of the spiritual princes, of the secular princes, and of the entire nation. In this confrontation the resurgence of paganism in the Renaissance demonstrated the fact that the papacy had petered out altogether in the field of external control. It was at this point in time when the actual counter-operation of the Gospel began to take hold. And in taking a settled position opposed to the clear Gospel, it achieved its final definition in the Jesuit Order and in the Council of Trent.

f.   In the time following, political developments begin with Spanish and French interests in **Italy.** This fact alternately conditions the pope's amicable relations now with the German emperor, now with the French king.

This situation affects the **German Reformation** in that the emperor, paralyzed by his Medieval Spanish nature, is unable to move decisively against the Reformation. Yet the emperor and the pope both constantly impede its progress. Thus hampered, the movement, steered by its unLutheran supporters, appeals expediently to France, Scandinavia, England, and even to the Turks whom emperor and pope again on their part solicit. This provokes an **imbroglio**, not only in spiritual and intellectual, but also in political affairs, with a complexity hitherto unheard of. The **splintering** is a characteristic of the time since the Reformation, reflecting the truth that the clear perception of the Gospel initially brings about divisions on earth. Anyone who has recognized this reality will go on to read from history that the Gospel alone creates genuine reconciliation.

The Modern Era.

§164. General Summary.

a. Luther's Reformation initiates an entirely unprecedented age which extends into the present. Midway along the way, to be sure, toward the end of the 17th century, a division is introduced when a new world view is paving its way, maintaining external supremacy down to the present. Rationalism saw to it that in the 18th and 19th centuries ecclesiastical interests lagged behind secular interests in the great sweep of history. Consequently, the history of the 16th and 17th centuries seems to belong rather to the Middle Ages when ecclesiastical interests were uppermost. Whereupon it may be asserted that the age from 1300 to 1700 should be comprehended as a tightly interconnected period, as the period in which the ideas of reform, which in their second stage began with the fall of the Hohenstaufen, took effect, and, combined with the other driving forces of history, brought about the severance between Catholicism and Protestantism, and thus demonstrated that the idea of the one visible church was unattainable. If we study this carefully, however, and weigh all of the factors, we must say that the modern age began with **Luther.**

b. Luther introduces a **division in collective human perceptions** which dominates the entire subsequent history down to the present day to such an extent that perhaps never again will it be possible for all of humanity to be externally controlled by an error which so implacably invades every area of life as did the original idea of the papacy. Owing to the dearth of understanding of the Gospel, and owing to the ancient original papal sacramentalism in the Middle Ages, spiritual and secular issues were so interfused that in no particular and at no time were these two issues treated separately. Hence the reform efforts regularly turned on only the **external institutions,** never on the deeper seated problems and interests of **religion.** The first reform (Cluniac) began among the monasteries. The second, which occurred after the fall of the Hohenstaufen, the papacy initiated. In both instances, what they were also looking to achieve was ecclesiastical morality among the clergy and the monks. But they devoted little thought to **moral life in general** and far less to the fact that morality is related to one's personal position regarding salvation, to the certainty of salvation. It occurred to no one to question the doctrine of the church. This doctrine is inherent in the doctrine of asceticism. From that notion no one worked himself free, not even Bernard, Wycliffe, or Hus, or the Brethren of the Common Life. The reform movement never got around to the principal questions of religion, and just as little to the clear distinction of spiritual and secular issues.

c. Luther provided the **clarification,** essential for the world, of elements hitherto interfused, in a manner still standard today. This clarification, or principal separation, so radically addresses the basic questions on every topic that it attacks not only the papacy in all of its deviations, but also rationalistic humanism wherever and however it tries to mislead in spiritual and secular matters. At Luther's time, church interests were naturally foremost in every area of life, whereas today this no longer obtains. At that time science and politics were always applied directly to the church. Humanism at that time could hardly as yet gain entrance on an external basis as "enlightenment," which aims to abolish the actual spiritual interests and thus structure human life, as in the 18th century, although such a debut was an implicit outcome. Therefore, the clarification of views which Luther provided had to raise spiritual, ecclesiastical questions, and Luthe*r* refused to bother with anything else at all. So humanism as such was put on the back burner for the time being, as far as one could tell, and for the next 150 years the spiritual, ecclesiastical questions remained the main ones for the whole European world. For all that, humanism as a scientific undercurrent did make an impression on some reformers and their circles, and even muddled up political interests with ecclesiastical problems there, and thus led to the external fractures in

Protestantism. In the consequent struggles, in which also the Roman Counter-Reformation figured, when spiritual interests had spent themselves and begun to flag, humanism reasserted itself in the form of rationalism, and in alliance with the sum of secular interests, of politics, of science, and of commercial life, gave the history of the nations a new coinage, which in every single particular can be properly evaluated only through the views Luther had previously advanced or suggested.

d.   In Luther, Germanic culture achieves maturity. What with the poverty of evangelical understanding at the time, and the associated interference of national, social, and personal interests, in the concerns of the Gospel, his emphasis on Christian freedom brought on ever-widening disintegration in church affairs, while at the same time the Gospel was being broadcast throughout the whole world. This paradox constitutes the entire content of the history of the past four hundred years.

e. So the catchword, often quoted from the most diverse interests, is correct, that the history of modern times in its entirety stems from **Luther's** achievement. Therefore, we will open the final unit of the history with Luther, and subdivide the history of the past four hundred years into the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, 1517-1689, and the era of the new worldview, 1689 to the present.

I. Reformation and Counter-Reformation, 1517-1689.

§165. General Summary.

a.   The reformation of the one church, as contemplated in the reform movement before the Reformation, never materialized, owing to the uncongenial interests listed above. What did take place now was a **split between Protestantism and Catholicism.** For the same reasons, Protestantism itself did not remain uniform. But because the spiritual interests did, in a certain sense, still take priority in all of the Protestant movements, both camps of Protestantism in this whole struggle against the papacy share at least so much in common that we can encompass this history with the term **Reformation.**

b.   All along, **Catholicism** experienced influences from this movement which compelled it to gather its bearings to confront the new idea. Nevertheless, a reformation it did not turn out to be; on the contrary, the primordial Medieval views became so cemented in, calcified through the Council of Trent, that they never would be able to accommodate themselves to the culture of the day, allowing them to pour the Gospel into the forms of the present, but were rather condemned to function as an alien factor employing external means in the church of God.

c.   The **Counter-Reformation** began already in Luther's time. After Romanism had recovered from the shock of Luther's first blows, which seemed to come from another world, a reaction set in which corresponded with the real essence of Catholicism. Previously, in the Middle Ages, when that element pressing toward the Reformation had not yet been eliminated, it was difficult to distinguish the essence of Catholicism. Now that it rejected the clear evangelical ideas as set forth in Luther's doctrine, its essence took on more distinct contours.

d.   The **Jesuit Order** was assigned the task of defining these contours. Founded already in Luther's lifetime, it had completed its first major assignment, to nail down Catholicism in writing and authoritatively in the **Council of Trent** (1545-1563). That done, their ongoing task of reinstating Catholicism in Protestant countries began. But while in Germany and England the final clash with Catholic power coincided with the Council of Trent (the Augsburg Religious Peace in Germany in 1555, and the establishment of the Anglican state church in England in 1562), a number of decades elapsed before it occurred in France and in the Spanish Netherlands (the Utrecht Union in the Netherlands in 1579, and the Edict of Nantes in 1598). When Rome found itself unable to beat down the Reformation by force it attempted to contest the same goal with intellectual weapons. This is the Counter-Reformation.

e.   Although the Counter-Reformation actually took effect immediately after, and with the implementation of,

the Council of Trent, still, because of the course of western European history, the boundary between Reformation and Counter-Reformation must be drawn later than the time of the Council of Trent, the more so because in the history of Protestantism a chapter turns up which eventually proves more important than any other, concurrently with the transition to the time of the Counter-Reformation. Looking into the history of Protestantism, we find that the termination of the most significant intellectual work in reducing the new ideas to authoritative form *(Formula of Concord)*, falls between the two latter dates (Utrecht Union 1579 and Edict of Nantes 1598) in West-European history. This termination embraces the résumé of the Lutheran confessions in the **Book of Concord of 1580.** In Reformed circles there seemed to be no need for a similar effort because of their union-minded position. So this date commends itself as a way to designate the boundary between Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

f. The history books disagree also about the end of the Counter-Reformation. Historians in Germany regard the **Peace of Westphalia in 1648** as the date. In England, the definitive settlement came about through the **1689 Act of Toleration of William III.** This latter date in American history signifies that ecclesiastical affairs in the several colonies were to be administered under a common regulation by the English government. So for us, 1689 would be the preferable date. Accordingly, we will arrange the subordinate periods as follows: A. Reformation 1517-1580, B. Counter-Reformation 1580-1689.

A. The Age of the Reformation, 1517-1580.
§166. General Summary.

a. **Two mistaken perceptions** of history impede a deeper grasp of **Reformation history** in its diverse development. One view is that of the history of religion school, and it tries to be scientific. The other is found among earnest Christians and it disregards actual historical understanding. The first eliminates God's supervision from history, and explains its riddles as a series of coincidences, and leads from rationalism to rationalism and unbelief. The other assigns to God's supervision the role of a *deus ex machina* and perches on the foundation of pharisaic Judaism and of the later papacy, whose devotees presumed to have a claim on God's support in their self-righteous dealings; within a communion it will lead now to an Old Testament-Jewish, now to a Medieval-papistic coinage of a kind particularly noticeable in Calvinist, but also in Lutheran circles, in the course of history.

b. The opinion of the history of religion school contradicts the Gospel which it abandoned to begin with. It refuses to acknowledge the fundamental difference between the Gospel and all other world views, beginning as far back as the history of Israel, and the history of Christ and of the Apostles. So in the present instance this school overemphasizes the precursors of the Reformation, and lets the Reformation appear a mere human development of these medieval premises. Hence this school prefers to combine Reformation history with medieval history, and has the modern era dawning no earlier than the "Enlightenment" of the 18th century.

c. The other opinion misunderstands the reality that God's management really happens on earth in history, that God's management is everywhere involved in the process of historical becoming, in all historical becoming. This opinion betrays its misdirection already when it interprets Moses' mission, Christ's entrance into the world, and the proclamation of the Gospel by the Apostles, and now again here in explaining the Reformation. While this opinion upholds the principal difference between Luther's Reformation and that of its precursors, it pays too little attention to the important channeling which Luther's growth and the history of the Reformation experienced in every particular in the external time frame, and consequently a great many facts which are of importance in history down to our own day pass unobserved. Thus it is essential to make the time frame come alive insofar as it applies to the Reformation. Its influence on the Reformation will then make clear the representation which follows.

d. We may summarize the **results** of Luther's and his associates' work under the following heads: 1. emancipation of consciences from papal tyranny, and by faith placing the individual in a personal relationship with God; 2. demolition of the papal doctrinal foundations in tradition (church, pastoral office, pope, councils, the Fathers), and institution of Holy Scripture as *unica norma* of faith and life; 3. reverence for created things as gifts of God toward the founding of genuine morality through the doctrine of *adiaphora*; 4. break with Roman sacramentalism in doctrine, constitution, and worship; 5. correct rationale for authority, political and legal interaction; 6. correct evaluation of reason and philosophy; 7. refined understanding of language and history; 8. cultivation of national churches as opposed to the previous one, holy, Catholic church.

e. For all these results there were referable **impulses** or **starting points**. 1. Accompanying the external, complacent piety was a presentiment that things could not go on as they were, which came out in various ways, either as acute consciousness of sin, or in carping about existing conditions, or in complaints lodged on economic grounds. Everything was closely interconnected. The church engendered the **consciousness of sin** with its doctrines and policies, not with the intention to forgive sins, but to exercise control over consciences. Consequently, the consciousness of sin appeared even in people who hated the church or one church institution or other.

f. **Criticism** was aimed either at the whole machine, demanding "reform in head and members," or at the curia whose scandalous Renaissance life-style, or its politics of finance roused resentment (it was common knowledge that the indulgence traffic served prodigal ends, and that immorality was the rule in Rome), or at the immoral life of many priests and monks (concubinage was considered wrong but continued, especially in Switzerland, quite openly, often no doubt with an air of respectability; in fact, the bishops placed a tax on the practice, and the common people preferred this license to possibly worse conditions. Nunneries were particularly disreputable).

g. **Economic complaints** against the church aimed generally at the senseless drain of moneys to Rome (the expanding money market had already helped the church to acquire the requisite basic national-economic skills). Or it was certain classes that were dissatisfied. Cities were at odds with the church on account of the prohibition against charging interest, the tax-exemption of the church, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the monopoly of instruction, and the nuisance of beggary. The "landed magnates," risen partly with the help of the church in the struggle against the empire, now discovered that the church stood opposed to them as well as to the emperor, because the ecclesiastical privileges, as they had been imperceptibly transmitted to the legal consciousness of the nations, hindered the administration of the state as much as the burgeoning urban administration. More than anything, the peasants hated the priests and the church because they saw in her the oppressor, who more than the secular power kept serfdom functioning, and pressured the poor people for contributions. This explains the demand for social change of conditions taking the form of riots and revolts, and yet, despite all of that, in their home-spun way the people were pious and religious, and nourished their hatred with all kinds of apocalyptic expectations, widely delivered to the populace by mystics and heretics.

h. **Scholasticism, mysticism,** and **humanism** worked hand in hand in bringing about a complete transformation of perception. To us, much of this sounds ludicrous; but the same mutations take place in nations as in a human life. There are some unskilled childish activities that involve a far greater mental creative exertion than is evident at first glance. And the acquisition of the simplest concepts which we employ daily required an astounding mental workout in the twilight of the Middle Ages, whose efficacy one must have understood first before one can take these factors into account, because such transformations take place again and again in human life under God's surveillance.

i. Scholasticism had undergone change, thanks to Abelard, Duns Scotus*,* and Occam, a change on the one hand that they hoped would lead them out of the helplessness of logical thinking, the kind that undigested

Platonism and Aristotelianism had engendered, and on the other, as it actually did, got individualism on track, which was essential, if the ponderous mass of a whole nation, in fact, if the whole world was to be wrested from a misdirected rut. What was missing from that effort was the great content; and so all it turned out to be was an external intellectual miscellany of forms. Yet this change made possible the training in logic in schematic verses.

k. Mysticism complemented the external activity of scholasticism by striving to internalize life. On the one hand, one can hardly rate this effort highly enough, because the only really great and valuable intellectual work originates in internal experience. On the other hand, one should not overestimate the ideas born of mysticism during the waning Middle Ages. Partly they were caricatures, partly, for all their evangelical appeal, they were still locked in the legalistic perspective of the papacy which ineluctably weighed over that entire culture like an Alpine mountain. Wherever evangelical consciousness actually appeared, it was always that naive kind of Christianity which the Gospel calls forth, directly, without human urging, at all times, in all circumstances, among the "poor in spirit."

l.   Humanism and its formal study of classical antiquity, principally the Greek language, but also Greek life, created the human sobriety and relative freedom of mind for which nominalism and mysticism had provided a basis and which under the influence of the Greek ideal of moderation in language, art, politics, and society had eradicated the caricatures of medieval culture, and formally conditioned the Germanic mind to adopt vigorously the great ideas which the Reformation set forth, and to portray them with brilliant clarity. Humanism infused the ongoing critique of the reform parties with renewed zeal, which raised intellectual excitement to the boiling point, but carried some details of the critical ideas to high levels (for instance, criticism of priests and monks, recognition of the distinction between the medieval scholastic church and the ancient church-this to be sure without having fully understood the ancient church). Lastly, with its clear eye for language and history, humanism advanced biblical and patristic studies. Nonetheless, however, humanism too remained captive to the Law, and inclined toward unbelief and revolution.

m.   Add to this whole array of circumstances, **political developments**, including absolutism in the western countries and conflict between landed magnates and emperor in Germany. If the influences of scholasticism, mysticism, and humanism offered the means for the common folk to understand Luther, the political circumstances offered the means of realizing the ideas of reform in practical and orderly terms. Above all, they helped make it possible for the main work of the Reformation to get done in **Germany**, and with it to gain internal direction, and thus more successfully to avoid the steep cliffs of individualism and external legalistic conformity than they would in western countries.

n.   All these factors, however, could not create a reformation. We must surmise that, had they done so, a devastating general revolution would have come about. The time frame offered only starting points for the Gospel, as well as for making it possible for a reformer to arise at all, and then for him and his associates to carry out their task. **Creating the reformer was a feat only the Gospel could achieve.**

o.   The same ideas are implicit in the **progressive development of Reformation history**. It evolved along lines, moreover, quite other than those marked out by Luther's entrance to the stage. A consistent development was impeded by the entrance of other reformers in other countries, but also by the interference of strange interests arising from Luther's immediate environment. That is why the historical evolution followed multifarious routes, and it is difficult to marshal the whole complex of factors within the scope of a single point of view.

p.   If you regard Luther's person out of context, the history of the years 1517 to 1580 divide readily at the year of Luther's death. A remarkable difference distinguishes the two periods this method provides. But the external development of the conditions engulfing Luther, and similarly the history independent of these

conditions, would hardly lend itself to this arrangement. So we shall subdivide the period into three chapters as taken from the history of Germany, but accommodating all points of view:

1. Founding of the reform churches, 1517-1532.
2. Expansion of the Reformation in Germany under the Smalcaldic League, 1532-1555.
5. Termination of the reform work and the Catholic restoration, 1555-1580.
   Between 2 and 5 we will insert the following units in order to round out the picture of contemporary European history:
3. The introduction of the Calvinist reformation into western European countries, 1536-1560.
4. The Reformation in the north and east.

1. Founding of the Reform Churches 1517-1532.
a. Separation from Rome, 1517-1526.
α. Luther's Evangelical Stance Anent Scripture, 1517-1521.
§167. Luther's Development until 1517.

a.   Martin Luther (November 10, 1483-February 18, 1546) was born in Eisleben, the son of a miner, Hans Luther and Margareta Ziegler. The father, nurturing in his heart the utter contempt of the nation for the priesthood (he was later irate when his son transferred into the cloister), brought the boy up under a hard hand. In 1484 he moved to Mansfeld and presently was making a pretty comfortable living. There Martin attended the town school. By 1497 he was enrolled in the school of the Brethren of the Common Life in Magdeburg, and starting in 1498 he attended the Latin school in Eisenach (Frau Ursula Cotta). Thus he came under the influence of reform-minded mysticism.

b.   In 1501 he matriculated as a student of the arts faculty in Erfurt, and in 1505, having taken the master of arts degree, he decided to study jurisprudence. Here he came into contact, if only superficially, with the humanism of the Mutian circle. He mastered the Latin classics, and took Plautus along into the cloister. For all his sunny disposition, however, which animated his study of music, he also inherited a melancholic strain which raised in him all sorts of religious questions. A thunderstorm and the death of a friend were enough to throw him so far off mental balance, such was the emotional climate at the time, that in 1505 he entered the cloister of the Observants of the Augustinian Eremites in Erfurt. But asceticism did little to pacify his excited conscience. Nor did the study of Occamist theology (Occam, d'Ailly, Gerson, Biel) answer his questions about the certainty of salvation.

c.   In this quandary one of his cloister brothers and Staupitz opened his understanding to the Gospel of the forgiveness of sins (not imaginary sins), and it was then that he began to study the Bible and the writings of Augustine and Bernard. In 1507 he was ordained a priest.

d.   Staupitz was instrumental in securing an appointment for him in 1508 at the University of Wittenberg (founded in 1502) as a reader in physics and Aristotle, and to complete his studies. In 1509 he was back at Erfurt. In 1511, after returning to Wittenberg, he walked to Rome on a business trip for his order. In 1512 he took his doctorate in theology, and immediately began lecturing on the Psalms, Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews, and preaching in the town church. Also in 1512, he became under-prior, and in 1515, academic dean of the cloister, and district vicar over 11 Saxon and Thuringian cloisters.

e.   What strikes one about Luther's apprenticeship is that it was not asceticism that assuaged Luther's conscience. Of course many a medieval monk may have had the same experience. But the evidence to ascertain it escapes the researcher. As a rule, monastic asceticism, with its Pelagian mindset rendered the conscience numb, typical for the Middle Ages. Why it was otherwise in Luther's case cannot be pinpointed either. Even Luther's later allusions to it naturally offer no solution that is entirely sure. Perhaps the mystical

influences of the Brethren of the Common Life had the effect of curbing Semi-Pelagianism and of allowing the law of God more elbow room. Nor in fact does Staupitz's advice to him explain everything. Sound though his counsel seemed, nevertheless Staupitz stayed hung up in the Middle Ages, and only later did he learn from Luther to understand the Gospel.

f.   The main effect of the prior's advice was to induce Luther to study Scripture and Augustine. Augustine's deep consciousness of sin and his corresponding conviction that nothing but God's grace really works, explain why Luther's estimate of this church father is based entirely on these ideas. Augustine's errors regarding asceticism, church and ministry, may have contributed somewhat to the delay in Luther's ascertaining the apostasy of the papist church.

g. Under this schooling Luther came to visualize and set forth clearly the ideas which had always lain dormant in the minds of believers, but until now, because of the generally inchoate philosophical mode of thinking and the prevailing legalistic mindset, no one was able to put it in such clear terms: it is not the Law, but the Gospel, that helps us to know God for certain, and again, only the Gospel can instill the real and profound understanding and application of the Law. All at once Luther awakened to a few key Scripture passages in particular, which immediately illuminated whole linkages of ideas. Especially Romans 1:17, and with it all of Romans, assumed an altogether different aspect for him, after he realized that the righteousness of God as used in that passage does not mean the wrath of God dispensing justice, but refers instead to his compassion and love, a righteousness which becomes our very own when we trust in him. Though this interpretation needed fleshing out as to the formal exposition of the textual meaning, still, for the believing mind, he had hit the nail on the head as no theologian before him since the time of the Apostles had ever done. And the skills and exegetical tools now available combined to help him flash from one exegetical epiphany to the next, and to invalidate the prevailing doctrinal system, particularly with regard to hierarchy, monasticism, and sacramental doctrine.

h.   Forthwith Luther took up Tauler's writings and edited his *Little Book of German Theology,* thus approaching German folk literature and in so doing the people themselves. Take note here how Luther steered clear of the pantheistic influence of this brand of mysticism. In addition, he detected the error running through and through scholasticism, due partly to the confusion of spiritual with secular concerns, namely, taking for granted that the study of the philosophers Plato and Aristotle is part of the basic theological curriculum. Clearly, for this clue Luther owed something to Occam. And this fairly put the scholastics out of the game. The aspect of the theology of Augustine and his contemporaries which Luther did not see through, for all his acumen, was its inability to overcome entirely Neoplatonist influences in its development, because he was preoccupied with burning issues, and besides, Neoplatonism was not so much of vital spiritual interest as of historical. Luther himself stood proof against the influence of Neoplatonism by virtue of his fundamental hatred of human reason. So the position he adopted resulted in a diligent study of Augustine in Wittenberg and in a new theology, oriented in the Bible and Augustine.

i.   Luther squared off against scholasticism. Carlstadt and Amsdorf, whom he had attracted into the orbit of his ideas, supported him, and then and there at the University a genuinely evangelical course of studies got under way, also among the students. They discarded scholasticism, and overcame Occam's Pelagianism too. How deeply this affected the students one can tell from the graduation theses, submitted 4 September, 1517, for disputation within the university community. That Luther did not get into a fight about this with the scholastics, who still carried some weight, was thanks no doubt to the fairly common assumption that the disputations were just academic exercises.

k. It is difficult to get clear on the successive stages of Luther's development. Naturally he had to shed one medieval view after another. It is equally difficult to figure out exactly how much of this or that important

influence he picked up. Because once anybody is so completely possessed by the Gospel as Luther was, and lives so intimately in Scripture, humanistic, philosophical, or mystical influences count for little, except insofar as they result in very general attitudes or skills before the evangelical change took place. Scholasticism, Occam, mysticism, humanism, and Augustine all added something to Luther's growth. The latter probably most. The actual work of transformation was achieved by Holy Scripture. At this moment all attention focused on another point in the Indulgence Controversy.

§168. Indulgences and Luther's Debut.

a.   The collision with the whole panoply of dominant views now occurred at the spot where the externality of the papacy showed up most brazenly and directly involving the life of the common people, that is, with indulgences. The **practice of indulgences** is tied up with the practice of penance. In the oriental church it was a pastoral arrangement which was supposed to have an instructive effect on penitents before their complete rehabilitation in the congregation.

b. In the Roman church at this same time there emerged the impulse for satisfaction. In Augustine's day, the power of the priesthood was extended to include the forgiveness of sins. In Charlemagne's time, penitential practice was expanded to include the German idea of "composition" (substitutionary service) with the payment of a fine, leading to the publication of penitential books which fixed the rates for individual sins. The internal concept of repentance, penitence, degenerated into an external concept, which translated into an amount of money. But what makes that happen is external church penalties.

c.   The first scholastics in the 11th and 12th centuries expanded the idea of penalties by transforming the eternal punishments of hell into temporal punishments, here on earth and in purgatory, with the result that these temporal punishments, till then consisting in external church restrictions, now came to be regarded, along with purgatory, as punishments imposed by God. Moreover, individual sins were no longer atoned for after confession, but a general indulgence commuted the entire penance into volunteering for service in crusades. To top it off, this arrangement discharged not only the external penalties, but at a stroke, the guilt itself.

d. Others too, who were not penitents, might profit from this system. That is how the institution of penance evolved into the sacrament of penance. The great 13th-century scholastics (chiefly Thomas Aquinas) now made a distinction in this regard between the priesthood and the papacy. The latter, as head of the church, was perched atop the treasury of the excess of merits of the saints, and whereas the bishops might only dispense 14-day indulgences, the pope reserved to himself the privilege of dispensing complete indulgence. After the jubilee celebrated under Boniface VIII, this indulgence racket panned out to be a profitable source of revenue for the curia, and eventually led to the reform movement of the 14th and 15th centuries. When this movement, with concordats drawn up by self-seeking princes, proved to be futile, by repeating jubilees at shorter intervals, at last every 16 years, the popes escalated their frequency with effrontery, until in time even the concept of internal repentance, once reverently upheld hand-in-hand with the practice of indulgence, dropped away altogether (indulgences for the dead were enacted in 1476 by Sixtus IV).

e. If the Romanists retort by pointing out that, according to church canons, internal repentance was a prerequisite for every indulgence, there is no denying that the common people must have understood that forgiveness of sins was being sold for cash, and that individual indulgence mongers were offering it in just those terms.

f.   That is how **John Tetzel**, the Dominican prior of Leipzig, came to broadcast the indulgence in the environs of Wittenberg. **Leo X** had arranged with **Albrecht of Brandenburg**, archbishop of Magdeburg and episcopal administrator of Halberstadt, to collect the 10,000 ducats he had borrowed from the **Fuggers** in Augsburg to cover his fee for the electorship of Mainz by declaring an indulgence in his parishes of Mainz,

Magdeburg, and Halberstadt, with half of the proceeds to go to Rome toward the completion of St. Peter's church. Tetzel was one of the agents in the Magdeburg and Brandenburg parishes, and he plied his trade with shocking impudence. His couplet: "When your coin jingles in the box, is when the door of heaven unlocks" is historically verifiable. The racket was prohibited in both Saxonys. Luther witnessed against the outrage in the confessional and in sermons. But when he saw that he was not getting anywhere and heard in the confessional the demoralizing effects of the racket, at length, on **31 October, 1517**, he posted **95 Theses** on the Castle Church door in Wittenberg, in order to submit the abominable practice, which he regarded as an abuse of proper church authority, to public discussion, and thus to clear the air on this issue.

g. Luther's Theses fall into three parts: the first part lays the foundation for the discussion by explaining what true repentance means. The second part repudiates the false doctrine of indulgence. The third part sets forth the correct doctrine of indulgence as Luther then conceived it. Luther still held to his original idea that indulgences were justified, and merely wanted to combat deep seated abuse of them. That said, however, he stuck unflinching by his inner evangelical stance, the hallmark of Luther's very being, that God's grace, in point of the forgiveness of sins, constitutes a distinct asset of unqualified independent validity, allotted to the individual believer by faith, without the intervention of clerical go-betweens. At the same time he maintained the opinion regarding the Catholic church, the papacy, and the priesthood, that as forms sprung from human origin, they merited human justification. Acting upon his understanding of the Gospel, Luther had, without realizing or intending it, attacked the bedrock of the papacy.

§169. Luther's Break with the Roman Church.

a. A disputation on the indulgence never took place. Tetzel consigned Luther's theses to the flames, and the Wittenberg students burnt Tetzel's theses, composed by Conrad Wimpina (Frankfurt am Oder). In Rome the pope made light of the affair in spite of Hochstraaten's remonstrance. Upon the denunciation of the Dominican Order which had interceded for Tetzel, Leo commissioned the *magister palatii* (the instructor of the papal household personnel) Sylvester Mazzolini Prierias, O.P., to draw up an official opinion for a preliminary investigation. Luther later dispatched Prierias' shallow, brusque brief, dashed off in three days, allowing the indulgence on strength of papal infallibility, with a salvo of jibes.

b. Meanwhile, at the beginning of the year 1518 at a conference of Augustinians in Heidelberg, Luther set out his doctrine, and won over the students Bucer, Brenz, Schnepf, and Billicanus. In May he sent the pope his *Resolutiones*, a detailed explanation of his theses, along with a conciliatory letter. **John von Eck** in Ingolstadt seized this opportunity to win his spurs at the expense of this novice by issuing his *Obelisks*. Luther rejoined with *Asterisks*. Up to this point the conflict amounted to skirmishes, little more.

c. But now in Rome the action initiated against Luther had ripened to a stage where the legate **Cajetan** (Thomas de Vio of Gaeta), who in the last half of the year 1518 had attended the Diet of Augsburg, received the assignment to deal with him. Elector Frederick the Wise, strengthened in his patriotic loyalty by the Emperor Maximilian for reasons of anti-papal diplomacy, had protested against legal proceedings in Rome. Devoid of any understanding of the new ideas, Cajetan with his scholastic training came up short in his interview with Luther. He covered his embarrassment with a crack about "the beast with sunken eyes and crazy speculations in his head." In October Luther appealed *a papa non bene informato ad melius informandum* ["to be better informed by the pope who has been ill-informed"], composed his *Acta Augustana*, and in November appealed to a general council.

d. Thereupon the pope sent **Carl von Miltitz**, the cunning Saxon papal chamberlain, to negotiate the extradition of Luther by tendering to Frederick the golden rose, which at one time the Elector had coveted. But when Miltitz became better acquainted with the lay of the land, he tried on his own initiative to come to an

agreement with Luther by means of amicable blandishments. The transactions occupied the next two years and found Luther ready, in a number of subdued letters, to negotiate with Rome, to acquiesce, and to abide by the decision of a court of arbitration, but not to recant. The pope felt obliged, in view of the imminent imperial election (Maximilian died in January of 1519) to pretend benevolence in order to ingratiate the Elector.

e.   At this juncture Eck inadvertently accelerated the progress of Luther's enlightenment by the obtuseness he demonstrated in the **Leipzig Disputation** (June 27-July 16, 1519). Luther had been drawn into the theological duel between Eck and Carlstadt through Eck's theses of December 29, 1519. Eck at first disputed with Carlstadt on free will for an entire week, then from July 4 onward with Luther on the papacy. Ignorant of the fact not only that Luther's doctrine invalidated the entire papistic system (a fact Luther himself had not grasped as yet), but also that this doctrine was a power of God, he made up his mind to intimidate Luther with the imputation of Hussite heresy. This merely made Luther move beyond the old conciliar reform ideas by asserting that "pope and councils can err." With this pronouncement it became plain even to those who judge only the surface that this was a struggle against the papal machine, and it began to dawn on Luther that this was a fact.

f.   This conviction propelled the Reformer onto the field of the old-time reform ideas. It also made him enemies. From that time onward, George of Saxony, present at the disputation, had it in for Luther. Right off, Luther had to engage in a literary feud with the Duke's secretary, **Jerome Emser**, the "Leipzig Goat," which lasted till 1521. On his own initiative, however, he came up with the idea of writing the **three great reformational tracts**: *To his Imperial Majesty and the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, on the Amelioration of the Christian Estate, De captivitate babylonica ecclesiae,* and *On the Freedom of a Christian.*

g. In the **first tract,** Luther adverted to the old reform ideas, but treated them from the commanding purview of the Gospel. In this essay he was not concerned with improving the church as such, but with the external supervision of ecclesiastical affairs, which were then inextricably muddled up with governmental regulation. So he does not discuss doctrine, but the abuses previously drawn up in the Emperor Maximilian's *gravamina* [grievances compiled by the humanist Wimpfeling of Heidelberg]. That is why Luther addresses not teachers, or Christians as a congregation, but the nobility, the wielders of secular authority. He challenges the nobility to start improving business and social conditions without violence, simply banking on God's help. He maintains that these have been ruined by the papacy, entrenched behind three ramparts: 1. the superimposition of spiritual authority over the secular; 2. the exclusive privilege of the pope to interpret Scripture; 3. the exclusive privilege of the pope to convoke a council. As opposed to all of this, Luther recommends convoking a German council, establishing a German church, reorganizing the poor-law administration, and reforming the school system.

h.   In this appeal Luther had personally addressed the **nation** and made its grievances his own. What Germany had been thinking, or rather just feeling, about the pope ever since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, now at last a countryman put into words in the language of the people, withal from a selfless evangelical heart. In this Luther stayed strictly within the bounds he set for himself also later in political issues. He would voice his conviction about outrageous abuses without rabble-rousing or meddling in others' offices.

i.   In the **second tract** he comes to terms with the doctrine of the sacraments, which Rome uses to tyrannize souls. In this essay he recognizes only three sacraments: baptism, confession, and the Lord's Supper. These sacraments too lie captive, particularly the Lord's Supper, and that in three ways: 1. withholding the cup from the laity; 2. the doctrine of transubstantiation; 3. the mass as *opus operatum*. With this analysis Luther expressed the spiritual ideas current among the people ever since the Waldensians, Wycliffe, and Hus, but with their impurities refined.

k.   In the **third tract**, whose content forms the foundation of his entire theology and remains one of his very

best works, he laid the first stones of his structure. On the basis of 1 Cor. 9:19 he advances two propositions: 1. A Christian is a free agent in all situations, and subject to no one; 2. A Christian is a servant in all situations, and subject to everyone. With this declaration Luther sets forth the whole Gospel with regard to the mainspring and practice of the new life, as opposed to the legalistic posture of the papacy.

l. By publishing these tracts Luther drew the conclusions of his 95 Theses and of the Leipzig Disputation, applied them practically to all immediate concerns as affecting the lives of everyone, and thus directly addressed his German people. For him, this was the point of no return, as it was also for the pope.

m. Meanwhile Eck, in Rome since 1520, had brought back the bull *Exsurge Domine*, placing Luther and his adherents under the ban if they failed to recant within sixty days. At the last minute in October 1520, on Miltitz's instigation, Luther had sent the pope his tract *The Freedom of a Christian* with a cover letter. But now when Eck went ahead and made the bull public, and Luther's writings were committed to the flames in the western sectors of the empire, Luther publicly renounced the papacy by publishing his brief tract: *Adversus execrabilem Antichristi bullam* and by committing the bull of excommunication to the flames on December 10, 1520, at the Elster Gate in Wittenberg.

§170. Luther's Confession at the Diet of Worms and the Imperial Ban.

a. In the meantime on January 19, 1519, Maximilian had died. In June Frederick the Wise had steered the election in favor of **Charles I of Spain** and against Francis I of France. Not until October 1520 did the coronation take place in Aachen. **Charles (V)** was an unpretentious personality, uncommunicative and torpid, devoid of originality, yet for all that clearly a man of unshakable honor and tenacity of purpose. He was thus a product of prevailing circumstances, and that is all he remained. He was a Spaniard, and as such practiced the bleak Catholic religiosity which over the centuries prior to the Reformation had taken shape there, and then in the 16th century, partly owing to Charles' fault, had become firmly set against evangelical influences. Then too he was a Hapsburger, meaning that his vision scarcely ventured beyond his familial interests. Accordingly, Spain, grown great through new world discoveries, and rich through the influx of gold, was all in all to him.

b. Since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, **Germany** had never counted for much in the eyes of the Romanic countries and the English. They thought of it as a barbaric land. So Charles had no time for the national and religious resurgence in Germany. A far greater obstacle for him were the "landed magnates"; a religious resurgence might, as in fact it later did, exacerbate this counter-agency. He regarded himself the lord protector of the church, in the sense of medieval imperialism. These days the pope was often on the side of the French Francis I. Hence the anti-French politics which brought on five wars (1521-1526, 1526-1529, 1536-1538, 1542-1544, 1551-1559), determined Charles' stance towards the pope as well as the Protestants. Right now it was in his interest to stand by the pope. Accordingly, he enacted the Bull of Excommunication in the Netherlands. In Germany, however, he conformed to the wishes of Frederick the Wise. Frederick he respected, and in fact not merely for political reasons, and so he cited Luther to appear before the **Diet of Worms**, scheduled to meet at the end of January 1521.

c. Despite the machinations of the nuncio Aleander, a friendly invitation materialized, extended to **Luther** from the emperor and the estates. At all events Luther did appear in mid-April in Worms, ignoring the premonition of his friends, and declining an invitation from Sickingen, procured by the imperial father confessor Glapio, to stay at the Ebernburg castle. At Worms he remained unmoved in his confession, based as it was on **Scripture**, even despite the promises of the Archbishop of Trier. When at the end of April Luther had departed, again under the emperor's safe conduct, Aleander composed the **Edict of Worms** on May 8 at the emperor's direction, declaring Luther under imperial ban, and initiating a religious book censorship [his books, under sequestration till now, to be committed to the pyre]. But the Edict was not published until May

26, following the departure of the elector Frederick, most likely for various "diplomatic" reasons. Also at this diet the foundations of the later Austrian state were created, when Charles transferred his family's German duchies to his brother Ferdinand.

d. It seems odd that the estates as well as Charles remained under the spell of the medieval notions of the **status of the emperor**. Luther too, both now and later, remained under the same spell. It would not have been wrong, from the standpoint of the Gospel, for him to abandon the imperialist idea of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation and to appeal to the electoral privilege of the princes, which, according to ancient German justice, included the deposition of the emperor, should he betray his trust. When Philip of Hesse, or the Calvinist princes and Calvin himself, later initiated such proceedings, it was dictated not by evangelical freedom, but by legalistic radicalism. Thus Luther alone adopted the right position for that time, one that insisted on the **separation** of ecclesia1 and secular interests, and **obedience** to the government. The upshot of this state of affairs was the unsettled vagueness regarding the Edict of Worms, which was not a unanimous decision of the diet. The history of the subsequent time turned on the implementation of this edict.

β. **Luther's Confrontation with All Opposing Schools of Thought, 1521-1525.**
§171. Luther at the Wartburg

a. On the way back from Worms Luther's elector placed him into protective custody in the Wartburg castle. **Frederick** for the moment stood up for the renowned teacher of his university. He was at the time under the influence of his father confessor George Spalatin, who was one of Luther's friends. So the Gospel was not strange to him. But Frederick was a moderate man, more inclined to prudent, amiable consultation, from whom one could not expect a clean cut decision. And that is why he left the rescue of the Reformer up to his advisors, so that he might say that he knew nothing about it.

b. That is how **Luther** came to reside in the Saxon castle from May 1521 to March 1522 in the guise of "Squire George," in his own best interest and that of the church. Here he had the opportunity to think things over and to get his bearings, and the immediate product was the booklet on confession, segments of the German Church Postil, the tract *On Spiritual and Monastic Vows,* and particularly the plan and partial completion of his **translation of Holy Scripture**. It was beneficial to the **church** to manage without Luther for a while, a chance to learn to distinguish his Gospel from the person of the man. Most importantly, the unsober elements were free to work themselves out, and thus to make possible the separation of the dross from the gold. Humanism and knighthood represented **purely secular interests.** The **spiritual danger** emanated from Luther's adherents.

c. The Leipzig Disputation had drawn the attention of the Humanists, especially the Erfurt Poets, and the followers of Mutian, to the Reformer. They tried to help him by composing snide satires against Eck and the pope, and Ulrich of Hutten communicated the offer of help from Francis of Sickingen, the leader of the lower nobility. The knights, reduced to hard times by the power-mongering of the sovereigns, under Sickingen's leadership, sought to profit from the general turmoil. But Luther would not let himself be side-tracked into veering from his evangelical position. Sickingen fell in 1523, and his death marked the end of the chivalric movement. And Hutten died soon after. But with humanism Luther came to terms once for all some time later in his tract against Erasmus.

d. Luther's local associates in **Wittenberg** before the Leipzig Disputation were Nicolas Amsdorf, a simple, energetic man who, while he understood Luther, easily overshot the mark in his defense; Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt, who understood Luther not at all, and in his jittery way figured he was the one to pull the strands of Luther's ideas together; Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560) of Bretten in the Palatinate, a student of Reuchlin, who never plumbed the depths of Luther's ideas either, and consequently often exhibited an

irresolute bearing in the reformatory struggles, partly from his timidity, but even more from his acutely humanistic, rationalistic mind-set. Lastly, joining the circle after Worms were Justus Jonas of Erfurt, the genteel juristically trained theologian and organizer; and John Bugenhagen of Pomerania, the practical ecclesiastical regent. Thus the **university stood at meridian**.

e. Two events took place in **Wittenberg** about this time. Melanchthon published his *Loci communes* (1521), and, a series of practical reforms, originating in the Augustinian convent, in conjunction with the University, was initiated. Both events signaled a step forward on the path of reformation. In the ***Loci communes*** Melanchthon, the humanistically trained scholar, formulated Luther's basic ideas. As opposed to the later editions, in this first one Melanchthon adhered to the conception of his teacher, and, for example, envisaged the doctrine of election the way Luther later set it forth in *De servo arbitrio*. Another element missing in the earlier version was the subsequent conceptual detail. The first version is more of an edifying ethics than a dogmatics. Such an exact conceptual formulation is necessarily actuated by the evolution of the human thinking process, and, if correctly done, contributes to the work of the Gospel. But it is incorrect to place a higher value on conceptual formulation in the composite work of the church than on Luther's more devotionally oriented approach. The time ahead would prove this true.

f.   Practical efforts at reform proliferated in a frenzy under **Carlstadt**, who wanted to enforce the repeal of celibacy and monastic vows, at first to Luther's astonishment, then with his approval, but as supported on other grounds, namely on Rom. 14:23. The first married pastor was Bernhardi*,* provost of Kimberg near Wittenberg. Carlstadt followed suit in January 1522. Directly, the Augustinian Gabriel Zwilling demanded the cup for the laity, and the abolition of private, or *Winkelmesse*, that is, priests celebrating in the absence of a congregation (silent mass is the inaudible recitation of the words of institution, elevation of the host, etc.). When at the introduction of the new form of celebrating the Lord's Supper, the laity in the parish church rose in tumult, the Elector forbade the innovations. This was the cue for Carlstadt to take over. At Christmas time he inaugurated a simple celebration of the Lord's Supper, including only the words of institution and the distribution, with Luther's approval, himself in Wittenberg at the time. The Augustinians withdrew from the monastic association. The Wittenberg city council issued a new ordinance requiring the elimination of images from the church, and all spiritual benefices and endowments to be pooled in a common treasury for the salaries of the clergy and the support of the poor.

g.   Besides all this, beginning December 27, 1521, the **religious zealotry** of the Zwickau Prophets (Nicholas Storch, Marcus Stübner, and Thomas Münzer), broke out, who arrived in Wittenberg after they were evicted from Zwickau. Spirit was all they wanted to know about. That was why they abolished infant baptism and the office of the ministry. Carlstadt too now began talking against higher education. They even closed the Latin schools, and such chaos ensued that the Elector again forbade the innovations. Luther's associates at the university were at a loss how to proceed. Meanwhile, on January 6, 1522, the Augustinian congregation disbanded under the chairmanship of the vicar-general Wenzeslaus Link.

h. At the imperial council in Nürnberg, George of Saxony moved to prohibit these activities in electoral Saxony, and on January 20, 1522 issued a severe injunction against them. Nor would the Elector lend an ear to any of these affairs. Luther had written him, offering to travel to Wittenberg, and when the Elector forbade him to leave the Wartburg, promised him the protection of his prayer. So on March 3, 1522, disregarding the Elector's order of restraint, he returned from the Wartburg, and steered the way out of the mischief by preaching against it every day for better than a week (*Invocavit* sermons). The passages referring to sacrifice were omitted from the communion liturgy. The common coffer was retained, but the cup was again withheld from the laity. The Zwickau intruders left the city under constraint.

§172. Politics of the Princes until 1524.

a.   Meanwhile, the emperor was at war with France, which kept him out of Germany until 1530, when the Diet of Augsburg convened. At the Diet in 1522-1523, the imperial government, conducting the imperial business under Ferdinand's supervision in Nürnberg, showed itself disinclined to defer to the pope. Adrian VI (1522-1523), the last German non-Italian pope, had been in Spain in the capacity of inquisitor shortly before his accession to the throne. Zealous for reform, he offered, through the office of his nuncio [papal legate], Chieregati, remedial measures against the abuses of the church, but in return demanded the enforcement of the Edict of Worms. The estates nevertheless decided that this was **unfeasible**.

b.   By the time in 1524 that the new diet convened, considerable opposition had built up against the reform-friendly imperial government because the Swabian League and Trier, the Palatinate, and Hessen, economically the most important but at the same time also the reform-minded part of Germany, protested against the financial measures. On the side of the government, besides the Saxons, Brandenburg and Austria were aligned as well, whose princes were arch-Catholic. Campegius, the nuncio of the politician Clement VII (1523-1534), turned this situation to account, and the upshot was the resolution to enforce the Edict of Worms **as uniformly as possible**, and furthermore to call a national assembly in November at Speyer on the issue of reformation. But already in June and July, at the nuncio's instigation, Ferdinand of Austria, the Bavarian dukes, and most of the south German bishops concluded their convention at Regensburg with an agreement against the Reformation. Capping this in July came the imperial rescript to the same effect. The national assembly never took place, and the rupture in the German church and empire was completed.

c.   In the opposing camp, however, the **Evangelicals** had gained strength when Philip of Hesse, the Margrave Casimir, George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, Duke Ernest the Confessor of Lüneberg, Elector Louis of the Palatinate, Frederick I of Denmark, and the Grand Master of the German Order Albrecht of (Brandenburg) Prussia joined up. At all events, the Reformation had advanced in all directions throughout the countries. The common folk, the lower nobility, and the cities, and in addition many monks, not only of the Augustinian Order but also of other orders, had ended up in the Gospel cause. In every instance, the yearning for emancipation from the oppression of the higher estates coincided with the influence of the Gospel. In the cities, what helped its progress in the affluent circles was their more liberal education. Among the Augustinian Eremites there were Linck in Altenburg, Henry of Zütphen in the Netherlands, the Franciscan Myconius in Gotha, the Dominican Bucer in Strassburg. The great imperial cities in southern Germany took the lead: Nürnberg, Augsburg, Strassburg. Preaching, pamphlets, and religious folksongs combined to persuade the general public. The mastersinger Hans Sachs in Nürnberg composed his song about the "Wittenberg Nightingale." From the Tyrol to Livonia and Antwerp the Gospel resounded once again.

d.   But **opposition to the Reformation** was anything but negligible. Besides the theologians Emser and Cochlaeus, the chief opponent, Strassburg satirist Thomas Murner, O.M., entered the lists with his diatribe: *Of the Great Lutheran Fool, as Dr. Murner Has Weighed in against Him.* In the Netherlands things began to get violent, and in 1523 the Augustinian monks Henry Vos and John Esch were burnt at the stake in Brussels.

§173. The Reformation in Switzerland.

a. In **Switzerland,** peculiar political ties controlled everything. Originally the country belonged half to Burgundy, half to Swabia. In the Staufen era, however, chaos took over, and when the Hohenstaufen lost out, a maze of ecclesial districts emerged, manorial domains, estates of lower nobility and freehold farmers, who developed their idiosyncrasies in the isolation of the mountains and played them off against one another. When thereupon the Hapsburgs wanted to clear out the barons, the federation of cantons, composed of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, was organized, soon to be joined by Lucerne, Zurich, Glarus, Zug, and Bern. This

confederation of eight districts was incorporated in the empire as the Swabian League until 1481. Thereafter other cities joined, and also the "friendly districts" continued in looser alliance, but the League itself broke away from the empire.

b. The internal affairs of the League were arbitrated by the national assembly in which the original cantons retained decisive influence. Every district remained internally autonomous. When mercenary armies became viable, the Swiss began the practice of leasing regiments, and the cantons enjoyed an annual fee for the mercenary contingents they supplied. Ecclesiastically, all Switzerland was divided among the three bishops of Constance, Basel, and Lausanne. Basel was the main university of this territory, and there chiefly Thomas Wyttenbach and Erasmus worked, along with other leading humanists.

c. Here in 1519, through the agency of **Ulrich Zwingli** (1484-1531) the Reformation made its entrance. The son of a well-to-do farmer, he came from comfortable circumstances. After graduating from his preparatory training in the schools of Basel and Bern, he passed under the influence of the humanists Celtes and Wyttenbach at the Universities of Vienna and Basel. From 1506 to 1516 he served as pastor in Glarus, and in advance of Luther's rise had been active in the humanist reform movement. In line with the Swiss tradition, he was preoccupied from the first with political issues (declaring against mercenary conscription and against the federation of pope and France). From 1516 to 1518 he served as pastor at Mariae Einsiedeln. Here he came in contact with Erasmus, who came often to Basel to confer with his publisher Froben. Consequently, he made no move against the papacy, but rather quietly preached a humanistic piety. He drew a papal pension, and his campaign against Samson the indulgence dealer in 1518 advanced the cause of reform but little. The bishop of Constance, and the pope himself, agreed with Zwingli on this issue. He seems to have given up his protest against the mercenary system at the time, and accepted an appointment as papal chaplain of acolytes.

d. After 1519 he served in Zurich as a secular priest (entrusted with parish pastoral care). Here, it appears, Luther's progress from 1517 to 1520 spurred him on, without his realizing it, to energetic action (we can understand his later denial of this influence, because he had, after all, an entirely different mind than Luther's. Now he resumed his campaign against mercenary conscription, and gave up his papal pension. His campaign against Samson this time resulted in the city council allowing the priests to preach purely according to Scripture. After 1522 he took up the cudgels against the fasting laws, and composed his tract *On Dietary Selection and Freedom.*

e. Hereupon, through the connivance of the Bishop of Constance, **Francis Lambert of Avignon** showed up. In a public disputation in 1522, Zwingli persuaded him of the Gospel. This moved the council to order the priests to preach the Gospel. A second disputation on 67 theses (concluding arguments) of Zwingli's ended in a defeat for Faber, a former but now estranged friend of Zwingli's. In a third disputation in 1523, **Leo Judae** triumphantly defended iconoclasm, and Zwingli the abolition of the mass, and both measures were instituted by the city council the next year.

f. The **difference** between the style of Zwingli and Luther may be defined as follows. **Zwingli** was a product of humanism, and a humanist he remained to the end. Thus Melanchthon was more akin to him than Luther. Consequently, his aim was an intellectual elaboration of doctrine, subordinate to the supremacy of reason in his quest for the truth, while **Luther's** point of departure was the salvation of souls which he had experienced in his own heart. In Luther's case, it was religious inwardness, in Zwingli's, external rationality, but which, on that very account, in not a single instance penetrated the depths. We may trace to the same cause Zwingli's leaning toward external political-ecclesiastical reforms, with a radical tendency, whereas with Luther, reforms on the one hand grew organically, just as sanctification grows; on the other, thanks to the predominance of an evangelical attitude as brought about by the doctrine of adiaphora, reforms were kept in balance.

g. His later doctrine of justification Zwingli took from Luther. But even in this redefinition intellectualism

shaped his ideas (determinism, holding that sin is intended by God), and so arrived at *gemina praedestinatio* [double predestination, either to salvation or to damnation]. Also, Christ must accordingly be more herald of the divine will than conciliator, and the doctrine of the sacrament could develop only into the conception that the sacraments are mere tokens of grace, not actual means of grace, as little as the Word of God. At the same time Zell, Capito, and Hedio were working in **Basel**. When these men moved to Strassburg in order to bolster Bucer in his reformation effort, **John Öcolampadius** took over the work in 1523 and was subsidized by William Farel from Dauphine. In like manner, the Reformation proceeded in Bern under Haller, in Mühlhausen, and in many other cities in Switzerland.

h. Zwingli's work resembled that of Wycliffe and Carlstadt in that insofar as it was more indebted to rational consistency, it was engaged at once in political undertakings, and in spiritual matters employed a legalistic point of view which, among other questions, could not grasp the significance of the sacraments. (175, 189, 190.)

i. It was for this reason that, immediately following 1524, the Swiss **Anabaptists** adopted Zwingli's doctrine. This community had some connection perhaps with the Waldensian remnants, at all events with their ideas. Hence, a radicalism typical of the law marked the Anabaptists, in that they discarded reasonable Scripture study, and took their point of departure from the Spirit and his direct revelation. They did away with the sacraments, and instituted adult baptism which in turn incurred from their opponents the sobriquet "Rebaptists" (Anabaptists). They intermingled their spiritual affairs with secular concerns only to the extent that they attacked the legality of government. Owing to this obstruction, they were by and by rejected by the Swiss reformation after it had put up with them for some time, and they betook themselves northward and eastward into south German territories.

k. The leading minds of this movement were Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz, both humanists, the latter burned at the stake in 1527 by the Zurich council. Joining them were George Jacobs (Blaurock), a monk, burned at the stake in 1529, Louis Hätzer, William Röubli, a priest expelled from Rottenburg, Simon Stumpf of Franken, and Michael Sattler of Breisgau. The prime spokesman though was the pastor **Balthasar Hubmaier,** one of Eck's students, a professor at Ingolstadt after 1510, then preacher in Regensburg, who, stimulated by Luther's writings, introduced the Reformation in Waldshut in 1522, but soon thereafter spoke out in favor of Anabaptism. (178e.)

§174. The Year of Division, 1525-1526.

a. When under compulsion Carlstadt left Wittenberg with the Zwickau Prophets, he sought sanctuary at length in Strassburg and Basel, and found it among the Oberlanders and the Swiss. Münzer at first went to Bohemia, but returned to Thuringia, and from that base worked among the insurgent peasants of southern Germany who were somewhat infected by the Anabaptists. Already at this time the **Sacramentarian Controversy** had begun to smolder between Luther and the Swiss, when Luther quite correctly summed up all of these elements under the designation "enthusiasts" [*Schwärmer*]. Luther clearly spotted, through the swarm of opinion, the **radical stringency** of the Law which raised the despotism of reason to normative level in the one camp in its struggle against Rome, in the other camp, the despotism of emotion, a despotism concerned mainly with external forms, and as a result always confusing spiritual with secular interests, a despotism that to this day ever and again drives these elements together, even though they are otherwise at odds with one another.

b. The case of the **peasants** came up first. In 1525, subsequent to repeated futile attempts, a revolt broke out. The peasants submitted their demands in **Twelve Articles**. What these were about was not so much the physical misery of the peasants as rather the privation of their rights, a glaring reality especially given the power of their spiritual lords. And that is why the movement made itself felt principally in regions untouched

by the Reformation, while in other regions the Gospel encouraged peace or appeasement. Luther's work, to be sure, had created a situation where this movement, already threatening back in the previous century, now caught fire again. Thus the Twelve Articles also contained demands for church reform, for example, free election of pastors for the congregation.

c. Luther defended the Twelve Articles, whereas Münzer considered them too tame. While Münzer was stoking the fires of the revolution in Mühlhausen in Thuringian territory, Luther himself was traveling through the cities in an attempt to tranquilize the atmosphere. At this moment Frederick the Wise died, and when the atrocities of the peasants started gaining the upper hand, Luther wrote his tract: *Against the Marauding and Murderous Peasants*. Philip of Hesse, John the Constant, George of Saxony*,* and Henry of Braunschweig savaged the peasants in 1525 at **Frankenhausen**. Münzer was captured and beheaded, and the movement died out. It had aggravated the enmity between Catholics and Evangelicals, increased the power of the princes, widely lost for Luther and the Reformation the love of the public, and popularized Anabaptism. It also affected the position of the Reformers vis-a-vis the public. They no longer trusted the public, and now addressed themselves to educated circles instead.

§175. The Beginning of the Sacramentarian Controversy.

a. Amid all this the **Sacramentarian Controversy** broke out. As early as 1521 Luther had rebuffed a metaphorical interpretation of the words of institution which a Netherlander by the name of Cornelis Hoen had set out. **Carlstadt**, in interpreting the words of institution, began in 1523 to stress the word "this," declaring that Jesus had thereby pointed to his body. When he approached the Strassburgers with this rather crude solution, and they in turn referred him to Switzerland, **Zwingli** gave the matter a little different twist by emphasizing the word "is," explaining that "is" stands for "signifies." **Luther** had written his *Letter to the Christians at Strassburg against the Mind of the Enthusiasts* (1524), and *Against the Heavenly Prophets, about Images and the Sacrament* (1524-1525). In rebuttal, without naming names in his tract *Commentarius de vera et falsa religione, Zwingli* called Luther's interpretation not merely "boorish but also godless and frivolous." When **Bugenhagen** spoke up for Luther in a refutation, **Öcolampadius** defended Zwingli's interpretation, stressing "body" as an image of the body. **Brenz** and **Schnepf**, who had at first taken this interpretation as their opinion, declared against it, and in favor of Luther*,* in their tract *Syngramma Suevicum 1525*. The **Zwickau Prophets** and the **Swiss Anabaptists** sided with Zwingli and his associates, except that they did away with the written text altogether, and substituted the "inner word" or the "Spirit." So it is hardly surprising that Luther lumped all four parties together under the term "sacramentarians" or "enthusiasts."

b. They were all infected by the same radical virus which threw out anything Roman; also by the rationalistic virus, which, once the sacramental, metaphysical quality of the bread and wine had been denied, could only comprehend them as nothing more than human substance, and therefore also could only apply the same method of interpretation as when interpreting human speech or history. In such situations one starts twisting the words around if one can not understand them. Thus Carlstadt discovered here the gesture, and Zwingli with Öcolampadius*,* the metaphorical aspect of the words of institution, neither of which appears in the text or in the context of the biblical narrative. In the end, they were stranded under the coercion of the legalistic perception of all things. The rules of grammar handcuffed them. As a result, they understood the words of Christ at first in the sense of the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation. But because that interpretation ran against their radicalism, they were able to combat it only with the coercion of rationalism, which arbitrarily alters the text.

c. **Luther** at all events they had not understood on this issue because their whole perception began at an entirely different point of origin. Luther plainly had discarded the Roman perception of transubstantiation, rationalistic, legalistic, external as it is, connected with sacramentalism. But he had also discarded the

perception of radicalism, at bottom external, rationalistic, legalistic. For him, Scripture is God's Word, and because it is, one dare not experiment with it, neither with the text nor with the historical facts. And it is not law that prompts this attitude, but love for the Word which has brought him his salvation. Now neither does he himself entirely understand the Word. He gets the grammatical sense all right, but he does not comprehend the things he is imparting. So he takes from it only as much as the text clearly offers, namely, the **real presence** of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper. With the prepositions "in, with, and under," he rejects the delimiting interpretations: impanation, consubstantiation, and the purely spiritual perception of the reality, all the while retaining them still, but without intending to explain them. This corresponds with Luther's style, oriented in faith.

d.   An unbiased historian can not help but recognize that in Luther's **opponents,** the arbitrary, intellectual, legalistic element predominates, and, as in these questions nothing else may be expected of them, they manhandle linguistic and historical factors with the result that they are left hanging in externalities and lack depth. **Luther's** competence in language and history grows equal to the task because his position arises from the deeps of a vast inner life. (178 d.)

e.   It was at this same time that Luther came to terms with another opponent, none other than **Erasmus**. Thus far Erasmus had not written against Luther even though he fancied neither Luther's style nor his notoriety. It was not until the Reformer had finished off, in a pretty dismissive manner, King Henry VIII of England, who with theological pretension had earned from the pope the title *defensor fidei* for defending the seven sacraments, much as he had Eck and Emser, that Erasmus took up the cudgels against the Reformer in his tract *De libero arbitrio*. He attacked Luther's doctrine of the utter inability of human nature to do good, as being unbiblical and dangerous, and in so doing defended semi-Pelagianism. In his *De libero arbitrio* Erasmus proved that he and humanism had not understood the new ideas at all.

f.   **Luther** replied with *De servo arbitrio* and explained the doctrine of election by grace in conjunction with the doctrine of the hardening. With this tract he concluded the great principles of Scriptural doctrine. What he wrote and taught later is an elaboration of individual segments. In the same breath he here proves himself the first completely correct teacher after the Apostles, and the most significant down to our time. All other doctrinal interpretation of ancient and modern time is founded on intellectual elaboration of concepts which turn Scriptural doctrine into a system. Luther experienced his theology directly from Scripture, and his interpretation is part and parcel of this life. He recognized the total depravity of human nature (also of reason), and related to it the magnitude of God as that of the only being (יהוה). This recognition was not merely a product of the mind, but permeated the whole life of the soul as an experience. From this awakening springs Luther's grasp of the magnitude of God in grace and judgment, of the doctrine of conversion, of the shortfall of reason, of the authority of Scripture, of the language of Scripture, of the energy and the significance of faith, of the significance of the means of grace, of the relative insignificance of all external issues. (Observe the difference in the theology of Zwingli and Calvin*,* which in these articles is more intellectually oriented.)

g.   Unlike Italian humanism, **German humanism** was a religious movement as well, aimed to be sure at the liberation of the mind, as it evinced itself in Basel among the liberal-minded booksellers Froben, Curio*,* and Cratander*,* and also in other ways. Freedom in defiance of the church was one driving idea. They engaged ancient science as a means of proving Christian truth. The result was that many humanists fell in with Luther*,* partly because they understood the Gospel, partly because, in the last analysis, they remained fixed at the medieval level of the papacy, and all that attracted them was the promise of freedom. These latter, including even Erasmus*,* snubbed Luther before long, and either fell for Anabaptism or back into the papacy. One particular charge of the latter camp against Luther, certainly unjustified, was that the universities were losing ground. On the face of it, the charge seemed partly justified. In fact, it was the untenability of scholasticism

and the exertions of would-be Lutherans that were at fault. The victory of the Reformation set humanism back at least one hundred and fifty years.

§176. The Reformation in the North.

a.   Already at this time, the Reformation was reaching out beyond the boundaries of Germany. But abroad, it was the princes who introduced it, and that partly for political reasons. In **Sweden**, the Union of Calmar [renewed in 1451 by Danish King Christian I, though existing 1397-1523, ending with Gustavus Vasa I] had never been recognized. Before long, the nation had risen and replaced the evicted Dane [King Christian II] with the imperial marshal as imperial regent, and then as king. At length in 1470 Gustavus had, after a series of fateful reversals, designated his nephew Sten Stuve as his successor. Until 1520 Stuve's son and grandson ruled without title. Thereupon again there followed Christian II of Denmark, who sought to secure control in 1520 thanks to the Stockholm Blood Bath. The higher clergy, in possession of two-thirds of Sweden's real estate, supported him. But **Gustavus Vasa**, with the assistance of the Hanseatics, expelled the king, himself became king in 1523, and introduced Lutheranism. Olaf Petri and Lawrence Petri, with Lawrence Anderson, Luther's student, in introducing the Reformation, allowed as far as possible the existing forms of church-life to remain in place. In 1527 the Diet of Westeraes, at Gustavus Vasa's express behest, invested this order of service with the force of law. The bishops, who had protested against the confiscation of church property, resigned themselves to the loss in order to avoid falling subject again to Danish rule.

b.   The **Order of the State** [*Ordensstaat*] **of the German lords,** at the insistence of the Poles, was divided into two provinces: **Prussia** and **Livonia.** The two grandmasters Albrecht of Brandenburg (brother of Margrave George) and Walter of Plettenberg were slated to take the oath of fealty to Poland. The western sector of Prussia had fallen to Poland, and Albrecht was looking for help in Germany. At that point he was taken with the Gospel. Now when the pope ordered him to restore discipline in the order, he turned to Luther. Taking Luther's advice, both grandmasters married, and were created dukes under Polish sovereignty in fact because this procedure would not have been possible in the empire.

c.   The coast still felt the Hanseatic influence. In **Riga,** Andrew Knopken and the town clerk John Lohmüller were active. Albrecht called John Briesmann and John Amandus to Prussia. In **Wolmar** and **Dorpat**, Melchior Hoffmann of Swabia and Bernard Knipperdolling of Münster were busy spreading Anabaptist ideas. From here they moved to Sweden. Removed from there, they migrated to Germany and joined the fanatics.

d.   In **Denmark**, Christian II (1513-1523) had already in 1520 invited Carlstadt to come up to introduce the Reformation in opposition to the nobility and bishops who posed a threat to his abandoned philandering. How little he cared about the Reformation itself he betrayed in his activity in Sweden enforcing the papal ban on the nobility who were at enmity with the bishops. But he had to withdraw from Denmark. His uncle and successor the duke of Schleswig, Frederick I (1523-1533), one of Luther's friends, was at first secretly inclined toward the Reformation; in 1524 he allowed the Gospel to be preached in Schleswig, in 1526 appointed as his chaplain Hans Tausen, one of Luther's students, and in 1527, at the Diet of Odense, promised the Lutherans in Denmark toleration. In 1530, the *Confessio Hafnica*, in forty-three articles composed by Tausen, was put forward at the Diet in Copenhagen.

b. The Developing of the Regional Churches of Germany, 1526-1532.
§177. Tranquility for the Work of Reformation following Politics.

a.   The Peasants' War had brought considerable discredit upon the Reformation, albeit somewhat unjustly. While the south German Catholic princes exploited the war to that end, and at the same time used it to persecute the Evangelicals, in north Germany at least it impelled George of Saxony in July of 1525 to form the

Alliance of Dessau with Albrecht of Mainz, Joachim of Brandenburg, and Eric and Henry of Braunschweig. The ambitious young Philip of Hesse responded with the Torgau League which he made with John of Saxony in Gotha and ratified in February 1526 in Torgau. Later, Ernest of Lüneburg, Henry of Mecklenburg, Wolfgang of Anhalt, and Albrecht of Prussia joined the league; in fact, even Denmark and Sweden began to come around.

b.   Meanwhile, in January 1525, the emperor had captured Francis of France in the Battle of Pavia, and in January 1526 concluded with him the Peace of Madrid. The Frenchman however secured from the pope a dispensation from his oath, and in May 1526 signed with him the Liga of Cognac, with even Henry of England participating, an alliance which later led to the second Italian War (1527-1529). At the same time, the last surviving Jagellonian Louis II of Bavaria and Hungary fell in battle against the Turks in August 1526 at Mohacs, and according to agreement his country went to Ferdinand, the emperor's brother. Thus the Turks now became next-door neighbors to the Hapsburgs and to the German empire, and for the Turks in Hungary another ally arose in the person of the counter-king, John Zapolya.

c.   These vicissitudes determined the **external course** of the Reformation. Still under the impression that he had won at Pavia, the emperor had sent his instructions against the Evangelicals for enactment at the Diet of Speyer (summer 1526). When the princes then foregathered, the Catholic powers were represented to greater advantage, and the Evangelicals, cheerless at the situation, consoled themselves with the motto borne on their coat of arms: "The Word of the Lord endures into eternity." But once the Liga of Cognac became public knowledge, and the emperor had appealed to the Evangelicals for help against Rome and the Turks, the Catholics were obliged to moderate their demands, and they decided, in reference to the Edict of Worms, that every prince should handle the strictures as he might answer for it to God and emperor. This relaxation was not intended to be binding on the alliances; but nevertheless, it allowed nearly a three-year breather for the Evangelicals, a pause they employed in **organizing Lutheran regional churches**.

d.   The prior ecclesiastical rules no longer applied to the new conditions, in fact, to some extent they had become entirely obsolete. Church government, divine service, and school policy had to be reorganized to meet the new contingencies. There was a scarcity of preachers and of the means to pay preachers, since the revenues had dwindled somewhat with the discontinuation of the mass. It was necessary first of all to investigate the conditions, and then to create authorities to make the organization work. The regional magnates naturally proceeded independent of one another, except that they all sought Luther's advice.

§178. The Organization of the Regional Churches.
The Sacramentarian Controversy and the Anabaptist Movement.

a.   In **Saxony,** Nicolas Hausmann's idea were broadcast from Zwickau. The Elector directed Melanchthon to initiate a visitation, the result of which he outlined in 1526 in his *Training for Visitors.* Appointment of "superintendents" followed. Luther composed his two catechisms for common folk and preachers, and expurgated the form of the divine service by supplying the "German mass" (1526), his booklet on marriage, and a revision of the baptismal booklet of 1523 (1529).

b.   In **Hessen**, the regional count convoked the Homberg Synod in October 1526, and commissioned Francis Lambert of Avignon to institute the church agenda according to the democratic principle of the "communion of believers" which Lambert had most likely brought along from Switzerland. But upon Luther's recommendation he followed the Saxon system after all. In 1527 he founded the University of Marburg. In Frankish-Brandenburg, Nürnberg, Braunschweig-Lüneberg, East Friesland, Schleswig and Holstein, Silesia and Prussia, in Magdeburg, Einbeck, Goslar, Göttingen, Hamburg, Bremen, and other centers, the congregations, with the help of the Wittenbergers and the ready participation of the people, accommodated

themselves to the new order.

c. In **Switzerland** too, just at this time, they took another step forward. At **Baden** in Aargau in **1526**, a **disputation** against Öcolampadius and Haller had taken place at the instigation of John Faber, who had called in Eck and Thomas Murner, when the physically robust Eck had out-shouted the feeble Öcolampadius. But in the subsequent **Disputation in 1528 in Bern**, Haller, Bucer, and Capito won out, with the result that now not only did new regions fall to the Reformation, but the iconoclastic movement with more or less clamor reconstituted the external forms of piety. But the original cantons had entered an alliance with Austria against the Reformation. Having given way in the first Peace of Kappel in 1529, the second time they took the Evangelical regions off guard, and in the ensuing battle Zwingli himself fell, and in 1531 Zurich went down. The second Peace of Kappel, however, secured the freedom of the Evangelical regions.

d. Also during this time, the **confrontation between the Swiss theologians and Luther** was continuing. In 1527 Zwingli wrote his tract *Amica exegesis* in rebuttal to Luther's preface to the *Syngramma Suevicum* and his *Sermon on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, against the Fanatics* (1526). In 1527 *Luther* replied with *That These Words, "This Is My Body," Still Hold True,* and that same year Zwingli responded with *That the Words ... Will Eternally Retain their Ancient Sense.* In 1528 Luther's great tract *Confession of the Lord's Supper* appeared. In these confrontations too, the questions of the person of Christ, of the Word of God, of baptism and of original sin were touched upon, in all of which the fundamental difference between the two positions came to be defined with increasing clarity. Luther took advantage of this opportunity to develop the ancient doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* ["communication of attributes"] with reference to the person of Christ, enriching it with the new concept of the *ubiquitas* ["omnipresence"] of the body of Christ.

e. Around this time the **propaganda of the Anabaptist movement** in Switzerland and Germany came to an end. The sect had originated in Zurich. At first Zwingli had welcomed the Anabaptists, as after all he had much in common with them. But principally their opposition to the meddling of civil government in spiritual matters, which was going on all over, no less among the Evangelicals, had soured the Swiss mind against them. Beginning in 1525, they were harassed from one region to another. This oppression helped to crystallize among them a definite platform: rejection of infant baptism, separation of sexes in conventicles, enforcement of excommunication, abolition of oaths, and apocalyptic expectations, as expressed in 1527 in the seven "Schlattner Articles." They migrated to Alsace, to southern Germany, and at last to Moravia, where, by earnest and genteel conduct, they distinguished themselves, as the "quiet in the land," until 1622 and the defeat of Protestantism.

§179. The Augsburg Confession.

a. All too soon, the quiet days of the German Reformation were over. After Frundsberg's "Lutheran" army had so ill-colluded with the Spaniards in May 1527 in the *Sacco di Roma*, the papal capital, that the event marks the end of the High Renaissance, the emperor again promptly sealed an alliance in Barcelona with the pope (1528), and in the Ladies' Peace at Cambray with France against the German heretics. Then he convoked a **diet** to convene in **February 1529 in Speyer**.

b. In Germany too, because of the Pack affair, the relations between Catholics and Evangelicals had so far deteriorated that only by dint of exhausting diplomacy could they avoid war. The over-eager landgrave Philip had let himself be talked into a conspiracy of Catholic princes by Otto von Pack, a chancery administrator of his father-in-law George of Saxony, operating with forged documents, and had invaded the territories of his ecclesiastical neighbors. The danger of war was once again averted by the exposure of the deceiver. Now when the **diet** met, the Catholics appeared far in the majority, and they decided to enforce the Edict of Worms wherever it had been initiated. In other countries, no innovation would be allowed, the Catholic liturgy should

be tolerated, the dismissed Catholic bishops should at least have their revenues restored, and the Sacramentarians be rooted out. Against this motion five evangelical princes and fourteen cities registered a protest (hence, **Protestant**), John of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, Wolfgang of Anhalt, Ernest of Lüneburg, Strassburg, and the cities of Ulm, Constance, Nürnberg, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nördlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Isny, St. Gall, Weissenburg, Windesheim.

c. At the same time, Electoral Saxony, Hesse, Strassburg, Ulm, and Nürnberg entered upon a **protective alliance.** Philip secretly took steps to help Switzerland, and through Zurich, also Francis of France. The Lutheran theologians, however, were already opposed to the Strassburgers, to say nothing of the rest. The princes for their part were indignant at the diet's dismissal of the Swiss. That is why Philip arranged for the **religious dialogue for October 1529 in Marburg**. On one side were **Luther**, Melanchthon, Jonas, Brenz, Osiander*;* on the other, **Zwingli**, Öcolampadius*,* Bucer, Hedio*,* and others. On the point of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine they could not agree, notwithstanding Zwingli's dropping his divergent expressions on original sin, the person of Christ, baptism, God's Word, as these doctrines seemed of secondary importance to him. Luther nevertheless declined an offer of fraternal status "because our minds are incompatible." **The 15 Marburg Articles** established in its first 14 propositions the frequently tortured agreements, in the last one, the difference of opinion. To the Schwabach Convention, held only a few days later, Luther submitted the **17 Schwabach Articles** which he had drawn up in Wittenberg as early as September 1529. In these he took sharp issue with Zwingli. Strassburg and Ulm refused to accept them, Nürnberg alone remaining steadfast. This turn of events caused all of Philip's other undertakings aimed at uniting all the Evangelical powers with France against the Hapsburgs to fall through.

d. From Bologna, where Charles had obliged the pope to crown him emperor, he convoked a **diet to convene at Augsburg** in 1530, where, after nine years' absence, he intended to appear again for the first time in Germany in order to settle the ecclesiastical questions amicably. The elector of Saxony had directed his theologians to draw up for himself the **Torgau Articles** concerning the abuses. These Melanchthon reworked with the Schwabach Articles into the **Augsburg Confession** (21 articles on doctrine, 7 on abuses). Luther assented to the product, albeit unable to swallow his criticism of cautious tiptoeing, Melanchthon's innate propensity. The document was signed by the Protestant princes of Speyer, and by Reutlingen and Nürnberg. On June 15, 1530, the Saxon chancellor Brück read the German version of the document, contrary to the wish of the emperor, at the express command of the elector of Saxony. The emperor, advised by Campegius*,* at once instructed Faber, Eck*,* and Cochläus to draw up a **Confutation**, and, because of its malignant tone, to re-do it, and then to read it publicly as his own opinion. When the Protestants requested a copy, it was denied them. Melanchthon nevertheless, following his notes, worked out an **Apology**, but the emperor refused to accept it.

e. The tremulous Melanchthon had previously, in a very concessive manner, tried to effect an agreement with Campegius, but the princes would not hear of it. Philip left the convention in high dudgeon. The diet's final session resolved to regard the **Edict of Worms** as in force, granted the Protestants time till April 1531 to think it over, and promised to convene a council by that time. The upper German cities, Strassburg, Memmingen, Constance, and Lindau, had submitted the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* compiled by Bucer and Capito, but it had not been read. Zwingli too had sent in the *Fidei ratio ad Carolum imperatorem*.

§180. Dissolution of the Empire, due to Politics.

a. The emperor's hostility at first was nothing to worry about, because the Catholic princes were not in the mood for war, and the Turks and the French were threatening to attack from east and west. But what did seem to pose an imminent danger was the emperor's aim to have his brother Ferdinand elected king, and in that capacity to act as his personal agent. To forestall this move, the Evangelical princes organized the **Smalcald**

League against the emperor (February 1531).

b.   Luther would not hear of the plan, caught up as he was in the political ideology of the old German empire. What mainly motivated him here was his powerful German national sense, shared with the German people, never sympathetic to anything foreign, and on that account he stood firm on the unity of the empire. For Luther, this idea bore religious connotations, and he regarded violent opposition to government as unrighteous. The undercurrent accompanying this opposition, however, hardened in him an emphatic rejection of a confusion of spiritual and secular issues, which he sensed quite particularly in Philip of Hesse.

c.   But the jurists, as a result of Luther's prudent self-restraint, kept the upper hand in that they emphasized the territorial autonomy of the princes as opposed to emperorship. Philip instantly exploited the opportunity by pulling in England, France, Denmark, John Zapolya, and even the Catholic Bavarian counts.

d.   When the emperor noticed that his Hapsburg existence was at stake, he backed down immediately. In fact, the year prior to this the **pope** had secretly tried to strike a deal with the Protestants, but in vain. More to the point, the **Turks** were threatening, and the peace overtures Ferdinand was making to Suleiman, because he apprehended war with the Protestants to be imminent in consequence of Zwingli's defeat in Switzerland, were unavailing, but Suleiman was on the march with an overwhelming army.

e.   In view of this danger, the Regensburg Diet negotiations with the Protestants were transferred to Nürnberg, and in the **Peace of Nürnberg of 1532**, they agreed that Protestantism should be tolerated within its previous bounds until the general council should convene the next year. The processes under way resulting from the Edict of Worms, pending the decision of the Imperial Chamber of Justice, were to be quashed. This concession also effectively terminated the political unity of the empire. The **territories** were now ecclesiastically and politically demarcated. This turn of events made war with the emperor for the first time a certainty.

3.   The Development of the Reformation in Germany
under the Smalcald League, 1532-1555.
§181. General Summary.

a.   **The politics of princes** now chiefly claims center stage. The emperor was tied up with Turks and Frenchmen, insomuch that again he absents himself from Germany for nine years. His absence at first made possible signal advantages for the **Smalcald League,** which gains even more strength as a result of the external expansion of the Gospel. England enters the lists as well, and in Denmark, the Reformation prevails. This victory too was the result largely of princely politics.

b.   But then internally the Reformation sustained severe reverses. Where already in the controversy with Zwingli the artless clarity of the Lutheran perspective becomes cloudy ("Wittenberg Concordat" of 1536), now Calvinism loomed up, fomenting not only the Calvinist controversy, but above all winning over the extra-German countries to the west, and thus crowding the Lutheran ideal into the background, at least territorially. Add to this the further internal damage owing to untruthful politics and irresponsible living, which in the long run maimed the Smalcald League also externally, and thus indirectly, the Reformation as well.

a. The First Resurgence of the Smalcald League, 1532-1539.
§182. External Expansion of the Reformation.

a.   Charles, assisted by the Smalcaldans, had campaigned against the Turks in 1532 and driven them to retreat. Then he moved against Chairedden, the Tunisian pirate, but right after his victory he had to hurry off to the third Italian war (and, because of the alliance of the Turks and France, the third Turkish war), 1536-1538. The Truce of Nice followed. In consequence, the Smalcald League was able to gain strength unmolested through the **further expansion of the Reformation.** George of **Anhalt** commissioned Nicolas Hausmann to

organize the Evangelical church in his country. In **Pomerania,** Barnim stood up to the clergy and nobility, and, after the death of his brother George, with George's son Philipp he defended the Reformation and commissioned Bugenhagen to manage the organization of the church. The Gospel took hold in **Westphalia**, Lemgo, Soest, Paderborn, and Münster. Everywhere, it was the common people who welcomed it. In **Württemberg** it was introduced by the prince. Because of his atrocities Ulrich was expelled by the Swabian League in 1519, and his country was handed over to Austria. Assisted by Philipp, he defeated Ferdinand's army in 1534 at Lauffen, his country was restored as a mesne fief in the Peace of Kadan, and he ordered it organized ecclesiastically by Ambrose Blarer in the south, and by Erhard Schnepf of Marburg in the north, after these representatives had reached agreement on the Eucharist in 1534 in the Wüttemberg Concordat. The University of Tübingen was reorganized, and now John Brenz, who had been working in the spirit of the Reformation since 1522, had clear sailing in Schwäbisch-Hall. In 1538 Blarer was dismissed, and the southern region more nearly approximated the Lutheran style despite a repugnance for images and a reduction of the liturgy.

b. In **Münster**, a catastrophe spelled **an abrupt end** of the **Anabaptist movement** in Germany. With one blow this both served and retarded the extension of the new doctrine. Since 1531 Bernard Rothmann had proclaimed Luther's doctrine, then along the way adopted the Zwinglian doctrine of the sacrament, and so succumbed to the influence of the Anabaptists, whom he personally now drew in: Jan the tailor of Leyden and the prophet Jan Matthys of Amsterdam, who in 1533 took up residence with the cloth merchant Bernard Knipperdolling. In 1534 this faction set up a chiliastic kingdom of libertinism and expelled the dissidents from the city, but in August they were besieged by the neighboring spiritual lords, supported by the landgrave of Hesse, and in 1535 they were defeated. In this region thereafter Catholicism enjoyed the upper hand, while the Anabaptist persuasion was no longer very significant in Germany.

§183. Internal Paralysis of the Reformation in the Wake of Politics.

a. On the other hand, however, the morning dew of the Reformation evaporated in Bucer's **attempts at mediation**. The dominant trait of this Strassburger theologian, who cut a figure in Reformation history, was less his pacific temperament than his talent for diplomacy, coupled with a propensity for mediation. This controlled the working of his mind, as part and parcel of his character. Luther's Theses had won him over to the Reformation, and he had been active as a reformer in Strassburg, and already here served as a mediator between the Swiss and Carlstadt and between Luther and Carlstadt, and as such had naturally related to Carlstadt's and Zwingli's approach, the Lutheran approach being remote from the least hint of compromise. (That was why the "highlanders" could not subscribe to the Augsburg Confession.)

b. But when Philip of Hesse took up the cause, Bucer shifted to Luther's perception of the Eucharist, animated by political interests, the factor which always played into his dealings, also later. Already during the Augsburg diet, he had searched out Luther in the Coburg and since then was at pains to mediate between the Swiss and the Saxons. Öcolampadius was all for it, but not Bullinger. That is why only the "highlanders," first, in fact, in the Colloquium at Kassel in 1535, and then in the **Wittenberg Concordat of 1536**, after eight days of wrangling about a hair-splitting distinction between "unworthy" and "unbelieving" participants benefiting from the body of the Lord in the Eucharist, got around to agreeing with an ailing Luther in such a way that Luther gave in. The unwholesome element in this whole business, aside from the hair-splitting distinction, proved that political interests decided the issue. Luther was sick, and stood virtually alone. In response to this merger the Swiss representatives Bullinger, Myconius, and Grynaeus published the **Confessio Helvetica Prior.** Notwithstanding, the Wittenberg Concordat confirmed the external power of the Smalcald League, and in this way contributed to the aggrandizement of the political affinities.

c.   The **Smalcald Articles** of 1537 form a counterpart to the Wittenberg Concordat. Clement II was succeeded by the cunning but morally superficial Paul III (1534-1549). He was obliged in 1536 to convoke the German council which the emperor had promised. After fruitless negotiations with the Lutherans through the efforts of Paul Vergerius, it was called for in May of 1537 in Mantua. Luther had compiled articles for the elector which would allow of no concession. In this list he attacked particularly the primacy of the pope. In Smalcald in 1537, however, only certain theologians subscribed to these articles, and these only in private. Nor were they even read to the estates because Melanchthon regarded them as too harsh. Luther himself was absent, due to illness. Melanchthon wanted to allow the pope his position *jure humano* [by human law]. So he wrote an article entitled: "0n the Power and Authority of the Pope," and: "On the Power and Jurisdiction of the Bishops"; this the estates accepted. At the same time, the deputation of the council was denied, and his statements thereby rendered void.

d.   About this same time (1538) the imperial vice-chancellor Dr. Held had, against Ferdinand's wish, brought about an alliance of the Catholic princes, the Holy League of Nürnberg. This amounted to little more than a defensive alliance to face the powerful Smalcaldans. The situation was further determined by the circumstances in the Netherlands. Here the estates conferred the Duchy of Geldern on Cleves in 1538, in case the childless duke's line should die out. But the emperor laid claim to Geldern. To realize his claim, he wanted a free hand. At this moment, war with the Turks and with France was threatening. Thereupon in 1539 he agreed with the Protestants in the so-called Frankfurt *Anstand* (*Anstehen* = truce) that a committee of theologians should resume the broken off negotiations at the next imperial diet, and that meanwhile, that is, up to half a year, all pending suits should be dropped.

e.   Joining the Smalcald League also this year were **ducal Saxony**, after George's death (succeeded by his brother Henry)*,* and the **Brandenburg marches** after the death of Joachim I*,* whose sons John and Joachim II (1535-1571) succeeded him in the electoral office, and lastly their sister Elisabeth of **Kahlenberg-Braunschweig**. In fact, even Albrecht of **Mainz** felt bound to allow the Reformation work of Justus Jonas in the environs of Magdeburg and Halle to proceed.

b. The Roman-Protestant Efforts at Reunification, 1540-1546.
§184. The Period of Religious Dialogues.

a.   At this point we must take up the prospect of **agreement in faith and practice** envisioned at the Frankfurt Armistice. In Italy, Spain, and France a humanistic-biblicistic tendency had developed. Theologians and others at the courts of minor princes in Italy, particularly Ferrara, and an impressive line of significant men moved nearer to the ideas of reform. The *Sacco di Roma* had only disrupted this development a little. In the upshot, the Catholic Restoration and Calvinism made strides because of it. This mood was now propitious to the reunion efforts with the Protestants of Germany. But the emperor's insistence on the participation of the respective papal nuncio in the negotiations, and the discord among the Protestants themselves, frustrated the effort.

b.   Already in 1539 Philip of Hesse's sensuality had seduced him into an adulterous relationship with Margareta von der Saale*.* Through Bucer's mediation, Luther and Melanchthon had consented in 1540 to a secret collateral marriage, an aftermath of medieval casuistry. Bigamy, however, according to German law, remained a capital crime, and the Smalcald League fell into a serious predicament, aggravated by the agitation of the immoral Catholic Henry of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, because the emperor demanded a concession in matters of faith in return for his leniency.

c.   To begin with, a religious dialogue took place in June 1540 in Hagenau, but it adjourned without result. In November, the **religious dialogue in Worms** took place. Chaired by the lenient imperial legate Granvella*,* the

one side, supported by Melanchthon, Bucer, Capito, Brenz, and Calvin (from Strassburg), met the opposing side defended by Gropper and Malvenda and others. They proposed to discuss the issues on the basis of the *Augustana*, and the Protestants enjoyed the advantage. But **Morone**, the papal nuncio, blocked the negotiations.

d. When later in 1541, the imperial diet of Regensburg convened, the emperor himself designated Eck, Gropper, and Julius von Pflugk to conduct a religious dialogue with Melanchthon, Bucer, and Pistorius*,* to be chaired by Granvella and the Palatine Count Frederick*.* The papal nuncio was **Contarini**, an advocate of the Evangelicals in Italy. On the basis of the *Liber Ratisbonensis*, a unification formula composed by Bucer and Gropper*,* the clauses on original sin, *justitia imputiva*, and the resultant *justitia inhaerens*, as well as *communio sub utraque* were conceded, but the negotiations broke down on the transubstantiation clause composed by Eck and also by Contarini, who had been reprimanded from Rome. Nor did Luther approve of the points of agreement.

e. The imperial diet extended the Nürnberg Armistice to all the members of the Smalcald League, but held only the Protestants committed to it. As the Protestants were dissatisfied with it, the emperor issued a special **Declaration** for them, shelving the Augsburg imperial diet recess, and providing equal status across the board for Protestants in Catholic countries, as far as possible, while Protestants should retain the right to reform monasteries and convents in their own countries. That very day, however, he renewed the Nürnberg Convention with the Catholics, and independently concluded **separate agreements** with Philip of Hesse and Joachim II of Brandenburg*,* binding these rulers to support the emperor on political issues. If the elector moreover forbore to align himself with the Smalcaldans, he would gain the free use of his liturgy; if the landgrave refrained from an alliance with France, England, and Cleves, he would receive amnesty.

f. Meanwhile, the Catholics once again felt affronted. In **Naumburg-Zeitz**, the Lutheran bishop Nicolas von Amsdorf*,* ordained by Luther*,* had been installed in 1542, replacing the moderate Julius von Pflugk*,* who had been elected to replace the previous bishop. The Lutherans too were at odds with one another. In Wurzen in 1542 the elector had forcibly collected the Turkish tax from the Catholic office against the claims of the young Maurice*,* the son and successor of Henry of Saxony*.* Luther was able only with difficulty to allay the fracas, and this business ignited the controversy between these two Protestant courts which eventually brought down the entire Smalcald movement. Maurice presently forsook the Smalcald League, and sought to aggrandize his domain at the expense of the elector.

§185. The Emperor's Dilemma owing to the Spread of the Reformation.

a. During all this time the Reformation continued to advance. The Smalcaldans in 1542 had prevailed over Henry of **Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel** in a war because he wanted to enact a judgment of the imperial chamber of justice against the city of Goslar. (Luther's "Against Hans Worst*,*" 1541.) The prince was driven out of his country, and Bugenhagen introduced the Reformation longed for by the common people, and organized new church customs. In October of the same year **Regensburg** introduced the Reformation. To the north, in the **Upper Palatinate,** it had long since been sanctioned, whereas in the **Later Palatinate (Neuburg),** south of Regensburg on the Danube, Ottheinrich 1543 asked Osiander to come from Nürnberg, and also joined the Smalcaldans. Also in the **Electoral Palatinate** on the western side of the Rhine, between Mainz and Speyer, Frederick II introduced the Reformation (1543). Even in Catholic countries, the new doctrine spread like wildfire. Ferdinand was unable to check it as he once had in **Austria**, and in Cologne the archbishop Hermann von Wied allowed his diocese to be reformed by the agency of Gropper and Bucer, along the lines of the Wittenberg Concordat, with the assent of the estates of his country.

b. All of these developments could only alert the Catholics to the need of being on guard. And it would have

ended in war, certainly in the latter instance, had not the emperor again found himself in a predicament. In 1541 Suleiman had occupied Hungary. At the next imperial diets, of Speyer (1542) and Nürnberg (1543), the Protestants had promised assistance against the Turks, but now demanded that the emperor's declaration of 1541 become law. When the vehement Wilhelm von Bayern refused this demand, the assistance against the Turks came to nothing. The Turks and France in alliance attacked in the east, south, and west. The Protestants entered negotiations with Denmark and Sweden, and the Duke of Cleves broke the truce in the west. This all transpired in 1543.

c. Because of Philip's alliance with the emperor, the Smalcaldans had to stand by while Cleves and Geldern were taken by storm and the Reformation brought to an end here. At the imperial diet of Speyer in 1544, however, if the emperor hoped for help against the Turks and the French, he had to stick with status quo and promise a free council. In 1544 the French were compelled to sign the Peace of Crespy. The pope thereupon announced the **1545 Council of Trent**. The emperor, who still had not caught on to the Reformation, demanded that the Protestants submit to the council. When he found no ear for this requirement, and learned that they were now also trying to reform Sebastian von Heussenstein (elector of Mainz since 1545), the emperor secretly geared up for war against the Protestants instead of against the Turks, with whom in 1545 he secretly concluded a treaty against the Protestants (the imperial diet of Worms, March 1545; Luther's tract: *Against the Papacy at Rome, Founded by the Devil*; the estates refused to participate in the council).

d. On December 13, 1545, the council opened at Trent. In January 1546 Melanchthon submitted his tract *Reformatio Wittenbergensis*, replete with concessions, and the religious dialogue (engaging Malvenda and Bucer), a dishonest gesture on the part of the emperor, took place at Regensburg. On **February 18, 1546, Luther died at Eisleben**, where he had worked out a settlement between the counts of Mansfeld. Then, at last, in spite of all, the Smalcald War did break.

<p style="text-align:center">c. The Smalcald War, 1546-1555.</p>
<p style="text-align:center">§ 186. The Emperor's Initial Victory and the Interims.</p>

a. Before the imperial diet of Speyer adjourned, Charles secured the support of three disgruntled princes of the Smalcald League, Johann von Küstrin and Erich von Braunschweig-Kahlenberg*,* relatives of the expelled prince of Wolfenbüttel, and the ambitious Maurice of Saxony. But the chaos of German loyalties showed up in the way the Smalcaldians conducted the war. The most stalwart in their performance were the highland cities, with Würtemberg sending an army under **Schärtlin's** command to the Danube. The **outlawed** princes Philip and Johann Friedrich joined up with him with a considerable force at **Donauwörth**. Meanwhile **Maurice**, whom the emperor had named elector in October, had occupied his cousin's territory. Outnumbered, Philip and Johann Friedrich withdrew with their armies, and the emperor found the country undefended. At the beginning of 1547 he was master of southern Germany. When in December of 1546 Johann Friedrich showed up in Thuringia, everything went his way, and Maurice found himself in a tight spot. But the emperor joined battle with the elector Johann in April 1549 at **Mühlberg**, and won. The elector was captured, and Philip, short of all means of war, surrendered without a struggle.

b. The imperial diet at Augsburg opened in September of 1547. The emperor took the opportunity to commission Julius von Pflugk, Michael Helding*,* and Johann Agricola to draw up an interim to allow the ecclesiastical questions to be put on the back burner until the adjournment of the council: the cup for the laity and marriage of priests, *justitia imputativa* and *inhaerens*, discarding the idea of *inanis fiducia* [empty faith] and security by virtue of works, retention of the mass as a sacrifice of thanksgiving, of papal primacy, of the seven sacraments (with particular emphasis on transubstantiation), and all the ceremonies of the Roman church. The emperor's chosen assistants named above would not hear of this **Augsburg Interim** (1548). The

broken Philip yielded; **Johann Friedrich** held firm. The southern German Evangelical cities too held firm, and their pastors were compelled to wander into exile, so by and by the resistance collapsed. In northern Germany the resistance held out longer, in Magdeburg especially ("Our Lord God's Chancellery").

c.   Maurice preferred to set up his own interim in his country. Melanchthon, in cooperation with the Wittenbergers, and the Leipzig superintendent Johann Pfiffinger, as late as **December 1548**, drew up the **Leipzig Interim**, defining rightly enough the doctrine of justification, but correcting no error, and in general adhering to the Augsburg stipulations. Pflugk and Agricola declared themselves altogether satisfied with it. But the Saxon people wanted even less to do with this than the other interim. Calvin and Brenz reproached Melanchthon, and a whole line of theologians went into exile (for the most part to Magdeburg) and now became Melanchthon's keen opponents.

§187. The Emperor's Defeat and the Augsburg Religious Peace.

a.   The emperor at last controlled the helm. With his Spaniards he ran roughshod with utter ruthlessness over the Germans. Nonetheless, he was after internal peace. So Pope Julius III (1550-1555) had immediately to reconvene the **Council in Trent**. In order to summarize the Protestant position, Melanchthon compiled the *Confessio Saxonica*, Brenz the Württemberg Confession. But the council never got to discussing doctrinal matters with the Protestants because Maurice undid the emperor's power, which he had made possible with his betrayal in the first place, with a second betrayal.

b.   **Maurice** had alienated the hearts of his subjects and incurred the hatred of all Germany (they called him the *"Judas of Meissen"*). He was dissatisfied with the emperor, for whose Spaniards certainly he had not committed his first betrayal, because the emperor had violated his agreement with Maurice by keeping the Spaniards in Germany, and prolonging the imprisonment of Maurice's teacher and father-in-law Philip. Hence, under orders of the emperor, he undertook the **conquest of Magdeburg** (November 1551), but he had secretly entered into an alliance against the emperor with Albrecht of Brandenburg-Kulmbach, William of Hesse, and with France (selling out Metz, Toul, and Verdun). Allied with the vanquished Magdeburgers, he ambushed the emperor and in the **Passau Agreement** of 1552 forced him to vouchsafe to the Protestants an unqualified peace settlement and completely equal status with Catholics until a general council should convene, to be determined by the next imperial diet. Maurice himself then fell in a victorious battle in 1553 against Albrecht his friend and comrade-at-arms. Elector Johann Friedrich died in 1554.

c.   Not until the year 1555 did the Diet of Augsburg take place. The emperor, who had not attained his goal in life, stayed away. Ferdinand was inclined toward the Protestants. But the legate Morone, and the bishop of Augsburg, Otto von Truchsess, again blocked the proceedings. But when they had left to go to Rome to elect a new pope, the negotiations went smoothly. The Protestants had to put up with being dubbed relatives of the **Augsburg Confession** (*Corpus Catholicorum, Corpus Evangelicorum*), yet no limits were set any longer to the extent of this relationship. The Catholics however pushed through the spiritual reservation (***reservatum ecclesiasticum***) prohibiting the spiritual principalities still existing from adopting the Reformation. Otherwise, the principle obtained: *cuius regio, eius religio* [subjects compelled to accept the religion of their ruler]. The imperial chamber of justice was obligated to observe the religious peace. On **September 25, 1555** the **Augsburg Religious Treaty** was promulgated.

§188 A. Impact of the Reformation upon the Culture of Germany I.

a.   The history of the church comes to pass on earth not only as a result of the motives inherent in an ecclesiastical movement. Already in the representatives of the movement, the spiritual moves hand in hand with the secular, the divine with the human. This becomes the more evident when one surveys an ecclesiastical

movement in its entirety. Its impact upon the culture of the time derives far more from interests which initially lie outside of the ecclesiastical movement itself. Thus it is essential here, if ever, to consider Luther's person, the Reformation, and the culture of Germany as distinct entities.

b. Luther's person. -Luther's last years were overshadowed by sickness and by jolting disappointments. His illness (bladder-stone) made him irritable, and the progress of the Reformation was hardly enough to cheer him up. Melanchthon's propensity which played into the hands of Philip of Hesse's and Bucer's diplomacy, and simultaneously gave many a Catholic schemer the opportunity to try his hand at reunion, caused Luther all kinds of trouble. Added to this, secular politics, working at cross-purposes with Luther's candor, was too mixed up in the work of the Reformation for this one man to pursue his undeviating way if he did not want to lose touch with the entire endeavor altogether. Luther had lost confidence in the people and in the princes and also in the leaders of the church. This mood was not pessimism, it rested on an accurate assessment of his environment, which sometimes made it hard for him to take the set-backs in reliance on God and with equanimity, remembering how the Reformation work had at first leapt right along with morning freshness. The fact that Luther did not always succeed in maintaining a cheerful disposition gave his enemies an excuse to cast suspicion on his character and also his cause.

c. So this would be the right page in the story to trace the **main lines** of the profile **of the Reformer**. A hard assignment, to be sure, if one wants to do justice to so overpowering a personality without idealizing it. His contemporaries already, and even more his successors, have always judged the man in the light of their own peculiar ideals. "Orthodoxy saw in him the regenerator of pure doctrine, Pietism, the man of prayer and hero of faith, the Enlightenment, the pioneer of reason and opponent of superstition, the time of the Wars of Liberation, the German national hero, etc." He has been compared with Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Calvin, and in every instance, according to personal inclinations, either over- or under-estimating him in point of particularities. His opponents from Johann Cochläus down to Janssen, Denifle, Grisar, and others have jeered at him in almost obscene terms, insomuch that we can tell, if only from these detractions, that here before us stands the **most important figure in world history** since the days of the Apostles, a man we cannot pass by without committing ourselves one way or the other.

d. Luther was exactly what his devotees at various times have made him out to be, as viewed from their bias, but he was not himself biased. What distinguishes him from Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Calvin is precisely the absence of the bias which predominated in these reformers. Critics claim that his scholarship was lacking, and assert that he was neither a dogmatician nor an exegete. But if you understand **dogmatics** to mean perceiving and teaching doctrines of Scripture in their innermost context, and in their meticulous distinction from one another, then Luther stands forth as the greatest of all dogmaticians. Of course, he never showed that pedantic flair, as did those three contemporaries, which overemphasizes the intellectual aspect of things. Aside from this, he was a decided opponent of philosophical systematics; in fact, it was precisely this that was his srength. It is a mistake to suppose that clarity of doctrinal concepts has gained anything from later dogmatics. Indeed, the concepts themselves have been greatly diminished, which always happens as the result of predominately intellectual exertion.

e. If one takes **exegesis** to mean recognizing the language of Scripture as a human language which God has adopted with all of its natural peculiarities (including its origin and idiom and perception on the part of the hearer or reader) in order to reveal his sublime Gospel on earth, language which one must therefore apprehend formally in every respect, in the same way it is offered, as one would any other language and speech, so that one can sense how the language unfolded in the sacred writer, just as one sees it before oneself, except that one greets it as God's Word with the faith generated by the Gospel—then Luther was the greatest of all exegetes. To set forth his ideas in such clipped form as Melanchthon and Calvin did theirs, for that Luther had neither

time nor opportunity. But that he was competent to do so, his Small Catechism shows. What is more, he was ever aware that scientific explanation is not the answer to the problem of Gospel cognition.

f.   It is said that he was no organizer, like Zwingli and Calvin. But if one takes **organization** to mean setting out the forms drawn from the ideas of the Gospel so that the Gospel can run its course in an orderly way in human society, yet without constraint, then Luther was the very greatest of organizers. And he put this gift into practice. But he was not an amateur, the kind that not only puts together merely two-dimensional forms with rules and regulations, but also poses deliberate hindrances to evangelical freedom.

g.   Luther was an **artless Christian**. He came to that condition by the operation of the Gospel, and his labor in its entirety attested to this character. What an artless Christian believes, and how, this mystery Luther worked his way through with all the intellectual means of that time once the Gospel had taught it to him; and the outcome of this hard mental exertion was and remained what the Holy Spirit had already created in him, the artless Christianity of a child. This is Luther's greatest attribute. This was the mainspring of his popular power. This was the source of the tremendous influence of this great character. Herein also lay the significance of the intellectual activity of the man matured by experience. The child in him spoke the truthfulness of everything this most eminently practical of men did, spelling out that his impulse to action had but one interest, the salvation of souls, and that to achieve this objective the man had no idea of doing it himself, nor of making discoveries, nor of systematizing, nor of organizing, but only of letting the Gospel run its course. As simple as this appears, it is seldom that one finds this attitude among those who are called to perform upon life's altitudes. All of this is what makes Luther the "great man," and even more, unlike any other, a genuine disciple of Paul.

h.   He was also a **mere mortal like other mortals.** It is just as wrong to conceal his crudities as it is to idealize, or even to emulate them. The thing to do is to get acquainted with that era, and to know and understand the man Luther in that milieu. If one does this, one will find out as well that many a failure in the Reformation may be traced, not only to Luther's co-workers, but also to Luther himself.

i.   It is doubtful whether Luther's recommendation to Lambert in regard to the Hessian church organization was right. At the same time, though, it is wrong to fault Luther for inconsistency because he allowed the princes to serve as emergency bishops in the organization of the Saxon church after having stressed the spiritual priesthood in reproof of the Bohemians. Luther's acquiescence in the Wittenberg Concordat probably owed more to emergency than to Luther's singular way, and so the propensity of Bucer and Melanchthon, of accommodating the wishes of the princes, prevailed at that time. Also Luther's advice in the matter of Philip's bigamy came about only under pressure of external circumstances, and did not proceed purely from the motives of the issue. Luther's position on the Smalcald League is the only right one. He represented the conscience of his time in point of obedience to the authority of the emperor, while at the same time leaving the decision of this secular problem up to the secular counsels of the princes, and commending the matter to God. Only by evaluating Luther as one would anyone else will one arrive squarely at the conclusion that Luther, virtually alone in his time, was correct. It is only in this way that you will come to understand Luther's main ideas in this respect, namely that whatever he did do right must be attributed to God's grace alone and to the power of the Gospel.

k.   The **Reformation**. The term harks back to the reforms of the Middle Ages, and on many sides the notion has been emphasized that the Reformation must still be reckoned a child of the Middle Ages. That this notion is incorrect one can tell at once, if one takes a look at Luther's specific ideas, which were accepted quite correctly by his adherents and especially by the artless common folk. What they caught in a flash was the central focus of religion, the forgiveness of sins. Luther embraced the idea just as Scripture offers it, as the artless Christian has embraced it in his own way from time immemorial, and as the idea was set forth in detail

in Luther's doctrine.

l.   It is by faith that a Christian becomes certain of the forgiveness of sins by Christ's blood. The very fact *eo ipso* requires unqualified trust in God and his grace in every respect, even if it enters the conscious mind only gradually, and likewise the same trust in his Word (verbal inspiration, rightly understood!). One is confident that God has operated with this grace from eternity, before the foundation of the world, and one counts on it to secure one's salvation into eternity. This faith is more than mere assent in response to a church doctrine, it is rather a wonderful experience which the Gospel has initiated by the Holy Spirit. Accompanying this faith is the life of sanctification which governs itself according to God's Word. Sanctification consists in the verification, in the world, of the grace of justification. This world lies prostrate in wickedness since the fall of Adam. The Christian's responsibility in it is simply to do his job in his calling, and to keep himself unspotted from the world. No created thing is sinful in itself; it is an *adiaphoron*. Every form of asceticism, understood as escape from the world, is unhealthy. Imposed asceticism, when it comes to fasting, for example, can get no deeper than external discipline. Sin, however, permeates all areas of life, not only political and civic life, but also church life, indeed, the personal exercise of the Christian life (original sin), and this the Christian combats in anticipation of the glory he awaits with the Lord's return.

m.   Doubly unwarranted is the charge critics have leveled at this **world-view of Luther's**. In general, they hold that, with such a world-view Luther showed in isolated elements that he was still back in the Middle Ages. Specifically, in his pessimistic view of the world itself, in his view of asceticism, and in his stand on Scripture (verbal inspiration, the "paper pope"). The explanation as offered above, when compared with corresponding explanations dating from the Middle Ages, will show that the isolated elements of Luther's doctrine were not at issue or at least not at issue in the same way in the Middle Ages, but that they are rather elements drawn directly from Scripture.

n.   On the other hand, Luther has been celebrated just as mistakenly because, in regard to the canon of Scripture and the doctrine of inspiration, and in regard to his view of Scripture, he is supposed to have taken a freer stance than his later successors. That he did not venture even farther they ascribe to the limited knowledge which he shared at that time in regard to the origin of the New Testament and of the New Testament canon. This subjective opinion itself derives from a particular stance on Scripture, alien to Luther's. To grasp Luther as he was and thus measure his position and consequence in world and church realistically, one must oneself adopt Luther's own position on Scripture. Only then can one size up Luther and the history of his time correctly and keep them in focus.

o.   Otherwise, in external matters, in the historical concept of development, that Luther and others of his time hung on to a good many medieval views seems self-evident and hardly needs to be belabored again (e.g., Melanchthon's astrology and witch mania in the 17th century).

p.   All told, **Luther's achievement** was the reformation of the church, a renewal of pristine Christianity, not of the ancient imperial church, but of the apostolic church, **a rediscovery of the Gospel** (hence the term "evangelical"). All this being so, Luther was right in declaring the partisans of Rome to be the apostates. He assessed the ancient imperial church from a different angle than done in the first part of this book because he had no reason to examine the issues minutely, and because the Lutheran church itself had first to experience its development before anyone could make comparisons so as to allow a deeper penetration into its history. What Luther found in the ancient church he saw in certain events of the Middle Ages too, as it is a fact that Luther's interpretations are the basic interpretations of the Gospel which occur at all times and in all of the everyday vicissitudes in every instance to those who call Jesus their Lord, at least in the depth of their believing emotional system.

§188 B. Impact of the Reformation on the Culture of Germany II.

a.   The explanation often recurring in historical works since De Wette, Twesten, and Dorner, that, as opposed to the principle of tradition in the Roman church, the Reformation adopted the Holy Scripture as principle, and that whereas the Lutheran church emphasized the material principle (the doctrine of justification), Calvinism stressed rather the formal principle (the authority of Scripture), and that Luther's Reformation represents the "correct balance" between the two extremes, even in all of the subsequent developments, is well enough intended, but because of the unhappy terminology, may be seriously misunderstood.

b.   The *termini technici* come from a philosophizing angle of vision, of a piece with Melanchthon's later doctrinal perspective, and marked by the formalism such as the Lutheran dogmaticians of the 17th century employed in explaining doctrine. These terms are all of a piece too with the scientific treatment of Scripture that Calvinism employed, but they contradict historical perspective in general, and Luther's understanding in particular. Nor does Luther's approach actually denote the median between Catholicism and Calvinism, but is in fact something wholly different from either of these, products as they both are of the same external legalism.

c.   In faith in the forgiveness of sins, for Luther, **Holy Scripture**, the medium through which God chose to have the Gospel proclaimed to the world, is *eo ipso* assumed to be the norm of faith and life, because in the very proclamation of the Gospel this claim of the Scripture is assumed for the believer's reception of the Gospel. On the one hand, this obviates a one-sided emphasis of either of the "Scriptural principles." On the other, the term "principle" is therefore unsuitable because neither justification nor the authority of Scripture permit further doctrinal development. This terminology suits intellectualistic systematics quite well, as it does legalism in general, wherever it occurs among Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans, or others.

d.   Luther's evangelical position on the one hand maintained the authority of Scripture in the highest sense, and on the other, remained internally free in its treatment of the reality that Scripture is in fact couched in human speech undergoing human development. This language is foreign to formal or material principle, and it will more effectively than either inoculate against contempt for Scripture, the very malaise brought on by the emphasis on the formal principle in the wake of Calvinism and Rationalism, and with the stress on the *analogia fidei* in later Lutheran instruction in dogmatics.

e.   In the field of **worship** and **art** the Reformation exerted a telling influence, not that it has always been correctly evaluated. The antagonism of the Swiss reformation to all forms of art (elimination of images, organs, bells, liturgy, and poetry) aligns it with the papacy but at the exact opposite pole from papal sacramentalism. Both persuasions viewed created things in the same wrong way, pessimistically, as if sinful. The papists, as a result deified the tangible, the Reformed abolished it. This is the legalistic way.

f.   Along an entirely different line, that of the **Gospel**, runs the development among the Lutherans. They employed liturgy, painting, and music as gifts of God, as occasion required, and developed them further within the standards of local custom. The Lutheran church created no original architectural style. Because for one thing, churches were not necessary, and people were not offended at the familiar forms in the existing churches, but simply kept them as desirable conveyors of the Gospel. They dropped only the conveyors of obvious error (the little sacrament house, the monstrance). So items that remained were, for example, the high altar and the naming of churches after apostles and "saints" and corresponding sculptured and architectural appointments. The Lutheran mind would hardly have thought of creating these things.

g. The **practice of worship** fared similarly. Luther retained the forms of the mass observing the proper conservative standards. He changed or dropped only the elements that were positively wrong. He simplified the overly elaborate forms of music so that they regained a noble artistic distinction. Luther even kept the Latin language in the liturgy of some secondary services as an opportunity for Latin students to practice their language skills. The Lutheran church would not have thought up the pericopes and exorcism and many other

forms. Present-day ministerial vestments date from a later time.

h.   But most significantly Luther's work transformed music and poetry. The Lutheran hymn is a work of art of the first caliber. Till then, poetic composition and singing had gone through what was clearly only an elementary stage of development, and now the Reformation advanced them to artistic maturity. Luther himself took the lead in this direction. At first it was from practical necessity. With a master hand he turned these arts to use for the independent employment of the congregation, and what unfolded from it, as works of art always come about, was a work of art in words and music, a monument unapproached to the present day. With some qualification the same may be said of painting. (211)

i.   A new form of worship is the **catechetical examination**. This replaced the rite of confirmation. For this purpose, Luther composed his catechism. This catechism, like Luther's doctrine in general, highlighted the importance of the individual. Not until a later time did lecturing and intellectualism creep into Christian instruction as a defined style. Here at the beginning, in the absence of elementary public instruction, the catechetical form answered a need occasioned by Luther's preaching.

k.   Also the **body politic** Luther regarded not from a medieval, but from a biblical vantage point. Government is God's arrangement according to moral law. Its external structure is the outcome of historical development. That is why Luther put up with the ultimate formation of the landlord system as it materialized under the Smalcald League, even though he was well aware that, as always, violence and injustice were the order of the day. His business as a citizen was to obey the government whose authority is inherent. (In this area, as also in cultural and in social life, Zwinglianism, and later, Calvinism operated with legalistic coercion.)

l.   The outcome at first was the **regional church system**. That the princes provided for the church insofar as they protected the correct doctrine but also suppressed false doctrine, in itself seemed immaterial to Luther, that is, an issue not determined by God's Word, so long as it allowed the Gospel free course, also in its administration. He did not contradict this when he said that the Gospel is a message that can only be accepted without coercion, or when in 1520-1523 he declared himself in favor of congregational autonomy, as opposed to the Bohemians. That is how the consistorial constitution originated, allowing jurists and theologians, functioning in the name of the prince, to conduct the external administration of the church in every detail. When later this arrangement turned into calcified doctrinal and ecclesiastical constraint, it represented a degeneration similar to the tyranny of priests and laymen, not at all resulting from Luther's theoretical views or from his practical measures.

m.   This alliance of church and state at the time helped the church to **expand**, and in isolated instances it was practiced in an absolutely irreproachable manner. On the other hand, thanks to the unevangelical interests of all the parties, it led to all kinds of nuisances (German provincialism, court theologianism, dictatorship of princes, secularization of convents and church property to enrich the princes, an exaggerated conservatism in every area of life, often unjustifiably rationalized via God's word, the style of differentiating between the divine and natural law as then observed). Also, the grouping of states and their relationship to one another and to foreign countries were issues often determined by this alliance of church and state.

n.   On **educational philosophy** the Reformation made a telling impact which must be correctly assessed. Luther's mere appearance on the scene emancipated minds and roused them to action. In 1518 Melanchthon in Wittenberg delivered his inaugural lecture *De corrigendis adulescentiae studiis*. In 1520 Luther addressed the nobility in his tract on the reform of the University, in 1524 the town counsellors in another recommending the founding of Christian schools (Latin schools), in 1530 preaching on the obligation of educating the children, all of them, boys and girls alike. To this end he demanded schools, libraries, and compulsory education. His influence on schools and universities was palpable. But when the Catholic church fell into desuetude in many countries, and therewith the stipends for masses diminished, and on top of this, when the Peasant War

devastated the whole educational system, public instruction suffered a **serious reverse**. Naturally, we cannot blame the Reformation for that. But then, when conditions had cleared up, Protestant education burst into a **glory** the Middle Ages had never known.

o. To be sure, an actual elementary school system did not materialize, as poverty prevented it. Where anything of the kind continued, the sexton taught the servants and children of the membership in religion, following Luther's *Small Catechism*. Yet this spelled a decided advance from the Middle Ages, and to this day, that book has never been superseded. In the cities one found Latin schools running on the model of Johannes Sturm's *gymnasium* opened in 1537 in Strassburg. Melanchthon organized the universities in Lutheran countries. Everywhere, the ecclesiastical and theological curriculum took precedence. Humanism retreated and performed only formal, though valuable, services. The so-called "free" scientific investigation we know today did not exist as yet. But to infer from this that scientific investigation at the time of the Reformation was in any way restricted would be mistaken. Such limitations did not set in until the 17th century. At Luther's time every kind of scientific investigation had a free hand.

p. In this climate, a fresh **exegetical course** of studies, for example, became feasible. Luther discarded allegorical interpretation, and his hermeneutic principles really comprehend everything that might be said about the subject. At the same time, it shows the freest-minded and most candid treatment possible of the subject, and yet no one can stress verbal inspiration more energetically than Luther. What this teaches us is that freedom of Scriptural association and verbal inspiration seem to be inseparable. We find evidence of this union interspersed here and there throughout Luther's exegetical writings, and it stands forth in a defined, internally self-contained context, so that only dogmatic bias can leave it unobserved.

q. Also the **critical study of history**, and with it the beginning of a deeper understanding of historical events, became a factor at last, through the polemic against the papacy, and soon after Luther's death produced the *Magdeburg Centuries* (1559-1574, in 13 volumes, each covering one century), compiled by Matthias Flacius Illyricus and other theologians. It was only after Luther's death, when Melanchthon gained greater influence, that dogmatics assumed the title "queen of sciences." She was meant, of course, to be merely *ancilla theologiae* ["a maidservant of theology"]. In their heart of hearts theologians continued to regard her as such. As a formal theological discipline, however, thanks to Aristotelian influence, before long she was showing off her lust to lord it over everything, which proved detrimental to Lutheran theology.

r. The Lutheran parsonage enhanced the quality of **family life**. The removal of Catholic hindrances to marriage admitted the possibility of divorce. **Social relationships** changed little from their previous patterns, because they respond more to economic than to spiritual conditions. Civic well-being rose indirectly through the freedom of mind which the Reformation had quickened among princes and officials and as a result of the insights gained from the church visitations, even though not all German territories participated at the same rate in this plan. Urban organization ensured precedence in every respect to the southwestern and western sectors up and down the Rhine.

s. **Morality** was doubly affected by the Reformation. Not everyone who followed the Reformation had experienced the inner change through the Gospel. The power of God nevertheless manifested itself in the congregations in that an entirely different, higher perception of life took root. The doctrine of freedom, the kind created by faith, evinced itself in the life of Lutheran citizens, and strengthened and steeled them to face the test which eventually came in the Smalcald War, a test the population in general passed.

t. **Legal affairs** as well felt the influence of the Reformation. To be sure, the severity of criminal law was not mitigated. Torture and prosecution of witchcraft continued another hundred and fifty years. But canon law was abrogated, whereas Roman law, which had only just arrived in Germany in this century, and which be it remembered appeared in a Christian version in the Justinian framework, became permanent mainly through

Melanchthon's efforts.

u. Also the **national consciousness** of the Germans was invigorated when Luther vented his unrestrained wrath against foreigners. It was not by accident that the man who brought the Pauline ideas in their emotional depth back to the surface, appeared in Germany. And that the German people understood their Luther owed much to his giving them a common language in his translation of the Bible, which, despite the political disruption still made possible a certain harmony of minds. The linguistic revival, pronounced in the chancelleries since the 14th century without conscious aim at unity, discovered in this work of Luther's its telling universal importance. But this national factor is also related to the other, namely that the two trends of Protestantism split apart. Calvinism is essentially English and French. This contributed to their divorce from Germany and in fact with redoubled force, in that since then the other nations have always arrived at a position hostile to the Germans.

v. The Germans, for all their willingness to meet other nations half-way, have a manner that seems, on the one hand, overbearing to others, owing to a certain sense of intellectual superiority, and on the other, makes others regard the Germans with disdain. The aversion to the German way was urged upon Calvinism when in the subsequent period it transferred to the western nations, but partly it was inherent in the consequence of Calvinism itself. The inwardness of the German bearing was deepened and ennobled by Luther's work. The externality of the western Europeans was strengthened by Calvinism.

3. Introduction of the Calvinist Reformation into Non-German Countries, 1536-1560.
§189. General Summary.

a. In German **Switzerland** the Reformation had suffered a severe blow with Zwingli's collapse. To be sure, **Heinrich Bullinger** in Zurich and **Oswald Myconius** in Basel had advanced the cause, but the political situation remained tenuous. At this juncture **Calvinism** took hold in **French** Switzerland, its mode and popular appeal more adapted than Zwingli's and Luther's to carry Protestantism westward.

b. The **Calvinist Reformation** took its origin and hence too its style from the peculiar circumstances obtaining in France. In Geneva, a French Swiss city, it attained maturity, and even discounting the other ties in the external history of the countries in question, this fact was one reason why it was not Luther's, but Calvin's perception of the Gospel that became the standard in Holland, France, and England. Just as Luther's style (although, with the limitation his ideas underwent at the hands of his students under political pressure) gave the German people a distinctive characteristic stamp, one naturally consonant with the general character they had already possessed before, so Calvinism too, even to a greater degree, determined the style of the Swiss, English, Dutch, and a section of the French, simply because on the whole the style coincided with the original character of these nations. In order to understand the supreme impact of these nations in later history, it is necessary to know Calvin's reformation as thoroughly as Luther's, even though it penetrated less deeply into the Gospel. To begin with, let us examine the history of Calvin. Then there will follow the history of France, England, Holland, and a synoptic history of the other countries.

§190. Calvin. The External History.

a. In France, the principal teacher of humanism was **Faber Stapulensis**. As a student of Marsilio Ficino, he was, like his friend Colet in England, won over to the ecclesiastical school of humanism, and both of them influenced Erasmus along the same lines. For this reason, Faber leaned toward the school of Nicholas of Cusa and even before the Reformation had published commentaries on the Psalms and Paul's epistles. Now when Luther took center stage, Faber fell in with him, and had to suffer the enmity of the Sorbonne, which had condemned Luther as a heretic. **Francis I** was sympathetic to humanism, but because of his sensuality and the

concordat with the pope and his dynastic ambitions, he had no use for Luther's Gospel. Melanchthon's style might have been more to his taste, as it was to Philip of Hesse. But the negotiations with Philip and Bucer in 1535 failed. As early as 1524, the Sorbonne ventured to go on the rampage. In fact, in 1535 an inquisition tribunal, the ***Chambre ardente****,* was set up, and the Parisian court fell prey to Catholicism and immorality. Not even the king's sister Margaret could do anything to forestall this turn of events. She became queen of Navarre and there prepared the way for the Reformation.

b.   It was the circle of Faber and his friend Briconnet of Meaux that produced **William Farel**. One of Luther's adherents, he was obliged to quit Paris in 1521, went to Basel, then to Neufchâtel, and in 1532 to Geneva. This city had formerly been the domain of a bishop, who customarily came from the family of the dukes of Savoy. In 1526 the citizens of Geneva had joined the Swiss Confederacy in order to evade the union with Savoy which the bishop had in mind. Bern and Freiburg had aided them in this maneuver. This step gave rise to the opposition of a liberation party in Geneva directed against the Savoyan-minded nobility. This opposition took on a religious complexion as Bern increasingly led the districts within its environs toward Protestantism. Into this religious controversy Farel now entered. In Geneva he collaborated with Fromment and Olivetan*,* but because of his zealotry was compelled to quit the city. In 1535 he returned, accompanied by his follower **Peter Viret** after the senate had severed the bond between city and bishop.

c.   In the contest for the Gospel Farel now (1536) won over **John Calvin** (Jean Cauvin*,* 1509-1564) who was just passing through. Calvin, the son of a lawyer, had lost his mother early on, and grew to be a cloistered, cold, morose temperament, but for all his frail frame, he was a man of implacable will. While studying theology at the Sorbonne, he was pushed by his father into studying jurisprudence. It was his cousin Olivetan however who convinced him to question the Catholic system. The German Melchior Rottweil*,* a professor of Greek in Bourges, persuaded him to return to theology. As early as 1532 he joined the reform movement in Paris. His sudden "conversion," meaning actually the unequivocal voluntary decision to bear witness publicly, falls in the year 1533. Now he had to flee from Paris with Nicholas Cop*,* the rector of the university, because he had ghost-written a reform-slanted university speech for him. At first, Calvin stayed in France and helped his relative Olivetan with his French translation of the Bible. In 1535 he arrived in Basel and composed his *Institutio religionis christianae*, addressed to Francis in defense of the Protestants of France. Then he proceeded to Ferrara to the court of the evangelically-inclined Renata von Esle*,* but was soon expelled by her Catholic consort. That is how he came to meet Farel in Geneva *en route* and let Farel convince him to stay.

d.   That same year Calvin*,* along with Farel and Viret*,* arranged a disputation in Lausanne for the purpose of explaining their reform principles. All of the citizens of Geneva pledged themselves to one popular extract from Calvin's *Institutio*. They set down a rigid moral code. But before long an antinomian, libertinistic trend set in, influential mainly among the aristocratic youth. Calvin established a spiritual theocratic consistory, which took the field against them with excommunication and church discipline and with civic punishments imposed by the magistrate. In 1538, a synod in Lausanne proceeded against all festal adornment of the worship service, following Zwingli's style. When Bern protested against these measures, however, the population saw this as an opportunity to send the three reformers packing. Calvin went to Strassburg. While there as preacher, he took part in the religious dialogues in Frankfurt and Worms.

e.   In Geneva meanwhile, affairs had reached a point where Cardinal Jacob Sadolet could exhort the Genevans to return to the Catholic church. Calvin responded from exile in a sparkling epistle. This won back the hearts of the Genevans for him. In 1540 they recalled him to Geneva with full honors, and thereupon he carried through with his **reform**. The city was organized to be an ecclesiastical congregation. They appointed **four spiritual offices**: pastors, university doctors, elders, and deacons. **Two ecclesiastical committees** were named, the *Vénérable Compagnie*, made up of pastors and university doctors, to administer the teaching

offices and to elect the clergy, and the consistory, made up of pastors and elders to conduct ecclesiastical affairs. The consistory turned into an inquisition tribunal to scrutinize the moral, religious, domestic, and social behavior of the citizenry, operating with spiritual penalties and, via the civic council, with secular punishments, including a police espionage and denunciation system. They applied torture indiscriminately. In four years, 58 people were executed, 76 exiled, and, in 1545 during the plague, 43 women alleged to be witches were burnt at the stake.

f.   This policy again gave rise to an **opposition party**, and this time numbering not only libertines. In a ten-year struggle, lasting till 1555, Calvin held his own with the help of refugees from France, England, and Scotland. Sebastian Castellio, the headmaster, was compelled to leave the city on account of false doctrine. Pierre Ameaux, a wealthy merchant, was forced to do penance in the open market in 1546, wearing only a shirt. For that, Ami Perrin, one of Calvin's friends, became his enemy, after which Calvin sought to ruin him. For attacking the doctrine of predestination, Hieronymus Bolsec had to leave the city, and the assailed doctrine became accepted dogma. **Michael Servetus**, an anti-trinitarian, was burnt at the stake in 1553. In 1555 an insurrection was ruthlessly crushed. (196 1.)

§191. Calvin's Doctrinal Position.

a.   Now Calvin elaborated his ideas. In 1535 he founded a **theological academy** with **Theodore Beza** at the head. Calvin began correspondence with evangelicals in every country, France, Holland, England, Poland, and Hungary, and decisively influenced the position of the other Protestant churches in Switzerland. In 1549 he entered into agreement with Bern, Basel, and Zurich on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the *Consensus Tigurinus*, compiled by Bullinger.

b.   This act instantly triggered the **Lord's Supper controversy** with the German Lutherans. In 1552 Peter Martyr Vermigli had published his Oxford lectures on the Lord's Supper. In Hamburg Joachim Westphal replied with a *Farrago* aimed at Melanchthon as well as Calvin. Further, Danish and German Lutherans denied sanctuary to Johann a Lasco, a Polish Calvinist, expelled from London with his congregation of aliens, so that he had to settle in Emden. Calvin, Bullinger, a Lasco, and Beza intervened. Timann of Bremen replied, while Melanchthon kept mum. The ***Confessio Helvetica posterior*** (written by Bullinger in 1566) confirmed the separation between the Reformed and the Lutherans. Calvin died in 1564, and his successor was **Theodor Beza**, a kind man and linguistically deeply learned.

c.   Calvin's most important work is his ***Institutio***, amounting to a companion piece to Melanchthon's *Loci* and representing in its French translation his gift to France of a classic language. Additionally, he wrote a commentary on virtually all the books of Holy Scripture. In these writings he differs from Luther in his pregnant brevity, which has earned him the unmerited acclaim of greater erudition.

d.   Throughout his **doctrine,** Calvin assumes Zwingli's posture, though less rationalistically prudent and despite his having rated Luther far higher. In the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, he adopted from the Strassburgers the idea of spiritual consumption of the true body of Christ. Hence he backed himself into Zwingli's Nestorianizing position regarding the person of Christ, with the side effect in both consequently felt in regard to the means of grace. In the last analysis, his doctrine of justification and of election is connected with this intellectualistic, and therefore legalistic, trait. Justification he explained in brief terms much like Luther; but it was legalistically attuned instead of evangelically, like the German reformer. In his explanation of the doctrine of election he followed Augustine's lead, even going beyond him. Instead of taking a cue from God like a child, and thus recognizing the unaided efficacy of grace in this doctrine, he confuses here Law and Gospel, with legalistic intellectual consequences, starting from the autonomy of God in the single act of predestination, from which then both damnation and salvation followed. Indeed, God willed the fall of Adam

in order to preserve his honor by saving the elect, as well as by the damnation of reprobates.

e.   This **systematizing type** of theology, in its alleged strict logical consistency, derives as well from the **rationalizing** element inherited from humanism which Calvin never shed, as well as from the **radicalism** with which he proceeded against Rome, with Zwingli and the Anabaptists. The Geneva church order of 1542 recognizes, aside from the sermon, only prayer and the singing of Old Testament psalms in the French translation by Clement Marot. Organs, images, crosses, candles, altars, folding of hands, genuflection, and observation of feast days were abolished. But Sunday worship was stressed with redoubled stringency. Thus to Calvin, the church visible and its organization were a primary concern. And though coalescence with the state at first was not his intention because it impeded his freedom of movement, still we can trace the emphasis on this world of eventual Calvin-oriented Christianity and its involvement in every civic issue, as a direct consequence of Calvin's position, but principally also of himself and his followers. To see through the historical significance of this derivation it is essential to understand how all of the peculiarities which distinguish Calvin from Luther relate to one another in organic context, and, evangelically weighed, appear more nearly kin to Catholicism than to Lutheranism.

f.   Moreover, the **legalistic strain** running through Calvin's style as here described engendered a preference for the Old Testament. Hence too the inflexibility characterizing not only the conduct of inner discipline, but also that of the struggle against Rome. Therefore, it is an historically untenable judgment, one based merely on external evidences, to posit that Calvinism, in contrast to Lutheranism, constitutes the most definitive antithesis to Rome. Calvinism makes common cause with Rome in legalism, in externality, and in the confusion of church and state. Lutheranism, so far from being a sort of connecting member between Rome and Calvinism, stands rather as a perception of the way of salvation entirely distinct from both, the perception of the New Testament, especially that of the Apostle Paul.

g.   But in employing Calvin's style, which agrees with the shallower perception of most people, particularly of western Europeans, Calvinism achieves its **obvious external success**. So too, by revoking the prohibition against usury, it paved the way for capitalism, the resurgence of mercantile enterprise. On the other hand, owing to its bleak view of life, it remained without influence in the realm of art. Dutch painting in the 17th century owes its genius to another source.

§192. Calvinism in France.

a.   Committing heretics to the stake under Francis could not impede the evangelical movement. When the king's sister **Margaret** married the king of Navarre, she protected Protestants at her court (Lefevre known as Faber Stapulensis, and Roussel and Calvin in zealous correspondence with her). Waldensians were drawn into the movement particularly in southern France. But under Henry II (1547-1559), French Protestantism changed over to Calvinism. The king raged more than ever against his father's mistress, Diana of Poitiers and her friend, the high constable Montmorency. But **Calvin's** epistles goaded monks, priests, citizens, and nobles to a resolute heroism which was not proof against an admixture of politics. Mainly involved were the family of **Bourbon Vendome** (Louis of Conde and his brother Anthony of Navarre, the consort of **Johanna d'Albret**, the daughter of Margaret), and the House of Chatillon (the Admiral **Caspar of Coligny**).

b.   In the House of Guise (Francis of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine Charles of Guise), however, there arose against them a powerful opponent, now no longer called Lutherans, but **Huguenots** (=*Eidgenossen*, confederates?) who extended their influence not only in the later French wars, but even as far as Scotland. Francis II (1559-1560) married Mary Stuart, the daughter of Mary of Guise, the sister of the brothers above, and of James V of Scotland.

c.   In the year 1555 the first French Protestant congregation was organized in Paris, on the model of Geneva.

In 1559, the first national synod met in Paris, and adopted the ***Confessio Gallicana*** and the *Disciplina ecclesiastica*, both composed by Calvin. (204 c.)

<p style="text-align:center">§193. Calvinism in England.</p>

a. England had much in common with France, and yet it took a position independent of the continent. The king was an absolute monarch as in France. Humanism was, as in France, less independent than in Germany or Italy. John Colet and Thomas More*,* rather like Faber Stapulensis, were influenced by Marsilius Ficinus*,* in a direction favorable to the church. But, as already with Wycliffe, an opponent against Catholicism had risen from the populace, so even yet, now that the Lollard movement had been suppressed, an anti-papistic attitude also obtained among the English people, concerned only, however, about external subordination to Rome.

b. Luther's influence, to be sure, had made a difference also in England. His tracts were banned in 1521 though, after Henry VIII, thanks to his polemical treatise against Luther, had received a bloody nose, but from the pope the title *Defensor fidei*. The Bible translator John Fryth was burnt at the stake in 1533 and his companion William Tyndale banished in 1535, and, upon allegations by the English, burnt in Antwerp (1536). But already in **1534** Henry had set up the **Anglican state church**. He was anxious to get rid of his Spanish consort Katherine, to make room for Anne Boleyn*.* That is why he dropped Charles V's cause in favor of the pope, aligned with Francis I. But when Cardinal Thomas Wolsey failed to get the pope's permission for his divorce, he was deposed in 1529, and **Thomas Cranmer**, who earlier had officially denounced this marriage, in 1533 sanctioned the divorce and the union with Anne.

c. The king had, as early as 1531, proclaimed the separation of the English church from the pope, and the clergy had recognized him as *"supreme head on earth of the church of England."* In 1534 the parliament had declared this designation legally valid by the **Act of Supremacy**. Thomas Cromwell and Cranmer now moved against the Catholic party, composed of Thomas More*,* Bishop Fisher of Winchester and his successor Gardiner. In 1535, More and Fisher were executed. There was talk at the time about bringing Melanchthon to England. Cranmer was married to Osiander's niece and was an advocate of the Swiss. In 1536, ten reformation articles were drafted, but these retained the doctrine of transubstantiation, private confession, and masses for the dead; Tyndale's and Coverdale's translation of the Bible was now published. But Henry was at sixes and sevens, tossed about by his marriages. In 1539, the "**Bloody Statute**" again defended Catholicism. In 1540 Cromwell was beheaded. That is how the situation continued despite Henry's latest Protestant marriage.

d. As regents for Edward VI (1547-1553), Jane Seymour's son, who was still in his minority, his maternal relatives ruled, the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland (the "Protectors"). Cranmer and Hugh Latimer of Worcester now had a free hand. Bucer, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Bernard Ochino, Paul Fagius*,* and John a Lasco (as pastor to aliens), came to England, and **Calvin** corresponded regularly with all of them. In 1549 the ***Book of Common Prayer***, and in 1552 the **42 Articles**, were established as creeds.

e. Instead of Jane Grey, whom Edward had designated his successor, **Bloody Mary** (Tudor, 1553-1558), the daughter of the Spanish Catherine, became queen. She married Philip of Spain*,* eleven years her junior, and wreaked havoc against the Protestants. Gardiner and Reginald Pole*,* whom Henry had banished, and who had taken part in the evangelical movement in Italy, headed the campaign. Ridley, Latimer, Ferrar, Hooper, and Cranmer were burnt at the stake. Many fled to the continent and were hospitably received in the Netherlands and in **Geneva**, where they assisted Calvin in his struggle against the opposition.

f. This terrorism in England however merely inflamed the public hatred of the papacy. When Anne Boleyn's daughter **Elizabeth** (1558-1603) acceded to the throne after her step-sister, she proved, from training and experience, favorably disposed to Protestantism. Pope Paul IV and the Scottish Mary Stuart confirmed her even farther in this direction by decree and political machination. But vain and capricious as she was, her

influence did not run deep. In 1559 her supremacy was acknowledged by the **Act of Uniformity**, although not as *supremum caput ecclesiae,* but as supreme regent in *ecclesiasticis et politicis.* The *Book of Common Prayer* was revised in a way that retained the Catholic pomp. Matthew Parker*,* her mother's erstwhile curate, condensed Cranmer's 42 Articles to 39 (softening the doctrine of predestination, Lutheran doctrine of baptism, and a Calvinizing doctrine of the Lord's Supper.) These were ratified in 1562 by the spiritual convocation, in 1572 by the Parliament.

g. This **Anglicanism**, with its "apostolic succession" and with its emphasis on patristic, constitution-historical and liturgical studies, remained close to Catholicism, and kept the feeling for it awake in England. Its trait of exclusivity made it a national symbol for the English nobility, but the broad mass of the nation never felt at home in it. The Irish revolted against it. Edward and Elizabeth of course imposed it on the country of Patrick. But the common people remained loyal to Catholicism, and despite their poverty, maintained the Catholic clergy. (207.)

§194. Calvinism in Scotland.

a. In **Scotland**, James V*,* the son of a sister to Henry VIII of England, reigned (1513-1542). Henry tried to draw him into his efforts at reformation. But David Beaton*,* archbishop of St. Andrews, decided he should marry the Catholic Mary of Guise*.* **Patrick Hamilton**, an alumnus of Wittenberg and Marburg, had as early as 1528 been sent to the stake. When James died in 1542, nobility and populace alike rebelled against Beaton. But the queen held the regency, and sent the young Mary over to France in order to prevent her from marrying Edward of England. In France the young princess married the ailing Francis II.

b. But preaching against Beaton was **John Knox**, a stony, inflexible Scot. In 1546 Beaton was murdered, yet in the wars between regency and nobility, in which even the French fleet took part, the Protestants met their match. Knox was condemned to the galley, but then got through to England to Edward's court, and fled from Bloody Mary to Geneva. In **1557** the Protestant nobility of Scotland concluded the **Covenant** against the regent. In the subsequent war against the regent, Elizabeth reinforced them with a fleet. Knox buttressed the Scottish Protestants with tracts from Geneva and in 1559 returned to Scotland.

c. The next year (1560) Queen Mary died, and in Edinburgh, the Edinburgh Agreement was drawn up between the rebel forces and the embassy of Mary Stuart, providing the foundation for the Reformed Scottish state church according to Calvin's principles. The parties accepted the ***Confessio Scotica*** and "The Book of Discipline." In the constitution, the local congregation forms the axis, with a vestry composed of a preacher, a number of elders and deacons. These personages exercise severe church discipline. A college of vestries forms a presbyterium. Added to these were the Provincial Synods and the General Assembly. The worship service, with quarterly celebration of the Lord's Supper, was modeled after Calvin's in Geneva. (207 d.)

4. The Reformation in the Smaller Countries.
§195. Scandinavia, Poland, the Eastern Provinces Austria, Hungary.

a. In **Sweden**, the Reformation proceeded further down the path it had begun. At the imperial diets in Orebro and Westeraes in 1529, 1537, and 1544, the estates completed the transition. The episcopal constitution, exorcism, elevation of the host, prayer for the dead, and priestly vestments were retained. Olaf Petri and Andersen fell into disfavor, while Lorenz Petri*,* as bishop of Uppsala, stood at the controls of the church. Gustav Wasa died in 1560. (218 a.)

b. In **Denmark** Christian III (1533-1559) first made the Reformation functional after the refractory estates had recognized him because of the peril threatened by Wullenweber of Lübeck. In 1536 the imperial diet at Copenhagen deposed the refractory bishops, secularized their domains and monasteries, and called

Bugenhagen to organize the transition. The Odense diet of 1539 ratified his plan. They adopted the Augsburg Confession, but the superintendents retained the title of bishop. The Reformation was introduced from Denmark in **Norway** in 1536, but not until 1551 in **Iceland**.

c.   In **Livonia**, the last field marshal Gotthard Kettler was obliged under Russian constraint to yield his sovereignty to Sigismund of Poland, who, however, secured the Evangelical confession in l561 with the *Privilegium Sigismundi*. As duke, Kettler kept Courland and Semgallen, and commissioned Stephan Büllau to organize the country on Evangelical lines.

d. In **Poland** under Sigismund I (1506-1548), as early as 1523 the **Lutherans** had gained status along with the Catholics in Danzig, Thorn, and Elbing, and thereafter from the 1540s onwards, the **Calvinists** (John a Lasco), and beginning in 1548, the **Bohemian** and **Moravian Brethren,** also began to multiply. Under Sigismund II (1548-1572), who was inclined toward Calvinism, the Protestants in fact gained the upper hand. They called John a Lasco from England, but he labored ineffectually for the union of Reformed and Lutherans. (218 b.)

e.   In **Bohemia**, Lutheranism, along with the Unity of Brethren, gained entrance especially among the Germans in the north. In their dealings with Luther in 1522-1524, the Brethren had preserved their independence. Also the Utraquists [communion in both kinds] had turned to Luther, but in 1525 rejected his doctrine. And yet both groups had later grown increasingly friendly toward Lutheran influences. In the Smalcaldic War, the Moravian Brethren had refused Ferdinand's compulsory military service, and in the persecution fled for the most part to Bohemia. Later, Ferdinand relented, and the Lutherans prospered under Johann Matthesius, the Brethren under Johann Blahoslaw.

f.   The Baptists had penetrated into **Moravia** along with the Lutherans. In **Hungary**, Lutheranism had saturated not only the German cities, but also among practically all of the nobles (Magyars). Matthias Biro (DeVay), one of Luther's students, starting in 1543 introduced the Helvetic Confession. In **Siebenbürgen** the **Walachians** were Greek Orthodox; the **Saxons**, after 1533, turned Lutheran through Johann Honter's instruction; the **Szekder** and **Magyars** were predominantly Calvinist. The widow of Zapolya, who had persecuted the Reformation, and her son were Evangelical. In **Carniola**, Primus Truber and Paul Wiener labored among the Slovenians, and Truber founded Slovenian literature, based in the catechism, New Testament, Psalms, and church hymns.

g.   The **Waldensians** in southern France had to suffer grievously in the persecution of Protestants before the founding of the Reformed church. After 1561 they amalgamated with the Huguenots. At the same time, the Waldensians in Calabria succumbed to the Counter-Reformation. Quite otherwise, the Waldensians in the Piedmont were granted toleration in the Peace of Cavour in 1561 and survived into modern times.

§ 196. The Smaller Sects.

a. With the Reformation there arose at the same time a sectarian movement, which splintered into numerous lesser circles. It was chiefly the tendency to **subjectivism** that governed these circles. But while the two big reform churches adopted the principle of close organization, the opposition of the sects to the Catholic church extended to **opposition to churchianity** in general. If agreed in this opposition, they were yet distinct from one another in their various stresses on radicalism, mysticism, or rationalism. Actually, they are all related to Calvinism, but were at first rejected by the Calvinist church for the above stated reasons. They anticipated the development which Calvinism ultimately had to experience.

b.   The **Baptists.** -After the catastrophe in Münster in 1535, the Baptist movement took a different turn. Merciless persecutions befell all the Baptists, including the silent people among them. They parted into two groups, the one radical, the other moderate. At the Bocholt Convention in 1536 David Joris tried to reconcile them, but the effort failed.

c.   Menno Simons, a Catholic priest, renounced his ministry in 1536, and as an elder of the Ubbonites gathered congregations in the North Sea and Baltic Sea countries. These **Mennonites** repudiated infant baptism, affirmation by oath, and military service, and approved themselves as withdrawn, industrious, and earnest, quiet people. Before long they separated over the issue of excommunication into "coarse" and "refined" Mennonites. After 1572, they found toleration in Holland, Switzerland, in the Palatinate, and in a number of northern German cities.

d.   David Joris, a glass painter from Delft, and a participant in the Münster uprising, became a leader of a radical, chiliastic-prophetic group in these same areas. He lived at last in Basel under the name Johann von Brügge as a Zwinglian until 1556, but clandestinely with his tracts led his adherents as a messiah.

e.   In Moravia, Jakob Hutter of Tyrol in the heavy persecutions beginning in 1536 was the leader of larger organized congregations. He was executed in 1536 in Innsbruck. After 1554-1592, the Baptists were tolerated, and in that interval structured a communistic organization. The Baptists turned up in isolated groups in Graubünden, Italy, Poland, Germany, and particularly in England, the latter closely associated with Holland.

f.   The mystic-speculative trends. -Medieval mysticism continued active, but the Renaissance enriched it with the modern view of nature and platonic philosophy. As a result, it eventuated mainly into pantheism, and replaced the letter with "spirit" or "inner light." Naturally it was mostly individual persons who were so disposed.

g.   The chief promoter of this trend was **Sebastian Franck**. A Catholic priest in Augsburg, he became a Lutheran preacher in Nürnberg, but in 1528 resigned from his pastorate, turned folk writer in Nürnberg and Strassburg, for a while was a soap maker in Esslingen, and lastly a printer in Ulm. He had no use for any kind of cultus, asserted the "inner Word" as against the letter, repudiated the Trinity and Christology, and inclined to pantheism. Another like him was Theobald Thamer*,* one of Luther's students, a professor in Marburg, in 1557 a Catholic, and lastly a professor of theology in Freiburg. Also found in this fellowship as adventurous, fantastic-mystic natural philosophers were Agrippa von Nettesheim (d. 1535) and Bombastus Paracelsus von Hohenheim (d. 1541). Add to these Valentin Weigel (d. 1588), pastor in Zschoppau, and the Dominican Giordano Bruno*,* burnt at the stake in 1600 in Rome.

h.   Two communities materialized in these circles, the **Familists** and the **Schwenkfeldians**. The first was founded as *familia charitatis* by Heinrich Niklaes*,* a merchant, on his journeys in England, Holland, and in northwestern Germany. Niklaes considered himself inspired, and created a hierarchic, mystic-pantheistic organization which attracted adherents, especially in England. The "Ranters" in the time of the Revolution were no doubt somehow connected with it.

i.   The founder of the other community was the Silesian nobleman **Kaspar Schwenkfeld**. One of Luther's erstwhile adherents, expelled from his home, in 1528 he headed for Strassburg, and then for Swabia, where he died in 1561 in Ulm. He trusted only the "inner Word," was averse to every form of churchianity, garbled justification and sanctification, and otherwise conceived peculiar ideas ("deification of the flesh of Christ" in Christology; τουτο ["this"] in the words of institution is not the subject of the sentence, but the predicate, and in fact conveys symbolical meaning).

k.   The **Antitrinitarians**. -This movement actually originated in Italy, soon intermingled with the Baptists in Germany, and not until the next period did it form congregations in Poland and in Siebenbürgen. The movement sprang from rationalistic criticism which the students of Occam directed at church doctrine. The philosophy of the Renaissance fortified this trend. While granting the authority of Scripture, they attacked the doctrine of the Trinity, Christology, and the sacraments, and were **unitarians** and **subordinatianists**. They were for the most part educated writers: Camillo Renato, Matthias Gribaldo, Georg Blandrata, Valentin Gentilis, Laelius Sozzini. In 1550 they sponsored an **Antitrinitarian-Anabaptist council in Venice.** When

they penetrated into southern Switzerland, they collided with Calvinism.

l.   Michael Servetus arrived in Geneva around the same time. He had studied law and theology in Toulouse. In 1530 Öcolampadius in Basel and later Capito in Strassburg turned him down on account of his book *De trinitatis erroribus*. Thereupon he lived in various cities in France as a printer and medical student, and published his principal work *Christianismi restitutio*. Having escaped the Catholic Inquisition, he was apprehended by Calvin as he was passing through Geneva, condemned, and in 1553 burned alive. Thereafter the Antitrinitarians left Switzerland for Poland and Siebenbürgen, after they had found additional Anabaptist adherents in Germany in Johann Denk, Ludwig Hätzer*,* and David Joris.

5.Conclusion of the Reformatory Work and the Catholic Restoration, 1555-1580.
§197. General Summary.

a.   It is difficult to characterize the historical content of this era. During this time the great war of Catholicism in western Europe was raging against Calvinism, clearly in conjunction with the fact that, after the initial shock, Catholicism regained its balance in the Council of Trent [1545-1563] and armed itself for the counterattack. For that reason, one feels inclined to attribute this struggle to the Counter-Reformation. Also, in the development of the Lutheran church a new era began in 1548 with the Leipzig Interim, which extended beyond 1580 into the period of Lutheran scholasticism. Since Luther's death, despite the struggle of the **Gnesio-Lutherans** versus the **Philippists** in the external elaboration of theology, Melanchthon's way was validated, and his most eminent student **Martin Chemnitz** was the chief collaborator in compiling the *Book of Concord*. So we might perhaps connect the time from 1548 to 1580 with the work of the 17th-century dogmaticians, the more so since these dogmaticians devoted themselves to recasting the confessional writings.

b.   Nevertheless, it is better in both instances to date the division between Reformation and Counter-Reformation between 1580 and 1598. The actual **Counter-Reformation** is the work initiated in Rome, done under the leadership of the Jesuit Order, with the object of regaining the seceded areas in Protestant countries, at first by intellectual means, then also by the monstrous Thirty Years' War. Besides, the **western European struggle** against Calvinism does not belong in this era as yet. That struggle rather represents a counterpart to the struggle of the Evangelicals in Germany from 1521 or 1531 onward till 1555, the issue at that time being the Edict of Worms at first, and after a while the Augsburg imperial diet recess, the first conflict at arms in which Protestantism had everywhere to fight it out with Catholicism in order to establish itself externally at the outset.

c.   This conflict clarified the distinction between the style of the Evangelicals in Germany, and the Calvinists in England, France, and Holland. The German Evangelicals derived their style in part from Luther's evangelical influence, in part to be sure from the German lack of a common sensibility as well. This deficiency brought on hesitation, action at cross-purposes, and inconclusive peace. The **Calvinists** exhibited the style of western Europeans, more instant in standing together for concerted action to subdue the enemy with his own means. This is all of a piece with the harsh manner which Calvin made the trademark of his school of theology. This assured Calvinism the advantage in matters external, but at the same time ensured the want of inner depth in its successes. For this reason, the first western European religious struggle must be treated as a counterpart of the Smalcaldic War in the Reformation period.

d.   Also, requiring a similar judgment are the circumstances of **progress in the intellectual development** of Protestantism, not only in Germany, but also in the western countries. The **doctrinal** controversies arising from the Leipzig Interim must still be regarded part of the Reformation work as the church was becoming conscious of the controversial doctrines in their entire context, and was pulling itself together after a struggle over divisive viewpoints. In this struggle the Lutheran side carried the day against Philippism with the Book of

Concord, and Lutheran principles still availed to resist every effort at construction and systematizing, in that these principles draw their breath directly from Scripture. No sooner had the Lutheran church received her confessions than scholasticism of doctrine as a whole as the object of study, contradicting the style Luther exemplified, now weighted theology toward systematics rather than drawing directly from Scripture. To this extent the work done before 1580 belongs to the Reformation era; the dogmatics of the 17th century belongs to an era when the pristine freshness of mind was on the wane.

e.   Things took a somewhat different course in the Reformed church. Fighting with physical weapons in sundry lands, more confessions were set forth (based on Calvin's *Institutes*) in defiance of Catholicism. And these again were defended by force of arms. When at length it came to the showdown in **Dortrecht** in **1618**, the myriad trends in the Reformed church flew apart. And right here we see the difference between German Lutheranism and extra-German Calvinism. The naturally individualistic Germans are united by Scripture in religion, the naturally unionist western Europeans are sundered by religious individualism. The tyranny of this individualism, exactly like Lutheran scholasticism, is a product of mental exhaustion. This gave the Counter-Reformation of the Catholics an open field to wage their war.

f.   Of **Catholic history** we might fairly state that we could calculate the time of the Counter-Reformation from the founding of the Jesuit Order, were there no more to it than that. But if we look ahead to the end of the 16th century, how, among Catholics as well, after the revival the whole intellectual life died down, since after Aquaviva an entirely different, new era dawned, and if we consider that all of these factors were interrelated with the tide of events on earth, then it is better to regard the first revival of the Catholic church, as well as her temporarily more liberal position anent Protestantism, as a product of reform- or compromise-Catholicism, beginning in the sixteen-thirties, and lasting till nearly the end of the century.

a. Restoration of the Catholic Church.
§198. General Summary.

a.   When Luther emerged with his teaching of the Gospel, the papacy was as ill-equipped as possible, owing to its deficient understanding of Scripture, to encounter the new doctrine from the Catholic point of view. The popes were utterly unable to judge the signs of the times. They thought they could handle the matter employing their violent measures. Clement VII*,* moreover, being a Medici, was so caught up in his domestic affairs that he could not apply enough energy to the problem, and he was too much of a crooked politician to penetrate very deeply or accomplish anything properly. The Gospel itself indirectly had to bring the actual opponents onto the battlefield.

b.   These opponents were Cardinal **John Peter Caraffa** and the Spaniard **Ignatius of Loyola**. When the Gospel began to work in Italy, Caraffa submitted to its influence. After 1542 he turned to violence and recommended the Inquisition. He imbued the reform-Catholicism of this time with its reactionary character. Loyola created the army of warriors in the Jesuit Order which modernized medieval superstition, and of all the institutions of Catholicism it pursued the interests of the anti-Christ with the deadliest aim and purpose. The success of both endeavors materialized in the **Council of Trent**. A new Catholicism with a new brand of piety emerged. It was still the same old medieval miracle-crazed persuasion, but in its new attire, which the culture, stimulated chiefly by the Reformation, demanded, and which has enabled the Catholic Church ever since to adapt itself to every turn of events in the world, and yet, for all that, to stay sitting in medieval darkness. It was out of this restoration that the **Counter-Reformation** sprang.

§199. Reform-Catholicism.

a.   When the Reformation began, the **Spanish** church experienced the most favorable stimulation in the entire

Catholic world through the combination of the study of Augustine in the Dominican Order with humanism, which produced the **Complutensian Polyglot** (1514-1517) of **Ximenes**. Owing to this too, Luther's efforts there were not in vain. The Gospel took root in the emperor's immediate environs and beyond, among many important personages: Alfonso de Viroës and Ponce de la Fuente, the court chaplains, Alfonso de Valdés, the emperor's secretary, Rodrigo Valér and his friend Juan Gil, the bishop of Tortosa, and many others who brought the Gospel to Spain directly from Wittenberg. But **Charles V's** stupidity, exacerbated by his Spanish hauteur and the Hapsburg family's selfish preoccupation, knew nothing but the aggrandizement of his power, and therefore had no understanding for the German monk's spiritual anguish or for the truth which he proclaimed, and prompted him already in 1521 to proceed against the Evangelical movement. But he was unable to eradicate it completely; and thus a movement came about which at the very least gave impetus to the Restoration in the Catholic church.

b.   When **Philip II** (1556-1598) presently came to the helm after the Religious Peace of Augsburg, Jesuitism, likewise originating in Spain, had already begun its work. The morbid monarch thrust the culture of his nation back into the murk of the Middle Ages. Admittedly, Spain gave to the Catholicism of the 16th century, with all its poverty of imagination, the theologians Francisco Suarez S.J. and Melchior Cano O.P., among the **most noteworthy of the century**; here too the **mysticism** of Theresa de Jesus (1515-1582) originated, but Suarez and Cano were authentic representatives of Jesuit theology, and mysticism, authentically Catholic as it is, served to pave the way for Jesuitism, even though Jesuitism eventually rejected mysticism. So the chief traits of Spanish Catholicism are these: 1. adherence to traditional church doctrine; 2. striving toward sanctification of life; 3. a national Spanish stamp with strongly asserted fanaticism (derived from earlier contentions of the faith); 4. quietism.

c.   In **Italy** too, humanism had inspired a trend toward restoring the church. Then, when Luther's doctrine resounded, this trend gained acceptance despite the fury of the pope. The first signs of this movement appeared already in 1523-1527 in the Oratory of Divine Love, a society of clerics modeled on the associations of Italian academicians. This society meant to emulate mutual edification in earnest devotion. **Caraffa**, Sadolet, Giberti, and Gaetano da Thiene were members. In the year 1524 Gaetano and Caraffa founded the Order of the Theatines. The loose organization of the Oratory seemed to be no longer adequate. But the membership continued in their pursuits as indicated until Caraffa, the actual leader, introduced heresy hunting and prosecution.

d.   Although the *Sacco di Roma* (May 6, 1527) destroyed the Oratory, its influence extended to many cities and formed small circles of prominent men and women. In **Modena**, the representative was the bishop Morone, in **Venice** Reginald Pole, in **Ferrara** the Duchess Renata of Este, Victoria Colonna, and Olympia Morata, in **Naples** the deepest of all of them, the Spaniard Juan Valdéz, brother of the fore-cited Spaniard Alfonso and friend of the evangelical-minded Julia Gonzaga, duchess of Trajetto (d. 1566). To all appearances, the most noteworthy was Gasparo Contarini. The most important tract this circle published was *The Book of the Benevolence of Christ* (*Beneficio di Christo*), authored by Benedetto da Mantova.

e.   The popes kept their distance from this movement. Leo X was an art-loving pagan; Adrian VI (1522-1523) strove in vain to reform the church along Catholic lines; Clement VII (1523-1534) was an irreligious politician; Paul III (1534-1549), worldly, sensual, and characterless, looked out for his relatives. But in the vicissitudes of politics he was unable to hold his own against the prominent friends of reform, and adopted their priorities into his program. At that point, however, **Caraffa** defected to the reaction and in **1542** inaugurated the **Inquisition,** and the Evangelical movement was eradicated. Peter Martyr Vermigli, Bernardino Ochino, Renata, Olympia Morata, and Paul Vergerius fled over the Alps to the Protestants. Victoria Colonna, Morone, and Pole remained in the Roman church, but later, when Caraffa became pope, despite their

prominence, they were in danger of their lives. The Jesuit Order came into being under Paul III, and the Council of Trent was convoked. Both the Order and the Council embody the present day style of the Roman church. (202 a.)

f. Various orders took their cue from this movement in their founding, regulation, and particular activity. The Capuchins in 1528 branched off from the Franciscan Order, with a particular mandate for popular preaching. Bernardino Ochino was one of their most preeminent preachers. Capuchinades [sermons preached between services]. Newly founded orders in 1533 included the Barnabites, for eleemosynary service, pastoral care, youth instruction; the Angelicals in 1534, for the conversion of women; the Somaskians in 1532, for general charitable work; and the Ursuline Nuns in 1537, for the training of girls. (202 b.)

§200. The Jesuit Order.

a.   The founder. -Iñigo Lopez de Recalde y Loyola, a Spanish nobleman, was wounded in 1521 in the defense of Pamplona against the French, and, reading the legends of the saints, felt moved in his transports to dedicate himself to the church. He consecrated himself particularly to Mother Mary, hung up his weapons in her shrine on Mt. Montserrat, then entered the Dominican monastery at Manresa, where he practiced asceticism, contemplation of his own past, and mystical exaltation (whence the *exercitia spiritualia*). At the age of thirty-three he studied philosophy in Complutum and theology in Salamanca and Paris. In Paris, six like-minded men attached themselves to him: Peter Faber, Francis Xavier, Diego Lainez, Simon Rodriguez, Alfons Salmeron, and Nicholas Bobadilla. Their order, intended to operate under particular authority of the pope (1534) with the name of *Compañia de Jesus* as a spiritual military force, was established in **1540** by Paul III as **Ordo Societatis Jesu**. Ignatius was the Society's first general, in charge until 1556. He was succeeded by Diego Lainez until 1568 and by Francis Borgia until 1581.

b.   The constitution. -Only healthy and talented people were accepted, after a two-year novitiate under a novice master, to advanced training as *scholastici approbati* in collegiate houses under a rector. After fifteen years, the most talented became priests and spiritual coadjutors (teachers at colleges, curates, etc.), and the fully approved, not younger than forty-five, were admitted as *professi* (the three vows, of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and the fourth, of obedience to the pope). The less capable novices became secular coadjutors (administration of economic affairs) with the customary monastic vows.

**c.   **Renunciation of one's own personality, *perinde ac si cadaver essent* ("just as if they were corpses") was the goal of the organization for the individual. By a rigorous system of control extending to all members including the general, they constituted a reliable troop for the one they obeyed. In the *exercitia spiritualia,* held annually for four weeks, they became familiar with and maintained the spiritual drill which molded them into the real representatives of post-reformation Catholicism, which transmitted the legalistic mechanical belief in miracles of the Middle Ages into the modern era enlightened by the Gospel.

**d.   **The exercises adverted to older mystical literature, but were specially and methodically revised by Ignatius into a military exercise. In self-contemplation, the first thing encountered was sin, then one moved on to redemption and perfection. With consummate psychological craft a sense of awe was generated and made active, in which the trainee tried to feel himself present in the biblical narratives in order to make direct contact with the child Jesus and the holy virgin. A similar process took place with regard to the horrors of hell and the glory in paradise. Hand in hand with this process, the will underwent a testing and tempering in conforming with the church and her volition, to advertise her systems, and to prosecute her aims. All this was in order to mold a man into a mechanically trained tool for his superiors to use with precision. Allied with the balance of the training which capitalized on the particular talents of the apprentices, the *exercitia* provided the Jesuits with a pool of people ready to meet any contingency in their work, equipped with all the means calculated for a

given purpose.

e.   Presiding at the head of the order was the general, whose company included the five most conscientious *professi* acting as representatives of the five provinces, his assistants and an admonitor, who also served as his father confessor. This council formed the general staff of the order whose hands manipulated the threads of all phases of the order's activity. Provincials functioned as lieutenants in respective countries wherever the work of the order was done. Beside the spiritual superior of every house of the order, a procurator stood guard, supervising the secular coadjutors. An *exercitia* master was elected for the annual *exercitia spiritualia*. Thus mutual espionage ran through all levels of the order, and extended even to the general. The Jesuits wear no particular habiliments like the monks, but have retained the attire of the Spanish secular clergy of that time. The rule of their order is contained in the *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu* (Rome, 1583, completed in Prague in 1757 in the *Institutum Soc. Jes.*; the *Monita secreta*, Cracow, 1612, are not recognized).

f.   The goal of the order, maintained with astonishing consistency, was to combat heretics in their own homeland by any expedients, and to regain sovereignty for the Catholic church. The expedient was always to exploit every new idea (popular sovereignty, tyrannicide), which, morally considered, came down to accommodation not only of heathen conceptions, but also of universal human frailties and impulses. That covered every shade of intrigue and perfidy. At the courts of princes, in the confessional, at the schools and universities which they founded or took over, they exerted the power of their mind and their influence also on the laity, in their peculiar goal-oriented, unscrupulous policy. The culmination of these ideas is the *Collegium Romanum* of 1551 in Rome, to which there was added the following year the *Collegium Germanicum*, intended particularly for the training of German clergy.

g.   The order's accommodation of every impulse of natural man, in defiance of the Gospel, explains its swift expansion in Italy, Spain, Portugal, South America, then in Germany and the Netherlands. In France the parliament resisted, but in 1561 Lainez got the parliament to grant the order admission. (212 b, c.)

§201. The Council of Trent.

a.   The first great piece of work issuing from the restoration of the Catholic church in the 16th century is the **Council of Trent, 1545-1563**. It met for three extended periods of time: 1545-1547, 1551-1552, and 1562-1563. The first period was still during the time of Pope Paul III. And this was the most consequential period, because during this session, the medieval doctrinal position was established as unreformable for Catholicism. Opposing the intention of the emperor, who after all was the one who had called the Council into existence, the Council opened its sessions with a motion to reject Protestantism. The emperor, whose chief peculiarity was his inability to understand the signs of the times, no matter where he looked, had wanted a council to reconcile opinions.

b.   Chairing the Council were the legates del Monte, Cervino, and Pole. By headcount, the Italians were in the majority. The deliberations took place in committee meetings, the decisions in public sessions. Sessio I-VIII dealt with the doctrine of Scripture (Old Testament Apocrypha declared canonical, Scripture and tradition equivalent, Vulgate text authentic, the church the sole interpreter); original sin (semi-Pelagian, erasure of original sin by baptism; after baptism, only sins of commission; lust is no sin); justification (not forgiveness of sins, but sanctification and renewal; hence not brought about by imputation, *actus forensis*, but by infusion, *actus physicus*); sacraments and ecclesiastical reforms. Because Emperors Charles and Ferdinand protested against the dealings as hostile to the Protestants, the Council was transferred to Bologna in 1549. There two more sessions were held. After that it was summoned to Rome, where it terminated without adjournment in 1549, following Paul's death.

c.   Cardinal del Monte became Pope Julius III (1550-1555). Nothing more than a nepotist, he reopened the

Council in Trent under pressure in 1551. The Protestants, now under the direction of the Augsburg and Leipzig Interims, having lost their inner strength, mobilized themselves to participate. The *Confessio Saxonica*, composed by Melanchthon*,* and the Württemberg Confession (by Brenz)*,* both of which had real strength, set forth the Protestant position. Some of the Protestants had already arrived in Trent, some were still on the way, when Maurice's betrayal of the emperor abruptly closed the Council.

d.   Julius III's successor was Marcellus II*,* an honest man. His reign lasted only 21 days. Caraffa was named his successor as **Paul IV** (1555-1559). Thanks to the Inquisition, he had eradicated every evangelical trace in Italy. Pius IV (1560-1565), under the kinder influence of his nephew **Carlo Borromeo**, opened the Council in 1561 for the third period. The papal legates enjoyed unlimited power. The Jesuit Lainez was present. German, Spanish, and mainly French bishops demanded reform as it was understood in the waning Middle Ages. But the predominant influence of the Italians hindered success. Nevertheless, the doctrine of papal infallibility failed to gain recognition. The legitimation of the conciliar decision was left up to the pope, and in 1563, with a curse on the heretics, the Council disbanded. The governments in Germany, Hungary, and France refused to recognize the Council. The curia later worked out a number of tracts on the basis of the work the Council had done: *Index librorum prohibitorum* (1562)*, Professio fidei Tridentinae* (1564), *Catechismus Romanus* (1566), *Breviarium Romanum* (1568), *Missale Romanum* (1570), *Editio Sixtina* of the Vulgate (with numerous errata; 1590); *Editio Clementina* of the Vulgate (1592; still with 2000 mistakes).

§202. The External History of the Catholic Church after the Council.

a.   From the Catholic point of view, the conciliar labors had completed the **restoration of Catholicism**, and this became observable in the life of the church. A religious vogue appeared among the popes, lasting till the end of the century, even though nepotism continued until the French Revolution. During the reign of the strict ascetic Pius V (1566-1572): reform, the Inquisition, renewal of the bull *In coena Domini* for the damnation of heretics, in 1570 the deposition of Elizabeth of England*,* in 1571 a naval victory over the Turks at Lepanto. During that of Gregory XIII (1572-1585): the singing of the *Te deum* and a medal commemorating the Massacre of St. Bartholomew [August 24, 1572], Counter-Reformation and nunciatures in Germany, calendar reform in 1582 (accepted by Germany in 1700, by England in 1752, by Sweden in 1753). During the reign of Sixtus V (1585-1590): suppression of banditry in the pontifical state, the Sistine Vulgate, promotion of the Vatican library and of architecture. (212 a.)

b.   The **orders** too grew after the Council, mostly in Romance countries. Their objective was no longer what it was before, to lead a life of contemplation, but rather to work in the world in the interests of the church, teaching, or caring for the infirm. In 1540 the Portuguese Juan Ciudad founded the **Merciful Brethren**. The Florentine Filippo Neri founded the **Oratorians** for mutual edification in 1548 (the church historians Baronius and Raynaldus were members)*.* The term "oratorio" derives from their musical productions. In 1562 the male and female Carmelites were reformed by Theresa de Jesus and Juan de la Croce. The Feuillantes emerged in the Cistercian Order in 1586 (212 e.)

c.   One of the chief activities of the orders was **overseas missions.** Already prior to the Reformation, the first episcopal see in **America** was established in Santo Domingo (1513). But the Spanish here (West Indies, Florida, New Mexico, Mexico, and Brazil) drove out the conquerors, and unlike the French of a later day, did not know how to colonize, because all they were after was to win the wealth of the country, not to develop its culture. Consequently, mission work, all in all, predictably served only this purpose, though not always because the missionaries intended it so. Here in 1526 we find Montesinos in Florida and in 1536 Marcos de Niza in New Mexico*,* and in 1536-1566 the noble **Bartholomew de las Casas** in the West Indies and Mexico, who truly wanted to win over the Indians, and for that reason interceded for them against the tyranny of the

conquerors. In 1565 St. Augustine was founded on the mainland, and around the same time the Spaniard Menendez demolished Ribault's Huguenot settlement in South Carolina. In 1542 Francis Xavier went to **India** and later to **Japan**, and in 1582 Matthew Ricci to **China**, where both soon met with great success, thanks to their accommodations. (212 f).

d.   Another activity was the **Counter-Reformation,** especially in **Germany**. Without this, Germany in a few decades would have become Lutheran. But in 1549 the Jesuits arrived in Ingolstadt, in 1551 in Vienna, summoned by Ferdinand. The first Jesuit provincial for **Germany** was Peter Canisius*,* who won over large areas in Austria and Switzerland by introducing his catechisms for secondary and primary schools.

e.   Combined with this school work was the **despotism of the princes**. Duke Albrecht of Bavaria (1550-1579), who was comfortable with compromise Catholicism, and as recently as 1564 had received sanction of the lay cup for his country, re-catholicized his stoutly Lutheran country in 1571, as well as the duchies of Haag and Baden-Baden (entrusted to him in guardianship), both also entirely Lutheran. The electoral princes of Trier and Mainz followed suit, also the abbot of Fulda, the sovereign bishop of Würzburg, the bishops of Bamberg, Salzburg, Hildesheim, Münster, Paderborn, and others. Nunciatures were set up as central sees of Jesuit intrigue in Vienna in 1581, and in 1582 in Cologne. Cardinal Carlo Borromeo was active in Switzerland, and founded a *Collegium Helveticum* in Milan. Anton Possevin S.J. worked in the **Baltic provinces**, and even converted the king of Sweden and extended his activity to Russia (Ivan IV and Stephan Bathory). In **France**, **England**, and **Holland** the western European war followed the same drift, a subject however that falls under a different rubric. (216.)

§203. Catholic Piety and Theology.

a.   The **piety** of the pew now experienced renewed nourishment and structure. The very traits the Reformation denounced in medieval Catholicism were now not merely maintained, but were intensified with reactionary rigor: sacramentalism, the cult of saints and relics, faith in miracles. St. Theresa cultivated the adoration of Joseph, the foster father of Jesus, the Jesuits the two sainted boys Stanislaus and Aloysius, the Bohemians St. Nepomuk (later, after 1620). Confessional, mass, Eucharist, adoration of the host, were now more highly esteemed, and ironically, precisely by these means the cleft between clergy and laity made more unbridgeable.

b.   Mysticism had its representatives in St. **Theresa** and **Carlo Borromeo**. Since the middle of the century, superiors in monasteries recommended the "inner way," (prayer and contemplation, with visionary ecstasy on the decline and volitional passivity on the rise, generating a pathological self-scrutiny). The founder was Peter of Aleantara*,* his disciple St. Theresa*,* and her collaborator **Juan de la Croce**. Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, a man accounted the ultimate curate and prince of the church, took a more practical turn. In fact, even asceticism and self-flagellation made a comeback, and all of these impulses now took hold of larger masses of the population than in the Middle Ages. (212 d.)

c.   In **theology** we find a more energetic and conscious reliance on tradition. This attitude on the one hand helped scholasticism to regain its old place, and on the other, pioneered the study of history in the form of patristics. Tradition was the mainstay of Roman theology. Not only did this mode of thinking forbid any kind of free exegesis at all, but every step forward in the development ever since Trent is pre-conditioned by the step backward into the very tradition that created Catholicism. In fact, tradition now counted for more than it ever had. With this victory, Thomas of Aquinas won his prominent position, while Scotism, which had wanted to do away with scholasticism, henceforth retreated. Scholasticism brought with it the intellectually helpless mode of thinking that is neither exegesis nor philosophy. Language and logic are not a direct expression of the imagination, but rather, language is a mechanical composition of words and constructions and logic an equally mechanical composition of rules of thinking with which one can at will switch on to any determined track, like

unlicensed lawyers. But with the meticulous education which the Jesuits received, this scholasticism acquired a masterfully sophisticated cast, well suited to achieve the aims of this theology, dogmatics and polemics.

d. In this way the Jesuits developed a singular **moral theology**. To be sure, medieval **casuistry** had already paved the way for it. Now the heightened significance of the confessional sparked its further development. By casuistry we mean the application of common moral law to concrete, practical cases in order to decide questions of conscience, especially in the conflict of duties. Such activity has a way of treating only the surface of problems. Medieval Catholicism had long since systematized the art of finding superficial solutions by the mechanical evaluation of life, measuring sins on the scale of the penitential tax, and good works on that of their meritorious value. The Jesuits now began counseling consciences with an eye to future ways of living. Their primary achievement in the area of morality was probabilism, a theory which allows one, if caught between a rock and a hard place, to act on an opinion one is unsure of, as long as it seems *probabilis*, probably right. Such rationalization could only enfeeble the concept of sin, the feeling of right and wrong, the earnestness of repentance.

e. Only four men of consequence distinguish the Catholicism of this period. These men are also the most consequential representatives of Roman doctrine in the entire time from the Council of Trent until deep in the time of the Counter-Reformation. Melchior Canus O. P. (d. 1560) and Francis Suarez S.J. (d. 1617) made their marks as dogmaticians; as historians and polemicists, **Caesar Baronius** (d. 1607), an Oratorian in Rome (*Annales ecclesiastici*), and **Robert Bellarmine** S.J. (d. 1621; *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei*). The Annals of Baronius were written to confute the *Magdeburg Centuries*, and introduced Catholic **historical research** of the 17th century into France. Bellarmine wrote in a mild vein, leaning on the work of the Council of Trent. He defended the infallibility of the pope on the one hand, and on the other, the sovereignty of the people.

f. Even now, there were still internal Catholic doctrinal controversies, but only in reaction to Pelagianism, which was fermenting at the end of this period in the Jesuit Order; and they merely served to spur the Order on to victory. The doctrine of immaculate conception was never settled at the Council of Trent. Nor was that of papal infallibility. The controversy between the Thomists and Scotists on divine grace was equally inconclusive. Thus in Louvain in 1567 Michael Bajus could stand up for Augustine. Franciscans and Jesuits took care of condemnation through Pius V. For that the University entered the fray against the Pelagianism of the Jesuits in 1587. Louis Molina, a Portuguese, tried to intercede with a semi-Pelagian argument, but now managed to get both orders, the Dominicans and the Jesuits, up and at each other. The controversy was never settled, but flared up again in the next period with a vengeance. (212 g.)

g. Considered from the Catholic point of view, the work of the Council of Trent and of the Jesuit Order constitutes a **resurgence of Catholicism**. From this base, this doctrinal position regenerated itself ever and again whenever it grew weary; because here, where that position had opposed Luther's Gospel, it revealed what it had actually amounted to even in the Middle Ages. In the Protestant judgment, of course, this doctrinal position means that the papacy exists under the judgment of hardening, insomuch that it cannot understand the Gospel anymore, and must keep on blinding its own understanding with habits of thought which in modern times, what with advances in linguistics and historical research, cannot be justified even in the eyes of men.

h. Despite this resurgence of the papacy, the popes lost the leadership in international politics. In this area **Philip II** of Spain was a master, to the chagrin of the curia.

b. The West-European Struggle between Catholicism and Calvinism.
§204. General Summary.

a. Calvinism in France, England, Scotland, and the Netherlands closed ranks in order to meet the attack

threatening from Spain and France. The ancient conflict between the two Catholic republics spilled over into **Philip's** reign (1556-1598). This prince united in his hand Spain, Milan, Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, the Netherlands, and the free duchies. His consort Mary ruled over England and Ireland. Frail, halting, and inflexible as was his father, he inherited from his grandmother Juana a dismal and inscrutable disposition. World dominion under the Catholic faith was his ambition. His union with Mary was issueless and lost him the hope of engrossing England. Henry II of France, united with Pope Paul IV and the Turks, designed to take the Netherlands, but was obliged in 1559 to step back in the Peace of Chateau Cambrésis. At this juncture the two Catholic monarchs joined together to do battle against Calvinism.

b. In 1559 in the Netherlands, the nobility rose up against the Spanish, the insurrection in its first thrust lasting until the Union of Utrecht in 1579, when the northern provinces, predominantly Protestant, severed their connection with Spain. This was not exactly a war of religion. Immediately following the death of William of Orange in 1584, a religious war did in fact break out under Maurice of Orange, prolonged till the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. This war thus happened in the time of the Counter-Reformation, its termination coinciding with the Thirty Years' War in Germany. The peace with France concluded, Philip married Elizabeth of Valois, but France was at the time of Charles IX estranged for a while from Spain, swayed by the influence of Catherine de Medici and Coligny; yet the Catholic party always remained allied with Philip.

c. In 1576 the Guises concluded the Holy League, which until 1594 fought against the Huguenots. At the same time, Elizabeth of England was put under the ban by the pope (1570), and a Catholic conspiracy interceded for Mary Stuart. In 1585 the Oranian was murdered, a mass conversion of Huguenots was initiated in the southern Netherlands by the Union Edict of Henry III; in 1587 Mary Stuart was executed; in 1588 the Armada was destroyed; in 1589 the Guises and Henry III were murdered; in 1592-1594 the Spanish were driven out of the northern provinces by Maurice. The Edict of Nantes in 1598 terminated the western European War, and Protestantism had stood its ground. These wars must now be set forth one by one. (206).

§205. The War of Liberation of the Dutch.

a. Charles V had from the beginning applied every severity against the Lutheran confession in the Netherlands. In 1523 Heinrich Voes and Johann Esch were burned at the stake. Also, when Calvinism made inroads from France and Switzerland, along with Anabaptism, in the 1550s, Charles unleashed the full fury of his wrath against them. When Philip assumed the regency in 1555, the Inquisition began operating then and there. In 1555, the Bible translator Jakob von Liesfeld was executed. Thereupon the Antwerp Synod adopted the ***Confessio Belgica***. This was actually a personal tract written by Guido de Bres, which he had put together in 1562, and in fact in the Calvinist, anti-Lutheran vein. Thus was the Dutch Reformed Church organized.

b. According to Philip's plan, however, the Netherlands were to be ecclesiastically reconstituted. Instead of four bishoprics, he wanted to institute three archbishoprics with fifteen suffragans in order to unify the country ecclesiastically and politically, and make it independent of foreign influence. But this plan encroached upon the rights of clergy and estates. Everyone was grumbling too about the presence of the Spanish troops. In 1559 Philip had installed Margaret of Parma as lieutenant governor (*Statthalterin*) and Cardinal Granvella as chancellor and primate. In 1564 Granvella and the troops had to back down before the rising rage of the populace which trembled at the Inquisition. The religious edicts nonetheless remained in place. In 1565 the League of Nobles was organized in Brussels, dubbed by their opponents with the sobriquet ***Geuex*** ["beggars"], which in 1566 demanded the discontinuation of posting the names of heretics, and the convocation of the States General. A religious movement arose which soon petered out in iconoclasm.

c. The leader of the Dutch was **William**, Count of Nassau-Orange, brought up first as a Lutheran, then as a Catholic, son-in-law of Maurice of Saxony, and court favorite of Charles V. Philip now dispatched the sinister

Duke of Alba with a huge army, and he set in motion a reign of terror (1567-1573). At the behest of the elector, Maximilian II of Germany registered a protest against this breach of the religious peace. But the Prince of Orange had to flee, and in 1573 the Counts Egmont and Hoorn were executed. The upshot was that the insurrection became all the more epidemic. William of Orange, publicly changing sides to Calvinism, returned from exile.

d.   Alba in fact was recalled. But under his successors Iuñiga (1573-1576), Don Juan d'Austria (1576-1578), and Alexander Farnese of Parma (1578-1592), the northern provinces formed the **Utrecht Union** in 1579 and broke away from Spain. In 1581 they declared their independence and in 1584 defended it after the murder of William of Orange under his son **Maurice**, till the first recognition in the truce of 1609-1621. During this time of war Maurice and Jan of Oldenbarneveldt appealed to England and the Huguenots in France. The English defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 was a boon to them, and when Philip III (1598-1621) acceded to the Spanish throne, he was not equal to the task of ruling over an undiminished inheritance of Charles V.

e.   The first Netherlands national synod met in 1571 at Emden. A fight flared up over church polity, whether for free church or state church (Erastianism). Calvinism became the state religion. Dissenters, even Catholics, were tolerated. In 1580 optional civil marriage was introduced in Holland and West Friesland. Through the founding of the universities of Leyden in 1575, Franeker in 1585, Groningen in 1612, Utrecht in 1636, and Harderwijk in 1648, Calvinist scholarship attained to full flower. The southern provinces were recatholicized, and thanks to the emigration of Protestants, severely damaged in their economy. (215 b.)

§206. The Huguenot War in France.

a.   Under Francis II (1559-1560) the two Guises held sway in **France**, and went wild with the *Chambre ardente*. The conspiracy of Amboise, clandestinely conducted by Henry Conlé, misfired. But the king died, and the enemy of the Guises, Catherine de Medici, ran the government in place of the underage brother of Francis, Charles IX (1560-1574). She sided with the Bourbons. The **Religious Dialogue of Poissy** in 1561, where Beza and Peter Vermigli debated with Lainez and Maret, and whither also five German Lutheran theologians were on their way at the instigation of the Guises but arrived too late, implemented the enactment of the Edict of St. Germain in 1562, granting the Protestants free religious practice outside of the cities.

b.   Still, the bloodbath of Vassy plotted by the Guises, brought on the **eight religious wars** (1562-1589). In the first war, Catherine sided with the Huguenots against the Guises. In 1562 Francis of Guise was shot. The legitimist **Coligny** now joined the side of the Protestants, and in 1563 Catherine drew up the Peace of Amboise. Then she entered alliance with Spain against the heretics. But in the second war her general and baiter-in-chief Montmorency fell, and the Peace of Longjumeau (1568) was concluded. In the third war England supported the Huguenots. Although Louis Condé fell, the Peace of St. Germain en Laye in 1570 awarded the Protestants four surrendered citadels in southern France. Peace now seemed assured, and plans were made to celebrate it in conjunction with the marriage of Henry of Navarre, the frivolous son of Joanna d'Albret, and the equally frivolous Margaret of Valois, Catherine's daughter. Coligny exerted great influence on Charles IX. But Catherine made common cause with the Guises in the Massacre of **St. Bartholomew's Eve**, August 23-24, 1572.

c.   Around this time Henry of Anjou, Charles' brother, thanks to Jesuit influence assumed the throne of Poland, where in 1573 he was required to vow to uphold the *Pax dissidentium*, but already the next year he returned to France to become his brother's successor. In the subsequent wars Henry of Navarre was the leader of the Huguenots. At his wedding to the royal princess he had abjured his faith, but had then fled again to the Protestants and returned to Calvinism.

d.   The leaders of the Catholics now were the two younger Guises, Duke Henry and Cardinal Louis of

Lorraine, together with King Henry III. Henry took the lead in the Holy League (entered upon by the Guises in 1576 with Philip of Spain), but had the bothersome Guises murdered and fled to the Huguenots, and was then murdered by the fanatic Dominican, James Clement. Henry of Navarre became king (1589-1610) as **Henry IV**, but could accede to the throne only by switching for the second time to Catholicism. In **1598,** with the **Edict of Nantes,** he granted the Protestants freedom, though to be sure only on a limited basis, if also on a broader scale (civic equality of rights, mixed tribunals, eight security centers valid for eight years, practice of religion except in the current ruler's residence and in four main cities). (215 f.)

§207. Catholic Intrigues in England and Scotland.

a. **Elizabeth of England** had been declared illegitimate by the pope in 1559, and **Mary Stuart**, as consort of Francis II of France, laid claim to the throne of England. This succession to the throne however would have foiled the interests of Philip II of Spain, who himself was angling for the English throne. Hence the friction between Spain and France before the Huguenot war broke out. But Francis died, and in 1561 Mary went to Scotland where she was compelled to promise to leave untouched the Presbyterian constitution of the state church; nevertheless, she never granted the constitution her sanction. This frivolous French woman sought in vain to win over the adamant **John Knox**, and her disorderly life (her marriage to Henry Darnley in 1565, the murder of Riccio in 1566, the murder of Darnley in 1567, her marriage to the murderer Bothwell only a few weeks thereafter) provoked a conspiracy of the Scots which forced her to abdicate in 1567 and to flee to England. There Elizabeth took her prisoner.

b. More than one conspiracy threatened the life of Elizabeth. In 1570 the pope cast the queen under ban. In Rome and Reims seminaries for priests were set up for Englishmen (*Collegium Anglicanum*). From Rome and France priests swarmed to England. When William of Orange was assassinated, Elizabeth went a step farther in 1586 and signed the death warrant for Mary. Philip II responded by taking up arms against England, a gesture also aimed at the rising sea power of the island kingdom. But in 1588 his invincible armada was destroyed in the Channel. This marked the end of Spain's significance as a world power.

c. Yet in England too, many Calvinist Protestants took issue with the Anglican church. They had returned from Geneva after the death of Bloody Mary, and found in the Act of Uniformity of 1559 something that differed from Catholicism only in the person of the chief magistrate. Because of their opposition they acquired the sobriquet of **Non-conformists** or **Dissenters**, and after 1564, **Puritans**. After 1572 they formed Separatist congregations with presbyterial and synodical constitutions, and became especially odious to the queen with their prophesyings (weekly congregational meetings for edifying ends). In 1583 Elizabeth named the High Commission to prosecute all Non-conformists and Dissenters. Many emigrated to the Netherlands.

d. In **Scotland** in 1567, under Mary Stuart's successor James VI, who acted as regent for James of Murray, the government officially recognized the Reformed church, and Catholic public worship was prohibited on pain of death. The nobility acquired the church property. The irresolute king, himself taking up the reins of government in 1578, was minded to restrict the Reformed church, but was finally compelled in 1592 to give up his efforts to do so. (215 g.)

c. Completion of Reform Work in Germany.
§208. Division among the Lutherans.

a. The years immediately following the Augsburg Religious Peace (1555) reveal at first still more external strengthening of Lutheranism. The **Electoral Palatinate** under Ottheinrich (1556-1559) converted to Protantism. When Frederick III the Pious (1559-1576) succeeded to the throne after him, he reformed Simmern as well. After Duke Henry had died, **Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel** under Julius (1568-1589)

followed suit. Many spiritual principalities under the influence of the Protestant nobility, despite the "spiritual reservation," were reformed in such a way as to elect Protestants as bishops and administrators. Now only the Hapsburg ancestral countries remained Catholic: Bavaria, Lorraine, and Jülich-Cleves-Berg. And even in these countries the evangelical presence was considerable, the more so as **Ferdinand I** (1558-1564) in his imperial position leaned toward the Protestants. **Maximilian II** (1564 -1576) felt no less inclined to the Protestants. So by 1570 it was estimated that seven-tenths of the inhabitants of Germany were Evangelical. The educated class were practically all of this persuasion. The universities and Latin schools were flourishing, and in the diet the Protestants enjoyed the majority vote.

b.   But internally the Lutherans were no longer one at heart. Already during Luther's lifetime, **Melanchthon** was no longer in agreement with his great teacher, particularly not in three areas: 1. In the doctrine of human volition he taught synergism in the attainment to divine grace; 2. He emphasized the necessity of good works; 3. In the doctrine of the Lord's Supper he approached Calvin's conception of spiritual participation and abandoned the view of oral participation. When he re-issued the *Augustana* in 1540, he modified it along these lines (*Variata*).

c.   Already then among the students of the two teachers, the opposing parties began to polarize. Luther warded off the division, but no sooner had he died than the hostility came out in the open. Added to this disunity another circumstance was taking shape which in a way, while divisive, prepared the way for later unification of the parties: Melanchthon gave Lutheran **dogmatics** its external makeup. Like Calvin, he was able to present his ideas in terse terms with meticulous distinctions, systematically structured. It was this genius that made Melanchthon the *Magister Germaniae* ("schoolmaster of Germany"). In his perception of the systematic relationship of Scriptural doctrine, he gave the world its concept of scientific research.

d.   In so doing, however, he led not only his own students sitting before him, but the subsequent Lutheran dogmatic system down a crooked road in contradiction to Luther's original mental picture of these matters. Generally speaking, to him may be ascribed a reversal of practically every conception, which he re-shaped because he perceived the church to be the visible communion of saints. Now in lieu of the Gospel, the notion became commonplace to regard pure doctrine with its articles of faith as the foundation of the church. The Gospel, which is promise, was turned into academic doctrine (scholastic philosophy). Consequently, faith, which Melanchthon himself in 1521 had defined as *fiducia* ["active trust, reliance"] disintegrates into realization, assent, confidence. As inoffensive as these things in themselves may seem, in this context they acquire a singular significance which does not mirror Luther's style.

e.   Now when Melanchthon issued the unfortunate Leipzig Interim in 1548, and with it drove many a sound pastor out of Saxony, the fugitives foregathered in Magdeburg under the leadership of **Matthias Flacius Illyricus**, one of Luther's favorite students. There Flacius, a hot-blooded Slav (Vlacich), though an earnest, balanced character, published the ***Magdeburg Centuries***, and right after the Augsburg Religious Peace, the *Catalogus testium veritatis*, the *Clavis,* and the ***Glossa***.

f.   To the inner schism was added the external, between the two Saxon houses, that of the Albertine electorate which now along with **Wittenberg became Philippistic**, and the Ernestine, which in 1558 founded the University of **Jena** as the sanctuary of the **Gnesio-Lutherans** ("the genuine ones"). This schism in the Lutheran ranks was exploited by Calvinism in order to penetrate Germany both from without and from within.

§209. The Dogmatic Controversies.

a.   The Leipzig Interim was the actual starting point of the **doctrinal controversies**, and these were reconciled eventually in the Formula of Concord. Because this too is interconnected with an intra-Lutheran conflict prior to the Leipzig Interim, we will include this controversy in this account.

b.   The **Antinomian Controversy** was waged against Melanchthon in 1527 by Johann Agricola because in his visitation book Melanchthon required the preaching of the law in order to call sinners to repentance. Agricola wanted to have no law at all in the church. Luther sided with Melanchthon, but when Agricola came to Wittenberg in 1536 as a colleague, the fight began all over again, and for Agricola's part turned personal. In 1540, however, Agricola went to Berlin as court preacher, and was reconciled with his opponents.

c. The **Adiaphoristic Controversy, 1548-1552**, originated in Flacius's rejection of Melanchthon's treatment of the Catholic worship forms, as representing matters of indifference. Flacius argued that it was an aspect of confession to avoid forms that conceal a wrong meaning or that might at least be taken in that light.

d. The **Osiandrian Controversy, 1549-1567,** was somewhat incidental. Andreas Osiander, the reformer of Nürnberg, was expelled during the Augsburg Interim, and called by Albrecht of Prussia to the university founded in Königsberg in 1544. There he contended that justification is an *actus forensis* ("forensic act") only in the negative sense; positively in the believer, it consists in the real presence of the essential righteousness of Christ. His opponents were Pastor Joachim Mörlin, Martin Chemnitz, a teacher (since 1548) at the cathedral school, Professor Friedrich Staphylus, and Franz Stancarus. Melanchthon was minded to mediate; Brenz leaned toward Osiander; in 1552 Osiander died. The court preacher Funk who had supported him became involved in political machinations, and in 1566 was beheaded, while in 1553 and 1554 Mörlin and Chemnitz settled in Braunschweig.

e. The **Majoristic Controversy, 1552-1558,** was carried on against Nicholas Amsdorf by Georg Major in Eisleben and Justus Menius in Gotha. Amsdorf had set forth in overstated terms the idea that good works are detrimental to salvation. Opposed to him, the others had held to Melanchthon's position, maintaining that good works are essential to salvation.

f. In the **Lord's Supper Controversy**, **1552-1562**, the publication of Peter Martyr Vermigli's Oxford lectures had helped the Hamburg-based Westphal, Calvin, Bullinger, a Lasco, and Beza to find their footing. In the year 1555 Hardenburg in Bremen, and Klebitz in Heidelberg, attacked the Lutheran dogma, which mainly Johann Timann and Tilemann Hesshusius were defending. Brenz too supported it in 1559, but **Melanchthon**, who in the *Variata* of the *Augustana* had used accommodating language (*cum pane et vino exhibeantur* instead of *adsint et distribuantur*: "rendered visible with bread and wine" instead of "are present and distributed") called Brenz's paper *hechinger Latein* ["provincial Latin"]. The Wittenberg professors Eber, Major, Bugenhagen, and Cruziger also supported Brenz. Then Johann Pfeffinger of Leipzig joined them as well.

g.   The **Synergistic Controversy, 1555-1560,** was connected with the Lord's Supper Controversy, and in general was aimed at the Melanchthonians. Johann Pfeffinger began it with a tract attacking Luther's observation that human volition is spiritually dead. Pfeffinger allowed the sole efficacy of grace to stand, but maintained that man is not a statue. He defended Melanchthon's opinion that human volition possesses a *facultas se applicandi ad gratiam* ["an ability to apply itself to grace"]. Amsdorf and Flacius responded. In the end, the Wittenbergers found themselves opposed to the Jena people, and only after suffering heavy damages could they teach the world that such a controversy cannot be settled by dialogue if the parties to it occupy fundamentally different intellectual ground. (213.)

§210. Politics and the Formula of Concord.

a.   In this controversy generally engaging the Lutheran parties, politics played a role, which at once gives us a glance at an intellectual change taking place in Lutherans. Because the curia failed to convoke the council suspended in 1552, the imperial diet in 1557 called a **Consultation at Worms** under the chairmanship of Julius von Pflugk to find agreement in doctrine between Catholics and Protestants. The Protestants had previously met to discuss their position when the ducal Saxons stipulated that, besides the *Augustana*, the

Smalcald Articles should figure in the discussion, and a list of heresies be drawn up. When these conditions were denied them, they lost interest in collaborating, and the consultation fizzled out. But what became clear at the same time was that the ***Augustana*** counted as a confessional writing, since in the Augsburg Religious Peace it had assumed this status for political ends. Now in 1558 a conference of princes, gathered at King Ferdinand's court, subscribed to the **Frankfurt Compact**, a document Melanchthon composed which conveyed the doctrine as set forth in the *Augustana variata* of 1540 and in the *Saxonica*. Johann Friedrich (*der Mittlere*) declined to accept it. His theologians, Flacius and others, drew up the ***Weimar Confutation Book*** of **1559**, the precursor to the Formula of Concord. Victorin Strigel and Andreas Hügel took exception to it. The upshot was a Colloquium at Weimar in 1560 where Flacius asserted, in contradiction of his colleague Strigel, that original sin inheres in the substance of man.

b.   Meanwhile in 1560 Melanchthon had died. Against the *Weimar Confutation Book,* the Philippists countered with a collection of Melanchthonian articles, the *Corpus doctrinae christianae* (a book which, though private, had since 1567 acquired legal validity, under the title of *Corpus doctrinae Misnicum*). In other countries Lutheran tracts were mused in similar ways.

c.   The **Naumburger Diet** of princes in 1561 attempted a settlement. But Johann Friedrich and Ulrich von Württemberg refused to sign the *Variata*. (Incidentally, at this opportune moment there arrived the invitation of the pope to the Council, addressed as *dilecto filio* ["beloved son"]. This the princes forfended and declined to participate.) The situation had gotten serious. Friederich III the Pious in 1560 had converted to Calvinism and later (1563) introduced the ***Heidelberg Catechism***, composed by Zacharias Ursinus and Kaspar Olevianus of Heidelberg, and a Reformed order of service. Hereupon three occurrences changed the atmosphere. The Flacians were expelled from Jena, the crypto-Calvinist intrigues of the Philippists were detected, and the tolerant methods of the Württembergers won out.

d.   In Jena Flacius, Musaeus, Wigand, and Judex were practicing an **intolerable tyranny of conscience**. In 1561 they were expelled. The same thing happened to Hesshusius in Bremen in 1562 when he tried to finagle a position for Wigand. Not until 1567 did the situation change. Johann Friedrich became embroiled in the dealings of Wilhelm von Grumbach. Wilhelm was feuding with the bishop of Würzburg. Johann Friedrich supported him against the imperial ban which electoral Saxony was under orders to impose. He was defeated and captured, and his brother Johann Wilhelm became regent (1567-1573). Johann Wilhelm recalled the expelled Jena theologians, all except Flacius who had stuck to his doctrine of original sin. Flacius later went to Amsterdam and there composed a congregational constitution for the six local Lutheran congregations, leaning toward the free-church associations (this constitution eventuated in New York, and Mühlenberg founded his organizations on its premises for the eastern [U.S.] Lutheran churches; the Wisconsin and Minnesota Synods later profited from it). After many a change of address, he died in 1575 in a hospital in Frankfurt.

e.   In electoral Saxony Melanchthon's son-in-law **Caspar Peucer**, a physician, had worked himself into such a position at court that he was able to form a *camarilla* [cabal, court faction] in partnership with the court preacher Stössel and the counsellor Cracow with the idea of cultivating his father-in-law's reputation, to Luther's detriment (*Corpus Misnicum*). This activity was encouraged by the imperial physician Crato von Crafftsheim, who worked in the interest of Protestantism at Maximilian II's court. The theological means was the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Thereupon in 1574 the physician Curaeus published his *Exegesis perspicua*, teaching the Calvinist doctrine of the Lord's Supper undisguised. The elector "Father August" (1553-1586) put an end to this business with gruesome finality and a service of thanksgiving, punctuated with a commemorative medallion.

f.   Meanwhile **Jakob Andreae**, chancellor of Tübingen, had been working tirelessly toward the restoration of peace in the church. Back in 1567 he had addressed a paper to the landgrave Wilhelm von Hessen-Kassel and

Duke Christoph von Württemberg. In 1573 he published six sermons in hopes of winning over the public for his cause. In 1574, on the advice of Martin Chemnitz, the superintendent in Braunschweig, he re-worked the sermons into the **Swabian Concord**, embracing eleven articles. In 1576 Lukas Osiander worked out the **Maulbronn Formula**. Then the Elector Augustus summoned Andreae, Chemnitz, Chytraeus of Rostock, and the Brandenburgers Körner and Musculus to convene at Torgau. These men edited the materials at hand into the **Book of Torgau** (1576). Then these same men proceeded with Selnecker the lyricist and somewhat less than independent Leipzig professor, and revised the work one last time, sequestered in the monastery at Bergen, and the product in 1577 was the ***Book of Bergen***, which subsequently was published under the title ***Formula Concordiae***. On **June 25, 1580**, fifty years after the presentation of the *Augustana*, *The Book of Concord* appeared in Dresden with the signatures of 86 royal estates and between 8,000 and 9,000 theologians. Many rejected the *Formula of Concord,* notably Julius von Braunschweig. But for all that, in time the *Formula* won through. Its publication marks the conclusion of the formation of the Lutheran national churches, which were now administered in accordance with Melanchthon's concept of the church. Luther's doctrine, but Melanchthon's form, prevailed.

g.   When the Reformation first made its appearance, Germany boasted the following universities: Prague, 1348; Vienna, 1365; Cologne, 1388 (closed down in 1794); Erfurt, 1392 (closed down in 1816); Leipzig, 1409; Rostock, 1419; Greifswald, 1456; Freiburg, 1460; Basel, 1460; Ingolstadt, 1472 (moved to Landshut in 1800, to Munich in 1826); Trier, 1472; Mainz, 1477; Tübingen, 1477; Wittenberg, 1502; Frankfurt a. O., 1506.

h.   In Wittenberg, Luther's colleagues were: Melanchthon, Jonas, Amsdorf, Bugenhagen, later Cruziger, Eber, Flacius, Major. At none of the other universities was the Gospel accepted immediately. In 1523 Basel made the change, persuaded by Öcolampadius and Pellikan, but it was not until 1529 that the Reformation won out. Around this time the Swiss severed all further association with Luther. Meantime Philip of Hesse had founded [the University of] Marburg. There Kraft, Schnepf, and Lambert would teach. In 1531, through Slüter's efforts, the Reformation established itself in Rostock, and Joachim Aurifaber became professor of theology at the university. In 1534 Württemberg turned Lutheran, and Blaurer, Grynaeus, Camerarius, Brenz, and Schnepf taught in Tübingen. In 1537 Lutheranism was introduced in Frankfurt, and beginning in 1540 Andreas Musculus worked there. In 1539 Leipzig too joined, after George of Saxony had died. There Camerarius and Pfeffinger taught and reorganized the university along Lutheran lines. In 1544 Königsberg was founded and Staphylus held the first theological professorship there.

i.   At every school Melanchthon's influence dominated, and with it the propensity to compromise. Once Luther had died, the universities parted company in the face of circumstances rising from the Leipzig Interim. In Wittenberg, Melanchthon had the last word. Next came Major, Eber, Cruziger, Bugenhagen. In Jena in 1546, however, a new university came into being where Flacius, Judex, Musaeus, and Wigand with Strigel defended Luther's style. Leipzig with Pfeffinger took sides with Wittenberg, while Tübingen under Brenz's influence in 1570, Heerbrandt's in 1600, Hafenreffer's in 1619, Jakobus Andreae's in 1590, and Frankfurt where Musculus confronted the Melanchthonian Praetorius, were all more inclined to Jena.

k.   Wittenberg declined after Melanchthon's death in 1560, under the influence of Melanchthon's son-in-law Peucer (Pezel, Cruziger, Jr., Widebram, Moller). The differences between the Philippists and the Gnesio-Lutherans were mitigated when Melanchthon passed away, and, through the exposure of the crypto-Calvinist intrigues in 1574, terminated almost entirely. Then in 1576 Duke Julius von Braunschweig founded the University of Helmstedt with the help of Chemnitz. Kirchner and Hesshusius were the first theological instructors. Elsewhere too new men came into prominence: at Wittenberg Leyrer, in Marburg Aegidius Hunnius, in Rostock Chytraeus, in Frankfurt Körner, in Leipzig Selnecker.

l.   Andreae and Selnecker were impatient people; reliably strong was **Martin Chemnitz** (1522-1586), scion

of a noble family of Brandenburg. He studied in Frankfurt, and in 1545 in Wittenberg, but skipped Luther's lectures, while like Melanchthon he devoted himself seriously to astrology. In 1550 he became rector at the gymnasium in Königsberg, and in 1553, after departing with Mörlin from Prussia, became his coadjutor (Mörlin was a superintendent in Braunschweig). In 1554 he was in Wittenberg with his teacher Melanchthon who induced him to deliver lectures on his *Loci*. In the controversies between the Philippists and the Gnesio-Lutherans, Chemnitz remained in the background. At first he was too young to take part, but later the controversies seemed too irrelevant to him. In 1567 he was named superintendent in Braunschweig, published the *Corpus doctrinae Julium*, assisted in founding the University of Helmstedt, and was the editor-in-chief of the *Formula of Concord*. His oeuvre includes: *Examen Concilii Tridentini, Loci, De duabus naturis in Christo*. Chemnitz represents the bridge to the later epoch of Lutheran theology. He still exhibits the mental vigor of the early time of the 16th century, but his *Loci* introduced the Melanchthonian form of explanation to subsequent times, which his successors thenceforth maintained.

B. Counter-Reformation, 1580-1689.
§211. General Summary.

a.   In the broad context of the church universal of this period, the **Counter-Reformation** stands as the one leading idea. The **pope's** claim to world domination led necessarily to the mission to re-subjugate the apostate countries, while at the same time he was intent upon the subjugation of the rest of the world, not only because the nations which remained Catholic had received the newly acquired lands as a gift from the pope, but also because the Protestant powers, England, Holland, and Sweden, planned by force to get in on the partition of the world. But because Protestantism possessed the Gospel, it was a demeaning task to rob her of it again and to take arms against her to do it. The task could be accomplished only by demeaning means. Consequently, the Romance nations which were in the service of the papacy doomed their own intellectual culture to destruction. They worked out the techniques of absolutism, laid the groundwork of ultimate bankruptcy, and pulled the German empire along with them into their ruination (Spain and Italy).

b.   In the Lutheran church of Germany, the development and advancement of theology and of constitutional administration for the individual churches were of paramount importance. That simply was part of the nature of the thing. Here on earth, any truth comprehended by a given community must assume a physical face. This occurs in the terms of its theology and in the forms of its constitution. It also inheres in the particular relationships which have taken shape during the foregoing history. **Lutheranism** was subjugated by Melanchthon's methodology. Such is the inevitable course of events; when people want to explain their ideas coherently in a given context, the mediocrity of epigones cannot function without a system. Hence the enormous existing predominance of dogmatics. Just so the Lutheran church with its consistorial constitution drew down upon itself the supervision of princes and the interference of political interests. Thirdly, these relationships were further determined by the fact that this period is the second or third in a series, a period of epigones. The creative power declined, the mechanical analysis of forms was predominant. Accordingly, in this period we find no energetic working out of or testifying to the great evangelical key-truths after Luther's example, directly from Scripture, but instead, the intellectual regurgitation of particulars on the basis of the confessions, reminiscent rather of Melanchthon's style. This trend promotes Aristotelianism and scholasticism. It brings on the cleavage between the learned professions and the life of the people, it allows officialdom to rise as the life of the people declines, and runs to pietism in devotional literature.

c.   In the countries where **Calvinism** was at home, the trend toward secular politics led first to the great western European conflict, decided largely at sea because, since the end of the 15th century, all four participating countries were oceanic rivals in overseas enterprises. **Spain**, the arch-Catholic country, was

eliminated from the contest in 1588 when her armada was destroyed. The other three countries, which accommodated large Calvinist elements, were swept into the political drift toward democracy and trade. Owing to this drift, the contest between them now was motivated less by religion than by external supremacy. **Holland**, the least of these countries, was soon left in the lurch and suppressed by its religious partner England, and, as it turned out, **France**, the country where Catholicism was predominant, was compelled to yield the supremacy of the sea (La Hougue 1692) to her English rival at the beginning of the next period. The ties of the overseas colonies, especially in North America, were thereby drawn into alliance.

d. In regard to **religion**, the combination of politics and religion began to tell in that, on the one hand, theological work rushed to rationalism by providing a variety of preparatory work for scientific research unconnected with religion in the field of language and history and developing the irreligious concept of tolerance; on the other hand, however, the Protestant tyranny in matters of faith, connected with secular interests, led to a proliferation of a countless rash of sects in England in the climate of individualism. Coupled with the external situation, this in turn led to the settlement of North America, and to the democratic unfolding of England and pointed Protestant England in the direction of trade, which ultimately culminated in capitalism.

1. The Violent Counter-Reformation, 1580-1648.
§212. Advances of the Catholic Restoration.

a. While the Roman church continued to take part in academic work, it was particularly the so-called second founding of the Jesuit Order which lent the church its contour, character, and success, or occasional reversal. **The popes** were neither leaders nor supporters. The first three, Urban VII, Gregory XIV*,* and Innocent IX, among them, reigned only one year, and Clement VIII (1592-1605) copied Sixtus. Leo XI reigned only 21 days. Paul V (1605-1621) was an energetic man, but had to allow the proceedings of Venice to go forward against the scams perpetrated by the Jesuit Order (1605-1657), since the Interdict and the murder of Paulo Sarpis (state consultor of the city and compiler of the *History of the Council of Trent*, an opponent of the Jesuits) in 1623 changed nothing. Not until 1657, in the wake of the Turkish wars, did the city yield to Pope Alexander VII. In **1622** Gregory XV (1621-1623) founded the ***Congregatio de propaganda fide***. Urban VIII (1623-1644) condemned Jansen's "Augustine" and in 1623 compelled Galileo to recant. Urban played a purely political role in the Thirty Years' War in opposition to the House of Hapsburg. Innocent X (1644-1655), pitiably dependent on his sister-in-law, protested in vain against the Peace of Westphalia, and thereby exposed the external insignificance of the papacy. (223 b.)

b. Of greater importance is the regeneration of the **Jesuit Order** by **Claudius Aquaviva** (1581-1615). Theologically, the order now performed a Scotist-Pelagian turn, thanks to Cardinal Bellarmine (1542-1621) and the Spanish historian Juan Mariana (1537-1623). Also **morality** now developed from the initial trend of probabilism into fully defined laxism. Other casuistic rationalizations belonging under this rubric are **intentionalism** (the end justifies the means), the doctrine of **philosophical** and **theological** sin (only the latter, committed with total consciousness against God's will, constitutes sin), the ***reservatio mentalis*** (admissibility of variant language or a promise made with the object of deception), and **attritionism** (visible discomfort instead of true contrition is sufficient). Toletus (d. 1596), Escobar (d. 1669), and Busenbaum (d. 1668) were the pre-eminent moral theologians of the Order.

c. The Order now assumed the particular defense of Mariolatry as well, and with that, in the budding era of sentimentality, instituted itself into learned professorships and into the positions of tutors of princes, and hid behind the women who dictated policy at the courts. The discipline of the lash and the practice of accommodation applied to business and industry were continued as before. Even in the art of architecture their influence popularized a want of taste (Jesuit style) reflecting the servility that their way of teaching inculcates.

(223 m.)

d.   Another vital aspect for understanding the image of the 17th-century is the resumption of **mysticism** by Theresa de Jesus and Johann vom Kreuze via **Francis de Sales** (1567-1622) and **Franzisca of Chantal**. Franz, son of a Savoyan count, priest and counsellor of the bishop of Geneva, and after 1612 his successor, was the beau-ideal of a prominent confessor of prominent French society. In order to render spiritual counsel to his friend the widowed Baroness Franziska of Chantal in her grief, he himself became a mystic by studying the tracts of St. Theresa, and transported the confessant to the 17th-century **sentimental mysticism** of "a life devoted to God" (*vie devote*), consisting in the languishing and yearning, in the aching and groaning of the soul agonizing for fellowship with God, and in the sweet passion and bliss of the soul which has attained to repose in God. But the Alumbrados (sectarians persecuted by the Inquisition into the 17th century) were also affected by this kind of mysticism. An interesting incident in this scenario is the case of Uriel Acosta, from an originally Jewish family, who converted to Judaism because of his aversion to the indulgence racket, fled to Amsterdam, and there at last, persecuted by Talmudic Jewry, met his end in suicide. (223 g.)

e.   These trends gave way to **foundings of other orders**: Order of the Visitation of our Dear Lady (Visitants or Salesians), founded in 1610 by Francisca for the education of girls; the Piarists, in 1607 for the instruction of youth; the Fathers of the Oratory, in 1611 in France by Pierre de Berulle for mutual edification; the Benedictine Congregation of Maurists, founded in 1618 by Lorenz Benard for researching the history of Benedictine monasteries; the Sisters of Charity, founded in 1618, and the Priests of Mission, founded in 1624 in France for physical and spiritual eleemosynary care, by Vincent de Paul. Here we must not fail to mention the English Virgins, founded in France by Mary Ward in 1609, who were however unable to survive. (223 f.)

f.   Mission work was carried on as formerly by the Jesuits in China (from 1582 by M. Ricci, from 1628 by Adam Schell) and in east India by Nobili. In **Japan** a division arose internally among the Franciscans, and opposition arose against the Jesuits, so the mission collapsed morally. In 1587 a **persecution** broke out at the hands of the Japanese, until in 1637 the mission was entirely eradicated. In **Paraguay** on the other hand the Jesuits set up a state composed of natives, closed to the outside world, which was altogether governed by the rules of the Order. It survived until 1750. (226.)

g.   In **theology**, a number of **exegetes** distinguished themselves, particularly Estius, whom Grotius wrote against. Another was Cornelius a Lapide. The ***Parisian Polyglot***, published by the parliamentary advocate Michel le Jay at his own expense, edited by Morinus in 1629-1645, superseded the ***Antwerp Polyglot,*** edited in 1569 by the Spaniard Arias Montanus, under the patronage of Philip II.

h.   Actually, the principal work of this period was done in the field of **patristics**. Here tradition, whither research had retreated, received the tribute of attention it deserved. **Caesar Baronius** (Oratorian in Rome and cardinal, d. 1607) began his great opus *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588-1607), which was continued by later theologians (standing in implicit opposition to the *Magdeburg Centuries*) and marks the beginning of the resurgence of historical studies in France, which actually achieved momentum there in the interest of patristics, beginning in the next period. In the field of **music**, Gregory Allegri (d. 1652) advanced Palestrina's music, while the Priests of the Oratory (founded by Philip Neri) transposed the form of the opera to spiritual music (in the style of the oratorio and aria).

i.   Another equally important work was **polemicized dogmatics**. In this field it was the Italian Jesuit **Robert Bellarmine** (1542-1621), appointed in 1576 to teach at the *Collegium Romanum* and in 1599 created cardinal, who composed the most pertinent Catholic work of the time in his *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei*, in which on the one hand he reproached the Protestants for standing on tradition, on the other, defended the infallibility of the pope. (223 m.)

k.   But an attempt to defend the old imperialist and episcopalist, or conciliarist, ideas against the traditional

curialism of the University of Paris lacked the strength to prevail. In 1606 **Edmond Richer** (d. 1631), professor of theology, published Gerson's works, and attacked on this score, wrote an apology of Gerson. As syndic [recorder] of the faculty in 1610 he forbade the public defense of the doctrine of [papal] infallibility, and wrote under parliamentary praesidial instigation a treatise entitled *De ecclesiastica et politica potestate*, which by 1629 had expanded to a major work. But in the end, threatened by the daggers of the Jesuits and compelled by Richelieu, he had to recant. (223 c.)

§213. The Internal Wrangles of Protestantism in Germany.

a.   The Formula of Concord had solidified the Lutherans internally, but weakened them externally. There were many who did not accept the book, and so dissociated themselves from the Lutherans and under the name **Reformed** went their own ways. They were not really Calvinists because they lacked the hard-shell element which at that time showed up in all of Calvin's students in western Europe. They exhibited rather the style of Melanchthon and Bucer, as it had revealed itself among the Philippists. To be sure, the writings of Calvin and Bullinger and the philosophy of the French Huguenot Peter Ramus (d. 1572), who had discarded Aristotle in favor of his own way of teaching, had prevailed over the Melanchthonism rife among them. Lutheranism still kept on working among the Germans, if only in Melanchthonian form.

b.   This **pivoting**, wherever it occurred, was the doing of the princes and court theologians, not of the people. The people had to be deceived much more in all sorts of ways. The first territory to capitulate in this way was the **Electoral Palatinate.** After the reign of Frederick III who had manipulated the transition, Louis VI (1576-1583) returned once more to Lutheranism, but Joachim Casimir, governing for his infant nephew Frederick IV (1583-1610), re-entrenched the Reformed church, and thus it remained.

c.   **Nassau** had been Lutheran since 1531. Since 1572, Dillenburg had inclined toward Philippism, and in 1584 founded the University of Herborn, which rapidly flourished under Kaspar Olevianus. The other counties followed suit, all except Weilburg, which continued Lutheran. **Bremen** simply crossed over to Calvinism from the Philippism left over there from the controversy between Hardenberg and Timann. The Lutherans were obliged to look for churches elsewhere until in 1638 they gained access to the cathedral, till then unoccupied. **Anhalt** in 1587 fell entirely to Johann Georg I (1587-1603). He introduced Calvinism. When in 1603 the country was again broken up as Dessau, Cöthen, Bernburg, and Zerbst (the last reverted to Lutheranism in 1644). In **Baden-Durlach** Ernst Friedrich (1577-1604) was Calvinizing actively; in 1599 he himself composed the "Stafford Book," aimed against the Formula of Concord. Upon his death the country once again turned Lutheran.

d.   **Hesse** was divided into four principalities after Philip's death in 1576. In 1583 and 1604 two of the princely families died out, and the two remaining united their combined territory into Hesse-Kassel and Hesse-Darmstadt. Wilhelm IV of **Hesse-Kassel** did not subscribe to the Formula of Concord. His son **Moritz** (1592-1632) introduced the Reformed confession under coercion, expelled the Lutheran theologians of Marburg who did not accept his "Points of Improvement" (repudiating the doctrine of ubiquity and images in church, introducing Reformed numeration of the Commandments and breaking of the host), and made the university Reformed, which had already in Philip's times harbored Calvinist theologians anyway. **Hesse-Darmstadt** by contrast remained Lutheran and in 1607 founded the University of Giessen. Upper Hessia in 1627 fell to Darmstadt by an imperial decree, and also turned Lutheran, remaining so when it fell again to Kassel in 1646.

e.   Simon VI of **Lippe** in 1602 made his Lutheran territory Reformed, with Lemgo alone holding out. Johann Sigismund of **Brandenburg** (1608-1619) in 1613 transferred to the Reformed confession (*Confessio Sigismundi* or *Marchica*, 1614). The citizenry however did not follow him, insomuch that the elector in 1615 was obliged to secure to his estates the freedom of the Lutheran confession by a reversal edict. The University

of Frankfurt a. O. was considered Reformed after 1616. The Brandenburg theologians now took up their studies in Wittenberg.

f.   Nor was Calvinism able to gain a foothold in **Electoral Saxony**, even by insinuation. The attempt nevertheless was made again, however in vain. Johann Casimir of the Palatinate authorized the Elector Christian I (1586-1591), a cipher, to shelve the Formula of Concord. The chancellor Nicholas Krell undertook tentative administrative measures to introduce Calvinism. But when Friedrich Wilhelm of Altenburg became guardian for Christian II (1591-1611), a church visitation again swept the imposed doctrinal position out of the country, thanks to visitation articles compiled in 1592 by Aegidius Hunnius. In 1601 Krell was beheaded for high treason.

g.   At this time too a number of **doctrinal controversies** germinated, but these were limited to minor topics, and their only significance is that they prompted the German theologians to work through every doctrinal point down to the minutest detail. Samuel Huber, a Reformed preacher in Bern, asserted against Wolfgang Musculus that all men are predestinated. Excommunicated in 1588, he turned Lutheran in Württemberg, went to **Wittenberg**, but again in 1504 had to be dismissed because Polycarp Leyser and Aegidius Hunnius also opposed him. In **Helmstedt** Daniel Hofmann was ousted in 1598 because he had testified against the presumptions of reason and philosophy. In **Giessen** Balthasar Mentzer and Justus Feuerborn had voiced their opinion that the humiliation of Christ was an actual inanition (*kenosis*, emptying) of the use of divine attributes (majesty, particularly ubiquity). Christ may have possessed these attributes (*ktesis*), but did not use them (*chresis*). Opposing this thesis were the **Tübingen theologians** Lukas Osiander and others, who held that the use of the attributes was merely hidden (*krypsis*). In 1623 a convention in Dresden declared for *kenosis*. In **Rostock** in 1643 Joachim Lütkemann was ousted because he maintained against his colleague Rathmann that, owing to the separation of body and soul, Christ was not wholly human in death. Lütkemann went to Braunschweig as superintendent and court preacher. In 1621 in **Danzig** Hermann Rathmann expressed the opinion that the Word of God itself lacks the power to illuminate people, this phenomenon being supplied by the Holy Spirit. His colleague Corvinus took issue with this position, and universities and governments were not able to restore tranquility until 1628.

h.   It is hardly too early at this point to recall the **syncretist controversies,** as their first phase virtually coincides with our period. The syncretist ideas, which at first aimed at peace between Reformed and Lutherans, proceeded from Pareus of Heidelberg (d. 1622), who published his *Irenicum* in 1614, in reaction to the Catholic triumph over the ostensible decline of Protestantism, recommending a union of Protestants as outlined in the Wittenberg Concordat. Still another Reformed spokesman, Johann Duraeus of Edinburgh, promoted the same idea more energetically (beginning in 1634), in his travels and in his dealings with princes and theologians. The irenic religious dialogues in 1631 in Leipzig and Charenton, prompted by the mistrust which at first greeted Gustav Adolf when he landed in Germany, and by his dealings on that score, seemed to justify the efforts. But the orthodox Lutherans of Germany remained aloof from the movement.

i.   The movement entered another channel which nearly pulled the Catholics into the union endeavor through the agency of Calixt in Helmstedt. The Braunschweig University of **Helmstedt**, founded in 1576 by Julius, was soundly Lutheran. Julius however was estranged from the Formula of Concord when his sons took over the Catholic prebends, though he himself remained a good Lutheran (*Corpus Julium*). After his death humanism forged ahead in Helmstedt, and Hofmann in 1590 was bound to succumb to it. This school of thought mitigated the austere posture of Lutheranism. It came to expression in **Georg Calixt**, son of one of Melanchthon's students who himself was now a student of the Helmstedt school and particularly of the humanists in residence there. Following the customary theological itinerary through France, England, and Switzerland, he had absorbed on the one hand the Calvinist antipathy to the papacy, on the other, a softened

mind in theological matters.

k.   Calixt had been a professor since 1614, but at the same time had his fingers in all kinds of pies, for which he had gained a dubious reputation among the orthodox in Germany, exacerbated by his habit of expressing new ideas. Already in 1622 a warning against syncretism sounded from the Leipzig and Wittenberg theologians. Besides this, an open conflict broke out between Calixt and Neuhaus in 1642-1643, the latter, a student of Calixt who had defected to Catholicism. Playing into this fight was another between the town preacher Buscher of Hannover and Calixt in 1640-1642, when Buscher reproached Calixt for his appeasing influence on the students, and for many errors.

l.   The controversy broke out in full fury at the ***Colloquium charitativum*** in 1645 in Thorn, convoked by Wadislav IV with the object of uniting Protestants and Catholics. The Prussian representatives Dreyer, Behm, and Latermann from Königsberg, and **Abraham Calov** from Danzig were in on it. The Great Elector, as Duke of Prussia a vassal of the Polish crown, had asked Calixt of Braunschweig to take part. The Saxons had sent Hülsemann expressly to issue a warning against syncretism. Even before the Colloquium sessions began, the Lutherans and Reformed got so fired up at one another, partly over inconsequential matters, but especially because of Calixt and his chasing around, that when all was said and done, the Colloquium came to nothing. (224.)

§214. Theology and Life in the Lutheran Church of the 17th Century.

a.   Although these altercations betray the paltry level to which theological work had petered out, thanks to pedantry, for all that, a progression of astute **theologians** did make their appearance. Once **Wittenberg** had overcome Crypto-Calvinism, the university had quickly regained its balance. To define the Lutheran confession was the assignment of her theologians, while Marburg had quickly opposed this later middle-of-the-road position. In Wittenberg, Polycarp Leyser (d. 1610), a student of Brenz and Heerbrandt of Tübingen, had held the theological professorship since 1576, and since 1592 his student Aegidius Hunnius (d. 1603) worked at his side; since 1576 he had opposed the Reformed practice (Hyperius) in Marburg, and now was gladly released by the landgrave Wilhelm. Soon to help these men there came the younger generation, Leonhard Hutter, his successor Nikolaus Hunnius (son of Aegidius), Erasmus Schmid, and Fr. Balduin*,* the pulpit orator and ethics authority of that time. In **Jena**, Salomon Glassius and Johann Gerhard were at work. Meanwhile, since 1607 the new University of Giessen was astir under the leadership of Balt. Mentzer (d. 1627) and Justus Feuerborn. In **Tübingen**, Math. Hafenreffer (d. 1619) and at his side Lukas Osiander, Jr. (d. 1638) and Nikolaus Thumm (d. 1630) took their stand. In **Dresden**, Hoë von Hoënegg (d. 1645) labored as court preacher; in **Leipzig** it was Polycarp Leyser, Jr. (d. 1633) and Heinrich Hüpffner (d. 1645).

b. Exegetical work as represented by Glassius (d. 1656, *Philologia sacra*), unlike that of Luther and Calvin, was unsuitable for the direct use of the preacher. In this learned age it was necessary first to work through the mass of recent critical and hermeneutical materials in order to clear it out of the way. Schmid (d. 1637) struck nearer the mark in his work ***Tamieion*** ["treasury"]. Principal attention however focused on **dogmatics** which comprised a compilatory accumulation of dogmatical and polemical materials for the purpose of precise conceptual definition; Hutter (d. 1616), *Compendium locorum theologicorum*, 1610; *Loci communes theologici; Concordia concors*, 1614. **Gerhard** (d. 1637), the "arch-theologian" of Quedlinburg and a student of the local pastor Johann Arndt, studied in Wittenberg with Hutter and Gessner. In 1606 he became superintendent in Heldburg, in 1615 general superintendent of the duchy, and then professor in Jena. He wrote *Loci theologici* (1621) *Confessio catholica* (1637), and *Meditationes sacrae.* Hunnius (d. 1643) authored *Epitome credendorum* (1625), *Diaskepsis de fundamentali dissensu doctrinae Lutheranae et Calvinianae* (1626), and *Methodus concionandi.* This activity, necessary as it is when it occurs, introduced, as the quarrels

noted above demonstrate, an intellectualizing trend which was taboo for Luther.

c.   This trend to a certain degree disengaged this activity from the heraldic proclamation of the Gospel, and gave too much latitude to the one element least adapted to penetrate the depths of the Gospel, the faculty of logic. The result was, just as in all other areas of the mind, that the great ideas of Scripture failed on the one hand to attain clarity, while on the other they were lacking in depth. This affects not only the understanding of difficult doctrines, but like a stealthy disease it infects the entire psyche of theology. Lutheran dogmatics has often been extolled as comparable to the great Gothic structures meticulously measured down to the minutest details. The comparison is altogether apt. But any initiate into the arcane ideas of architecture will recognize that the comparison inadvertently expresses the sharpest criticism. Nonetheless this much inarguably remains true, that these teachers, facing the entire theology of their time, transmitted the Gospel to posterity and preserved the relationship of doctrinal labor with the Lutheran confessional writings and Luther's interpretation. But what matters here above all is that we grasp the historical development in this particular instance.

d.   Something else again was the **devotional literature** of Johann Arndt (d. 1621, six books on true Christianity), Johann Gerhard, Valerius Herberger (d. 1627) and others. Instead of pairing dogmatics and edification as the two sides of theology, these writers divorced them, and this led to progressive separation. The devotional writers were inclined to pick up ideas from Calvinists, because those people already had a considerable devotional literature. This emulation vexed the polemical dogmaticians. Johann Valerius Andreae (d. 1654) of Württemberg played an outstanding role in a satirical novel about the Order of the Rosicrucians in which he castigated astrology and alchemy. In **Görlitz** actual **mysticism** found a defender in the cobbler Jakob Böhme (d. 1624). He pondered over the origin of evil in a gnostic manner. But he was forbidden to write.

e.   From now on **hymnody** entered a new era of development. Already at this time, with the plethora of versification a considerable amount of uninspired doggerel became popular. Notwithstanding, an abundance of genuine hymns began to circulate which preserved the quality of native objectivity with childlike naiveté. This school of poetry turned all too soon to subjectivity, didacticism, and occasional verse. Above all, a bleak view of life predominated, foreshadowing the Thirty Years' War. Pre-eminent among the poets were Bartholomaeus Ringwaldt, a preacher in the Brandenburg Marches (d. 1597): "Great God, what do I see and hear?"; Nikolaus Selnecker (d. 1592), in his last position superintendent in Leipzig: "Abide with us, Lord Jesus Christ"; Ludwig Helmboldt (d. 1598), superintendent in Mühlhausen: "From God shall naught divide me"; Martin Schalling (d. 1608), preacher in Nürnberg: "Lord, thee I love with all my heart"; Valerius Herberger (d. 1627), preacher in Fraustadt in Poland: "O Lord, how shall I greet thee?"; Philip Nikolai (d. 1608), pastor in Hamburg: "How lovely shines the Morning Star" and "Wake, awake, for night is flying."

f.   The next epoch in the development of hymnody, 1618-1648, is the time of the Thirty Years' War. This time produced the most soulful hymns of comfort. Now on the one hand, personal impulse, already evident in the previous period, grew more pronounced. On the other, the external form improved in accuracy and purity of diction, and in fluent, pleasing stanzaic structure. These refinements followed on the publication of Martin Opitz's *Book on German Versification,* hoping to help the German nobility graduate from the conventional mechanical gaucherie of the German *Meistersinger* style to the superior qualities of Renaissance poetic composition. Stanza and diction in German poetry, Opitz urged, should be standardized, modeled on ancient, Neo-Latin, French, and Dutch poetry. (224 d.)

g.   This book naturally brought on a flood of poetics manuals, among which Harsdörffer's *Poetic Funnel* gained popularity. At this time diction and poetry societies were organized: the "Fertile Society" of Anhalt-Dessau, 1617, the *Nürnberger Pegnitzschäfer* and others. Their main concern was external artistic form, not internal truth. What they were after was to put German, the language which Luther, Arndt, Böhme, Andreae

had made easy for the man in the street, on a par with Latin, because the educated class (that is scholars, mainly theologians) spoke and wrote Latin. It was a worthy effort on behalf of the German language, but those who put forth the effort were Lilliputians. It was no doubt of benefit to German literature of a later epoch. But now it brought on that other mincing manner of the time marked by saccharine trifling and the affectation of simulated emotions coupled with pomposity and bombast, traits lingering till Lessing.

h.   The **hymn** naturally wears the raiment of this era, but the towering truth of the Gospel inherited from Luther, approving its mettle in the hearts of all in these days of anxiety, drowned out not only the perils of such puerility, but now provided the entire nation, the cultured and also the artisans and peasantry, with a hymn, which, when all is said, stands as the most important achievement of the imagination of this time, no matter if most people relegate it to last place because it attracts little attention. Consider the poets of the first Silesian School: Johann Heermann (d. 1647): "Beloved Jesus, what law hast thou broken?"; Paul Flemming (d. 1640): *In allen meinen Taten*; Matthaeus Meyffart (d. 1642): "Jerusalem, thou city fair and high"; Martin Rinkart (d. 1649): "Now thank we all our God"; Apelles von Löwenstein (d. 1648): "Christ, defender of thy congregation"; and others. Joining these are Johann Rist (d. 1667), one of a kind: "Arise, sons of the kingdom"; and Simon Dach (d. 1659), leader of the Königsberger, and famous for his "Annie of Tharau": "O, how bless'd however grieved, ye pious."

§215. Calvinism in Western Europe.

a.   Originally, **Calvinism** was not preoccupied with scholasticism because it put less stock in doctrine than did Luther and his successors. Hence here, in contrast to the legalism of "pure doctrine" of later Lutheranism, people cultivated the legalism of "pure living" (painfully minding your p's and q's). But from the opposition of rationalism a controversy kindled which here too brought forth scholasticism, if not in a mechanizing, then certainly in a more rationalizing form.

b.   Calvinism had not altogether penetrated the wealthy merchant circles of the **Dutch**. So other influences (Lutheran, Erasmian, Baptist, humanistic, political) had a chance to make their mark. It was Diyrck Volkertzoon Coornhert (d. 1590), notary and secretary of Haarlem, an individual of keen imagination, who met the challenge. He wrote tracts insisting on putting doctrine second to active inner Christianity. He tried to counteract the inflexible Calvinism of the Supralapsarians (teaching that original sin was incorporated as an objective in the predestinarian decision [of God before Creation to rescue or condemn the sinner]) by infralapsarianism (teaching that God made his predestinarian decision on the basis of his foreknowledge of the Fall).

c.   In order to confute him, Jakob Arminius, one of Beza's students, was called to Amsterdam. But his studies won him over to the opponent so completely that he even replaced him in 1603 as professor in Leyden. His colleague Franz Gomarus took issue with him. After the death of Arminius in 1609 the controversy continued, and in 1610 Arminius' adherents in a remonstrance **(Remonstrants)** set out their position opposing both the Supra- and Infra-lapsarians. Their most distinguished theological spokesman was Simon Episcopius, successor to Gomarus (from 1612). Among his followers were the leaders of the liberal-minded republican party, Oldenbarneveldt, the attorney general of Holland, and Hugo Grotius, chancellor of the exchequer, humanist, jurist, and theologian. Also Moritz of Orange joined them for a while, but after 1617 he defected to the other austere party which was more popular and better suited to his autocratic designs.

d.   In 1618 a **synod** convened at **Dortrecht** was attended by twenty-eight foreign theologians from France, England, and Germany. The hard-shell strain of Calvinism gained recognition, and the Remonstrants were expelled in the 57th session. Oldenbarneveldt was beheaded. Hugo Grotius, sentenced to life-long confinement, escaped from prison. After the death of Moritz in 1625, the Arminians, led by Henry (1625-

1640) the brother of Moritz, returned to Holland, where they were officially tolerated and founded their own church (1630) and a seminary in Amsterdam (1634). Grotius initiated their undogmatic, "grammatical-historical" exegesis. They had many adherents in Scotland and in Switzerland and in the Anglican church. Holland was the sanctuary of political and religious freedom. (220.)

e.   Calvinism, at all events, outpaced the Lutheranism of that time in mastering the exegetical disciplines. Because dogmatic preoccupation for the most part left them cold, they were all the more unconfined in their imagination. Thus, for example they were innocent of the *analogia fidei* ["analogy of faith," hermeneutical principle founded on misinterpretation of Romans 12:6] which characterizes the exegetical and also the dogmatic circumscription of Lutherans down to modern times. On the other hand, however, what they lacked was the heritage of Luther, and this the Lutheran dogmaticians possessed. The **Hebraists** Johann Buxtorf, Senior (d. 1624), and Junior (d. 1664) in Basel; Ludwig Capellus in Saumur, who traced the later origin of Hebrew vowels; the representatives of **church historical criticism**: David Blondel (d. 1655); the **philologists** Scaliger (d. 1609), Casaubon (d. 1614), and Voss (d. 1649).

f.   In **France** Calvinism enjoyed a period of tranquility under the Bourbon Henry IV (1589-1610), partly owing to the good offices of a strict moralist friend of the king, Philip du Plessis-Mornay. But the king, in order to get rid of him, named him governor of Saumur, where he then founded the Reformed Academy. The Huguenots under Louis XIII (1610-1643), however, disregarded the warning of du Plessis, and again fell in with the revolutions of the nobility against the government. After the seizure of the city of La Rochelle, ingeniously defended by them in 1628, Cardinal Richelieu did neutralize their political significance, but secured them their religious rights in 1629 in the Edict of Pardon of Nimes. Now began the defection of the high nobility to Catholicism, though for the time being Protestants remained undisturbed. (220 a.)

g.   In **England**, throughout the reign of Elizabeth the Catholics had attempted to win back their former influence. Every effort of that kind, however, had been suppressed with a severity and harshness like that of the Inquisition. For all that, the Dissenters and the Non-conformists had to suffer the same treatment. In reaction, an ultra-puritanical trend developed under Robert Brown, secretary to the duke of Norfolk. He spoke up not only against the caesaro-papism of the state church, but also against the deference to aristocracy allowed by the Presbyterian constitution, and demanded autonomy for individual congregations to administer their own affairs by majority decision. In 1581 he had to flee to Holland where he founded a congregation in Middelburg, only to return to England and the state church. (220 d.)

h.   After him, a jurist by the name of Henry Barrow had the same idea and in 1594 fled with his adherents, likewise to Holland. There in 1598 they set out their *Confession of Faith of Certain English People Exiled*. Their second founder was **John Robinson** (d. 1625), who, in 1608 moved with his Norwich congregation to Amsterdam and in 1610 to Leiden. Because of their peculiar constitution they were dubbed **Congregationalists** or also **Independents**. In 1620 they sent the "Pilgrim Fathers" to North America, where they founded Plymouth Colony and, with later arrivals, the state of Massachusetts. (226.)

i.   When James I (1603-1625), son of Mary Stuart, came to rule, and with him the **House of Stuart**, he disappointed the Catholics by persecuting the Jesuits because he was after all preoccupied with Anglican caesaro-papism. He committed all church property into the hands of the *"Establishment"* (the Anglican church) and robbed the Irish nobility of nearly all of their real estate. These atrocities continued under Charles I (1625-1649). Charles also persecuted the English Puritans, just as his father had done, and William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, ruthlessly pushed through the idea of **Apostolic succession** as ordained of God. When he was about to impose this notion on the Scots as well, they concluded in 1608 the Great Covenant. Now, after eleven years, the king had to convene the Long Parliament (1640-1653). But the "Irish Bloodbath" in 1641, imputed to the king, poured oil into the fire. The episcopal system was abolished, and in 1643 the

Westminster Synod was convoked which in 1648 drew up a Puritan confession called the **Westminster Confession**, a declaration however that found little response in England among the Independents. In the Civil War, raging since 1642, engaging the Cavaliers against the Roundheads, the king was at last defeated, and the Rump Parliament (1648-1653) sentenced him in 1649 to the block, whither Laud had preceded him (1645).

§216. Poland and Sweden in the Era of the Counter-Reformation.

a. In **Sweden** under Gustav Vasa's son Erich XIV (1560-1568), a Catholic reaction became a force to be reckoned with. Erich's brother Johann III (1568-1592) secretly defected to Catholicism in 1578, induced by his Polish Catholic consort and the Jesuit Possevin, who held out to him the prospect of the Polish throne. His son Sigismund (1592-1604), who in 1587 acceded to the Polish throne as Sigismund III Vasa (1587-1632), publicly professed himself a Catholic. But his uncle Karl, as royal administrator, summoned the estates to Uppsala in 1503 and ordered the Catholic abuses abolished. When the king, resident in Poland, resolutely continued to favor Catholicism, he was deposed in 1604, and Karl IX (1604-1611) ascended the throne. His son was **Gustav Adolf** (1611-1632). Succeeding him his daughter Christina reigned till 1652. From Sweden, the Gospel had long since penetrated into Finland. (220.)

b. In **Poland**, after the departure of Henry of Anjou in 1574, Stephan Bathori (1576-1586) became king and observed the *Pax dissidentium*. Under him, the **Anti-trinitarians** got around to forming a congregation and a confession; because of internal division they had never till now organized since they had fled in the fifties to Poland and Transylvania. Franz Davidis had worked out **Nonadorantism**, because he regarded Jesus to be a mere man unworthy of adoration. In opposition to this doctrine Faustus Socinus (d. 1604), a nephew of Laelius Socinus, had established the Socinian church in Rakow in Poland (1579), which, after his death in 1605, received her confession in the form of the Rakow Catechism.

c. Meanwhile Catholicism had grown strong. Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (d. 1579) had summoned the Jesuits under Possevin into action. Now under Sigismund III the Protestants were beleaguered. They had split in 1595 at the Synod of Thom. First, under Vladislav IV (1632-1648), the Anti-trinitarian college in Rakow was demolished. Later, in 1658, the Anti-trinitarians were driven out. As opposed to such oppression, the king in 1645 sought to unite the Protestants and the Catholics in the religious dialogue at Thorn. There Calixt and Calov collided, and the Lutherans renounced the Consensus of Sandomir [1570]. This improved the Catholic prospects. Protestants nonetheless remained throughout the kingdom until 1772, beyond the termination of the Polish kingdom.

§217. The Counter-Reformation in Germany.

a. As the 17th century waned, the **Counter-Reformation** began in the Austrian dominions under Rudolf II (1576-1612). He was in fact a Jesuit fledgling, but timorous and unready. He was preoccupied with astronomical studies with Tycho de Brahe and Johann Keppler; Galileo steered clear of him. His secretary Melchior Klesl, elevated to cardinal in 1616, introduced a Catholic reaction in the cities of **Upper** and **Lower Austria.** The nobility for the time being still claimed their religious freedom. In the Tyrol under Archduke Ferdinand (1564-1595) there was not much doing. Also in central Austria (Steiermark, Kärnten, Krain) under Archduke Karl (1564-1590) only preparatory steps toward the Counter-Reformation were taken. Ferdinand II (1590-1637), like his cousin Maximilian of Bavaria, a stellar Jesuit disciple, rooted out Protestantism with brutal violence in the years 1598-1603. This drew the emperor himself into action against the Protestants in his domains too and ignited the Thirty Years' War.

b. Meanwhile in **Germany** too preparations for war were everywhere under way. While the Protestants had circumvented the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* by causing Protestant administrators from Protestant cathedral

chapters to be elected for the respective dioceses, the Elector of **Cologne**, Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg, risked ignoring this policy altogether. In 1582 he turned Calvinist, but desired to retain his status; the pope, however, with Spanish connivance in 1584, replaced him with Prince Ernst of Bavaria. Similarly, in **Strassburg** in 1592 the installation of a Brandenburg prince was stymied. The hegemony of the Evangelicals in **Aix-la-Chapelle**, in 1598 after seventeen years' continuance, was violently overthrown by the Spanish and citizens of Jülich. At length in 1607, hostilities broke out in Donauwörth. Some Benedictines were manhandled in a procession in the city. Maximilian enforced the imperial ban. Because of this issue in 1608 the Protestants walked out of the Regensburg diet. That same year six princes, meeting under the leadership of Christian of Anhalt and Friedrich IV of the Palatine in the convent at Ahausen in Ansbach, pledged themselves to the **Evangelical Union**: Ansbach, Baden, Pfalz-Neuburg, Württemberg. In 1610, Brandenburg, Hesse-Kassel, Nürnberg, Strassburg, and Ulm increased the membership.

c.   Yielding to the dissatisfaction aroused by his persecution of Protestants, Emperor **Rudolf** had to surrender Hungary, Moravia, and Austria to his brother Matthias in 1608, and to grant the Bohemians the **imperial charter**, guaranteeing religious freedom to the country (1609). In **Cleves** Johann Wilhelm died, the last of his line. Sigismund of Brandenburg and Philip of Palatine-Neuberg, both related to him by marriage, occupied whole regions of the country, and smote Rudolf's troops. Directly thereupon the Catholic estates, under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria, formed the **Catholic League**.

d.   Swelling the ranks of the Protestants were Henry IV of France, James I of England, and the States General, and just as they were about to open the attack in retaliation for Cleves, Henry was murdered, and the Elector Friedrich of the Palatine died. Subsequently in 1614 in Xanten, the sides agreed on terms of preliminary partition, according to which Jülich and Berg would be administered by Palatine-Neuberg, but Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg, by Brandenburg.

e.   In 1611 Matthias wrested Bohemia from his brother Rudolf. Rudolf died in 1612, and **Matthias** became emperor (1612-1619). In 1617, at the behest of Philip III of Spain, he designated Ferdinand of Steiermark (217 a.), a Jesuit fledgling, as his successor. Over this decision there were consultations with the Protestants in Bohemia, which ended with the latter resorting to violence and thrusting the King's officer out of a window in **Prague**. That triggered the war. It was not altogether a religious war, because the alignment of parties in many cases not only followed political interests, but very often worked against religious interests, and particularly in the final phases it turned into a struggle against the foreigners who were devastating Germany. Nevertheless, the war originated in church-related interests, and in the peace these were especially decisive.

§218. The Thirty Years' War.

a.   The outrage perpetrated by the Bohemians smacked somewhat of political insubordination, the old Hussite temperament. They elected Friedrich V of the Palatinate, the son-in-law of James I of England. Accepting the election was injudicious. The expectation of help from the Union of England and Transylvania proved illusory, and aligned with the incumbent Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-1637) were the League, Spain, and Electoral Saxony (this because of pressure from the Calvinists). The Battle of White Mountain in 1620 terminated the **One-Winter Kingdom** of Friedrich of the Palatinate. A campaign in the Palatinate went hand-in-hand with Ferdinand's double-dealing state-craft, and the upshot was: Bohemia, Upper Palatine (ceded to Bavaria), and Rhine-Palatinate were forcibly re-Catholicized, and Maximilian of Bavaria received the Palatine electoral office.

b.   The closely allied German and Spanish Hapsburgs excited anxiety in London, Paris, Venice, the Hague, Scandinavia, and Transylvania with their ambitions (occupation in 1623 by the Spanish of Valtellina). Christian IV of Denmark as commander of the Lower Saxon circuit, because confederate with England and

Holland, advanced against the emperor. Gustav Adolf of Sweden supported this expedition with a drive against Poland. But the army of the Danish king suffered defeat in 1622 near Lutter at Barenberg. Tilly and Wallenstein subdued all of northern Germany. The emperor already felt himself so very much in charge that in 1629 he demanded in the **Edict of Restitution** the return of all church properties seized since the Passau Treaty in 1552, and restricted the enjoyment of the Religious Peace to those associated with the Augsburg Religion. Against these measures the Elector Johann Georg of Saxony protested, emboldened by Hoë von Hoënegg. Magdeburg too took up arms, and the Swedes were threatening. For this reason, the emperor concluded the Peace of Lübeck in 1629, whereby he succeeded in keeping the Danes out of Germany.

c.   Even the Catholic princes of Germany, however, under the guidance of Bavaria, supported by Richelieu and the papal nuncio, distrusted **Wallenstein** "who aimed to destroy German liberty." But now, because Gustav Adolf had landed in 1630, the emperor could not do without his field commander. Gustav Adolf too undoubtedly wanted to aggrandize Sweden's power, but at the moment his first objective was to help the Protestants in Germany. Because the Elector of Saxony mistrusted him, he was unable to prevent Tilly in 1631 from occupying Magdeburg. Confederate with the Protestants, however, he routed Tilly at Breitenfeld, and was advancing toward southern Germany when in 1632, in the victorious **Battle of Lützen**, death overtook him.

d. **Richelieu's** influence, till now held in abeyance by Gustav Adolf, immediately asserted itself. Oxenstierna, the Swedish chancellor, who conducted the administration of Sweden for Christina [Gustav Adolf's daughter] formed an alliance with Richelieu. The emperor did get rid of Wallenstein in 1634, but even so, the Swedes were defeated in 1634 at Nördlingen. The Elector of Saxony in 1635 concluded the Separate Peace of Prague with the emperor (waiver of restitution by the emperor, but Calvinists were excluded from the Peace; Saxony was to receive Lausitz and the Swedes were to be driven out). But now the war swung into a struggle on German soil between Sweden and France on the one hand, and on the other between the German and the Spanish Hapsburgs. Ferdinand II died in 1637, Bernhard von Weimar, one of the top commanders, fell in 1639; Ferdinand's son Ferdinand III (1637-1657) after protracted negotiations, at last concluded the **Peace of Westphalia** in 1648.

e.   The **main points of the Peace** were: a long list of secularizations of church domains in the north was undertaken to satisfy the Protestant princes. Sweden gained Bremen, Verden, and western Pomerania as well. Electoral Brandenburg gained Kammin, Halberstadt, and Minden, besides eastern Pomerania and Magdeburg. Braunschweig gained Osnabrück and two convents: Mecklenburg, the dioceses of Schwerin and Ratzeburg; Hesse-Kassel, the abbey of Hersfeld; France, the dioceses of Metz, Tout and Verdun, besides Alsace. The son of Friedrich of the Palatinate, Karl Ludwig, regained the Rhine Palatinate, and an eighth electoral office was created for the Rudolfine line of the Wittelsbachs. Bavaria retained the **Upper** Palatinate and the seventh electoral office. Electoral Saxony kept Lusatia. The independence of Switzerland and the Netherlands was recognized. The Hapsburg countries were unaffected by the Peace.

f.   The **ecclesiastical decisions** turned on the Edict of Restitution, already delimited by the Peace of Prague. It was decided: 1. that all countries which were Protestant in 1624 should remain thus; 2. the same safeguard as this was to be granted to the Catholic founders of 1624 (recognition by the Protestants of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*); 3. the right to reform was acknowledged, but in practice restricted through the year 1624 (*Annus normalis*); where minorities conducted divine services, they should be tolerated; the transfer of persuasions after this Peace could be allowed, or emigration enforced, but without confiscation of property; 4. a sovereign who transferred to another persuasion could not compel his subjects to change persuasion; 5. the Augsburg Religious Peace was extended to the Reformed; 6. the Diet in the future should not make decisions by majority vote in ecclesiastical questions (*Itio in pares* [walking among equals]).

g.   The **pope** spurned the peace settlement. The emperor thereafter was merely a *primus inter pares* [first among equals]. Germany lay in economic, moral, and political ruins. France now called the shots. (219.)

2. The Last Efforts of the Counter-Reformation, 1648-1689.
§219. General Summary.

Most works on church history set this as the starting point of the modern era. And with regard to the European continent we can allow this focus, because the ecclesiastical motives in the overall politics recede abruptly, while in governmental areas the modern era of absolute monarchy on the model of Louis XIV is dawning. In England and America the circumstances appear somewhat different. We might of course regard religious toleration, coming into dominance on the Continent as well as in England and America, as the decisive factor; but it is only by 1689 that toleration permeates the atmosphere until it is generally recognized, and meanwhile on the Continent there are still some conflicts to lead in this direction. Toleration, moreover, is nowhere actually a positive idea, save perhaps with Cromwell; it is rather the result of exhaustion in the wake of religious struggles and would thus belong in the previous period as its conclusion. The new positive ideas dominating church history are Pietism and Rationalism, making their appearance only after 1689 as active forces. (223 1.)

§ 220. The Political Circumstances.

a.   On the political field, everything is straining toward new formations, and France is in the lead. What had to happen first, up until 1660, was a general coming to terms. In **France**, Louis XIV (1643-1715) was king, and Mazarin conducted the business of state. The war which France, in league with Sweden, had waged against Spain and Germany provoked dissatisfaction among the populace, and the English victory over the Stuarts in 1649 spurred efforts toward freedom. This combination of circumstances gave rise in France to the *Fronde*, an alliance of disgruntled nobility under leadership of the coadjutor of Paris, Paul de Gondy (later Cardinal of Retz) who exploited the dissatisfaction while Anna of Austria was regent. After an initial victory, the *Fronde* was struck down by Turenne in 1653, and Mazarin was still able to exercise his influence in the Pyrenaic Peace of 1659 and in the Peace of Oliva in 1660.

b.   What was at issue here was the confrontation between Spain and France, and between Germany and Sweden. The empire in **Germany** had sustained a defeat in the Peace of Westphalia. But the Estates had pulled themselves together to offer resistance to the foreigners. At first the Spanish-French War (1635-1659) was still raging in the Netherlands. After that, the imperial kingdom became involved in the Swedish-Polish War of Succession. Christina, Gustav Adolf's daughter, abdicated of her own accord from the rulership of **Sweden** (1654), turned Catholic, and stayed mainly in Rome. Karl X Gustav (1654-1660) of Palatine-Zweibrücken, her sister's son, became king. Counting on the alliance with France and England, he took up arms against Poland in order to rebuff the claims of the Catholic **Vasa** in Poland (Johann Kasimir).

c.   In this War of Succession, Karl of Sweden had left in the lurch his ally Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, the Great Elector, and attacked Denmark. Meanwhile, Leopold I (1658-1705) had succeeded his father Ferdinand III on the German imperial throne in the face of French machinations. Mazarin had thereupon, with a number of German princes, sealed the First Rhine Alliance (1658-1667) in order to uphold the Peace of Westphalia. Poland, Brandenburg, Hapsburg, Denmark, and Holland joined in chasing Sweden out of Denmark. But in the **Peace of the Pyrenees** (Nov. 7, 1659), France acquired several Spanish and German possessions, and in the **Peace of Oliva** (1660) Sweden kept part of Denmark and relieved Poland of Livonia. The Great Elector kept only his sovereignty in Prussia. In Denmark the power of the aristocrats was broken and kingship declared absolute.

might not be combined with that of the commander-in-chief, to the detriment of the House of Orange. He also managed, in the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, to allow Louis to keep the captured cities, while obliging him to forego further conquests.

i. But Louis blew up the Triple Alliance and initiated the War of the Netherlands (1672-1679). Confederate with the frivolous Charles II of England, who in 1665-1667 had waged an unfortunate war with Holland, but now failed to notice that France would become the more dangerous rival, and with Sweden, under Charles XI (1660-1697) still a minor, in 1672 assaulted Holland. This threw overboard the dissipated aristocratic government together with the perpetual edict, and raised the 22 year-old William of Orange to be governor and general (de Witt was murdered). Brandenburg helped William, and in 1673 Louis was obliged by the Peace of Voss to hand over the Cleves possessions to Brandenburg. In 1673 Germany, Spain, and Lorraine entered an alliance with Holland, to be joined in 1674 by Denmark and Brandenburg. England withdrew from the alliance with France. And when the Swedes invaded Brandenburg to compel her to drop out of the war, they were defeated in 1675 at Fehrbellin. Louis nonetheless had all kinds of success, and by his cunning diplomacy achieved victory in the Peace of Nijmegen in 1678, and in 1679 in that of St. Germain. Holland recovered all its lost territories. Spain and Germany had to give up provinces, and the Great Elector too had to give up to Sweden all the areas he had conquered.

k. Because **Austria** was being besieged by the Turks (at the gates of Vienna in 1683), Louis dared to take the liberty in 1681, contrary to the Peace of Nijmegen, to annex German possessions, particularly Strassburg, by the *Chambres de réunion* (courts of justice which decided in his favor), and Germany and Spain did not dare to object in the Regensburg Armistice of 1684, despite the victory over the Turks (Starhemberg, Karl von Lothringen, Johann Sobiesky).

l. The change of circumstances in **England**, however, again deprived France of these advantages in the Peace of Ryswyk. The frivolous Charles II (1660-1685), together with his ministry of intrigue, had not after all rightly understood the situation in the Dover Contract. In it he had promised to return to Catholicism. With the Edict of Indulgence in 1672 he suspended the penal laws against Catholics and Dissenters but in 1673 had to consent to the Test Acts. By these Acts anyone who failed to take the Oath of Supremacy was dismissed from office in the army and civil administration, particularly the King's own brother, the Catholic Grand Admiral James of York, the heir apparent to the throne. Nor could Charles alter any of this in 1679 by signing the Habeas Corpus Act [for protection of a citizen against illegal imprisonment]. On the contrary, the House of Commons in 1680 accepted the Bill of Exclusion which declared James incompetent to succeed to the throne.

m. Amid the subsequent contentions between the Lords and the Commons*,* the parties of the Whigs (liberal, national party, sovereignty of the people, right of revolution, parliament as the embodied will of the people) and the Tories (authority of the government ensured by the grace of God) were formed. When in 1685 Charles died a Catholic, James II (1685-1688) a man of limited abilities, brutish and mulish, took up the rule, since the Bill of Exclusion had never been ratified as law. He began placing Catholic people in positions in the army and civil administration not only, but even in the English state church, relying on France to defend him when necessary.

n. This turnabout encouraged Louis, despite his serious financial plight, to perpetrate renewed **atrocities against Germany**. When the Simmer line of the Wittelsbachs died out, he laid claim in 1685, in the name of his sister-in-law, the German Duchess Elisabeth Charlotte of Orleans, to the Simmer freehold estate, anticipating the waiver of the Duchess upon her marriage. When the German emperor in 1686 founded the Augsburg League with Spain and Sweden to oppose this claim and captured the pope who was at war with Louis over the Gallican Liberties in the Cologne Election Controversy of 1688 directed against Louis' favorite, the bishop of Strassburg, Wilhelm of Fürstenberg, and favoring Joseph Klemens of Bavaria, the **Orleans War**

(1688-1697, Palatinate War of Succession) caught fire, with which Louis meant to chastise the pope and at the same time to help the Turks from whom in 1688 Belgrade had been wrested. Led by the Dauphin Louis, the French crashed into the Palatinate with appalling devastation; those led by Monclar and Melec, into Württemberg.

o.   In the meantime the war in **England**, the second English revolution (1688-1689), broke out. James' new Edict of Indulgence in 1687 awakened the antagonism of the Tories too against himself. William III of Orange, husband of James' daughter Mary, was invited over, supported by Brandenburg and Electoral Saxony. James fled. William was acknowledged king (1689-1702), but was required first to guarantee the English constitution with the Declaration of Rights. England was rescued from the embrace of France, and the parliamentarian monarchy, since the Crown had to elect the ministers from the prevailing parliamentarian majority, has since become the inviolable tradition.

p.   Meanwhile in **Germany** the Palatinate was laid waste. But now England, in alliance with the Netherlands, entered the conflict. In 1692 the English fleet won the supremacy of the sea at the foothills of La Houghue. After many ups and downs, Louis was compelled to submit to the Treaty of Ryswyk in 1697. He had to restore all of the conquered territories of this war, except Strassburg, to Spain, Lorraine, and Germany. William of England was recognized as king of Great Britain. The so-called Ryswyk Clause, however, secured the continuance of Catholic worship, whereever the French had introduced it by force, indicating on the one hand that ecclesiastical interests were still in play, on the other, that these interests were ultimately compelled to yield to secular dynastic interests.

q.   The only one of the other sovereigns to emulate notably Louis' statesmanship was the **Great Elector** (1640-1688). He had planned to shake off the Polish sovereignty over Prussia, to regain Pomerania from the Swedes, and to break the monarchy of France, national objectives all, only to fail roundly. What he was after at home, in the temper of the time, was to establish absolute rule against the nobility and the urban patricians, at the same time purporting to act in the interest of the silent peasantry as if it were the cause of the people. Hence common sense tax reform and the institution of a standing army (recognizing officers as civil servants and not as mercenaries of commercial entepreneurs), construction of a fleet, canal projects, African mercantile company, trade protection, settlement of wasteland areas (1685, Huguenots), restoration of the University of Frankfurt on the Oder, and foundation of the University of Duisburg in the Rhineland. (230-233.)

§ 221. Secular Literature and Art of the 16th Century.

a.   Four intellectual forces principally determined the 16th century and continued to work on into the 17th century: humanism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and restored Catholicism. Humanism already existed when Luther appeared on the scene. Everyone expected humanism to create freedom of thought. But it was **Luther** who first inaugurated that emancipation, oriented in the Gospel. That is why he eliminated the influence of humanism from theology. And because theology dominated intellectual activity in Germany, economic considerations aside, humanism never gained the recognition in Germany's secular culture of the time that it did elsewhere. It fared better with **Calvinism**; for instance, in the Netherlands and to a lesser extent in France and England. Where humanism conjoined with **Catholicism,** the old culture of the Middle Ages continued to be cultivated unhindered, as in Italy, Spain, and France. These countries, in this sequence in descending order, stood aloof from the Reformation, signifying that humanism in its own right did not ensure intellectual freedom. It followed that in those countries too, restored Catholicism would be at work. When this change was in process, the epoch of the Renaissance was over, and the Baroque era was on the way, a culture partly made up of the after-effects of humanism and a Catholicism degraded by Jesuitism.

b.   Classical literary culture rose to its meridian in these two centuries in England and France. In

consequence, it was from these matrices at a later time that we find literary influences radiating abroad. At the beginning of this era, Spain contributed one element to the development of the novel, that is the *Amadís* [*de Gaula*, a fictional character]. In the fine arts, Italy and the Netherlands took the lead, as also in the field of music. England had absorbed other influences from all over, and at first herself exerted but minimal influence in Germany. But then in Shakespeare she burst into a momentous flowering. Her intellectual influence abroad however actually began only with the Enlightenment. Meanwhile France rose to her classical zenith, and then, virtually unimpeded, ruled the whole world down to the Revolution.

c. Art and literature are in the common mind the province of idle wealth. Architecture, sculpture, and painting are luxuries which, because of their extravagance, only the wealthy, whether corporations or individuals, can cultivate. Poetry is different. But because poetry is for the most part regarded as a means of entertainment, it too has figured largely as a child of the idle rich. If the pope and secular humanism had monopolized the other arts, the Reformation now raised poetry and **folk** music to a new level. Herein was revealed the magnificence of the Gospel, the only power to create genuine life when, without this truth, even the fine arts, music, and poetry lost themselves in external forms.

d. Of the great masters of the high Renaissance in **Italy**, Michelangelo (d. 1564) lived long into the Reformation era. The Renaissance inspired **church architecture** only in Italy, elsewhere lending itself to palaces and town halls. In the field of **sculpture**, Michelangelo also tackled biblical themes in his powerful style. In northern Italy Venice was home to Titian, the **master of chromatic splendor** (1477-1576). He was entirely taken up with secular painting. Paolo Veronese (1528-1588) painted with a different eye. He depicted virtually only biblical themes. Yet he represented the secular, and in fact already now, a weaker perception of religious themes. We must regard Antonio Allegri (Correggio, d. 1554) in the same light. It was only when Catholicism had been revamped that it again produced a religious perception of biblical subjects. Note the three Carracci at the very end of the century, working on into the next.

e. **Music** followed a similar course. At this time Palestrina (1514 or 1526-1594) composed the classical church music of Catholicism. He was a member of the papal chapel, and when at the Council of Trent the discussion turned to the expurgation from church music of the contamination of secular, often frivolous elements, he was elected to the committee assigned to implement the plan. Accordingly, he devoted himself to the development of a severe ecclesiastical style of instrumental and choral music. Orlandus Lassus (1520-1590) of the Netherlands was composing at the same time. He had gone to Rome to finish his training there. Then he settled in Munich and there reached the apogee of his achievements. Palestrina is simpler and therefore more reverent, even in the Catholic sense. Lassus is more powerful, deeper, but only in the sense of external form. Both represent the highest stage of artistic development in the music created by the Renaissance in which the laws of the senses are in control. Self-evidently these masters desired to give expression to the depths of their soul, in the grip of Roman ideas. But it is exactly this Roman disposition which conditions it, so that in the act of expression the sensuous impulse not only may, but must, predominate. At this time too, when music and drama combined, the opera made its debut.

f. Things took a different turn in **poetry**. Under ancient Catholicism, even in the Renaissance era, poetry had never employed ancient classical themes, but rather Christian-medieval ones (e.g., Ludovico Ariosto's "Raving Roland"). The Catholic Restoration, in aspiring to the highest ideals, never transcended such stuff, as Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalemme liberata* demonstrates. In other genres as well, Italy comes in last in the field of literature. Only the political prose of Macchiavelli and the diligent but two-dimensional work of Caesar Baronius, besides a variety of specialized studies in history and art literature, rise above the ordinary.

g. The **Lutheran church** alone gave art the place it deserves, that is, the chance to offer the entire nation the most exalted ideas of the Gospel in the simplest form, averring only these ideas. This produced a form which

will remain a model for all time to come, even though, as is true of all great art, the form wore the peculiarities of its time. To some extent, even this early, we can say the same of Germany's **painting**. The painters Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), Hans Holbein the younger (1472-1553), and Lukas Cranach (1472-1553), demonstrate that Protestantism at first reverted to a chaste perception of things, in that painters, when doing portraits, strove to picture the present. In their woodcuts (Dürer: prints illustrating the Revelation of John, the Great and the Minor Passion, the Life of Mary; Holbein: illustrations of the Old Testament and the Dance of the Dead) these masters created works of art which, like the Lutheran congregational hymn, have rendered visual for everyone the greatest truths in native and realistic form. The religious boom affected painting as little as it did sculpture and architecture because church architecture and its embellishment did not become a vital necessity.

h.   The veritable master-achievement of Germany in the field of art is the **Lutheran hymn**. This is the more worthy of note insofar as the hymn makes claim to no such rank. Technique, at that time in the development of harmony, had advanced to the completion of lyric structure. Luther at once applied this art to the divine service, and thereby gave the congregation the opportunity to participate independently and naturally. Luther, Nicolas Decius, Johann Graumann, Nicolas Selnecker, Martin Schalling, Valerius Herberger, and Philip Nicolai, are the most noteworthy poets, and Johann Walther, Hans Leo Hassler, Michael Praetorius, and Johann Eccard, the most noteworthy composers. They, particularly Luther, translated ancient hymns as well. The simple truth of the Gospel found voice without much reflection, so that it speaks to the heart of every child with all its natural grandeur. These hymns ring true in their magnificent clean-cut line in melody and harmony, never superseded even yet, because they are wrought of and for the common people, because they rode upon the wave of the great movement sweeping through the whole nation, springing spontaneously from the soul and not calculated for effect, as found so often in the art of the rich. Not till the close of this era did two elements intermingle which diverged from the simple grandeur of these first hymns, namely, the festive ornamentation in Nicolai's hymns, and the agonizing premonition of looming horror in those of his contemporaries.

i.   In **secular poetry** at the turn from the 15th to the 16th century two satirists stand out, Sebastian Brant (1458-1521) and Thomas Murner (1475-1537). Both were humanists, who in Strassburg castigated the abuses of their time in humanistic style. Brant was little touched by the Reformation. Murner at first defended Luther, but then in 1522, in order to flatter King Henry VIII, turned against Luther in his satire "On the Great Lutheran Fool," etc. Otherwise, German humanism mostly sided with the Reformation. But at the same time it was also subject to the influence of erudite Latin education, and already previously had brought forth the works of the poets in Latin (the Mutians in Erfurt; *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*). Only a few, like Hutten, wrote in German. Later, humanism made little difference in Germany.

k. German literature received its chief impulse from Luther's writings. It also participated in the religious wars, but never rose to challenge formally the crudity inherited from the previous century. To this literature belonged the prose dialogues, the chapbooks of Eulenspiegel, Dr. Faust, the simpleton genre, etc., and the insignificant prose romances *Amadis* and others. Alongside these, still in flower, was the song of the Meistersingers, which was already now, however, moving from strophic prosody to rhymed couplets. Poetic vitality still preserved itself best in dramaturgy, which received the strongest impetus from the humanistic dramaturgy of the Netherlands. The Bavarian Thomas Naogeorg and Nicodemus Frischlin distinguished themselves in their Latin comedies. German dramaturgy attained its apex in the poetry of the cobbler **Hans Sachs** (1494-1576), one of Luther's faithful adherents in Nürnberg who excelled in all poetic modes then in vogue, only not always in the most edifying sense. Toward the end of the century English itinerant players immigrated whose influence came to be felt particularly in Nürnberg where they popularized in Germany the profitable English dramaturgy of the forerunners of Shakespeare. When the struggles of the Counter-Reformation set in, the Calvinist jurist Johann

Fischart (1550-1590) gained pre-eminence in Speyer and Saarbrücken. He aimed his satires not only at Romanists, however, but also at the Formula of Concord, whereas his psalms demonstrate great lyrical talent and profound piety.

l.   The Calvinist position prevented England and France from taking part in the great resurgence of religious poetry. What they produced in this field can not touch Lutheran poetry. But in the field of secular poetry at this time they experienced the beginnings of their classical period, which runs into the 17th century. In the era of Francis I, humanism and the Reformation brought about in the literature of **France** a change not beneficial to the entire population. Native literature dried up. At court they strove for a style socially agreeable to the court and to the educated elite. But beyond that, literature did free itself from the Burgundian influence, and turned toward the freer trend of antiquity. There were epistles, elegies, songs, rounds, epigrams, even sonnets. Clement Marot, a Calvinist composer of psalms of a later day, was court poet (*style marotique*). After mid-century, in the wake of the Huguenot movement, the religious impulse played into these developments. More than all, Olivetan's Bible translation and Calvin's *Institutes* gave the people the modern French language. In secular literature, the parody of the popular chivalric romance *Amadis* played a principal role with its colorful, humorous, satirical portrayal of local customs. Another example is Francois Rabelais (1495-1553) and his *Gargantua and Pantagruel.*

m.   In the time of Henry II down to the institution of absolutism by Richelieu, 1550-1630, the Huguenot wars were fought. During this interval Calvinism asserted its existence in ***belles lettres***, when the wars allowed it time and leisure. Beyond this, as conditions prevailed, the humanism of the Romanists held the field and in poets' societies (*Pleiades*) was developing further the classicism already begun. Poetic diction included new verse and strophic forms: ode, sonnet, tragedy, comedy. In place of the former allegories, we find the fables of ancient heathen divinities (Ronsard and Du Bellay). In dramaturgy, plays featured intrigue with weak characterization and equally weak moral message. The Huguenots displayed higher poetic morality, but as with the others, what was lacking was originality.

n.   More truly original was the skepticism of Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) in his essays. Historiography too followed this trend. Jacques Auguste de Thou (1533-1617) and Agrippa d'Aubigne (1550-1630). Memoirs. Not until Henry IV did art and national culture begin to flourish somewhat. Malherbes (1555-1628) spoke out against the foolish dominance of classicism and for freedom of movement and good French expression. Dramaturgy did not amount to much as yet. Pastoral poetry still held the field; "Pyramus and Thisbe" (Shakespeare's "Mid-summer Night's Dream" and Andreas Gryphius' "Peter Squenz"). In the **fine arts** the Renaissance was in the ascendant. The sensuousness of the French nobility and court encouraged this development, and many civic structures were erected in early Renaissance style (Louvre, Tuileries, and others).

o.   In **England**, the Tudor style in **architecture** was a Gothic achievement. The Renaissance came into its own first under Elizabeth's radiant reign ("Queen Elizabeth-style"). But national Gothic was still preferred as a second choice especially for public buildings. **Painting** reached its zenith in the 17th century, sculpture in the 18th. **Music** in general declined. In secular **literature**, on the other hand, England outpaced the other nations. After a brief flowering following Chaucer's productivity, a long season of drought had set in. The War of the Roses and the first Reformation conflicts, as they played out in England, had retarded literature, and Wycliffe's and Chaucer's prose had still seemed maladroit. Now, through Luther's reforming influence, the Bible translation of Tyndale and Fryth had appeared. This translation laid the foundation for maturity and beauty of diction. But then euphuism, Arcadianism, Gongorism, and the *concetti* style, all borrowed from France, Italy, and Spain, cluttered up the language. It took till the end of the 16th century to find English prose liberated from these fetters. In the area of poetry only dramaturgy distinguished itself. Here as in France, mystery and

morality plays were common favorites. In the course of the 16th century the pastoral play found its way in through Spanish models.

p.   The golden age of English letters began with Edmund Spenser (1552-1599), the poet of "The Faerie Queene." With this poem England stood forth in epic verse as a recognized paradigm in that, in addition to the fertile imagination of the poet and the chastity of his humor, the merits of diction borne of humanism rose to evidence: vigorous description, euphony, and mature stanzaic construction. A throng of lyrists, pastoral poets, satirists, and romance writers crowded the scene. Shakespeare the master himself appears only at the very close of the century and thus belongs to the next period. England had till now actually trailed pretty far behind the continent in productive works of the imagination. That she should now suddenly venture a seven-league stride forward, raising her to the zenith in Europe, may be attributed on the one hand to her long prevenient intellectual rest of lassitude, on the other, to the peculiar ecclesiastical development under the Reformation, culminating in the brilliance of the Elizabethan era, while on the continent religious war slaughtered the nations. What thwarted the lyrical energy developing in poetry, however, in learning anything from the masterwork of the German hymn was, on the one hand, the cramped mind of Calvinism, on the other, the worldly superficiality of Elizabeth.

q.   Meanwhile, **Spain** hung back as yet. The Gothic style still held sway in architecture. At the same time though, the Italian Renaissance pressed in, giving rise to an opulent style, until Philip's dismal disposition killed this trend, and in the Escorial created a Renaissance building of severe, Spartan military design. In **sculpture** and **painting**, Burgundian-Dutch taste predominated, setting the fashion in France as well, owing to the union of the Netherlands and Spain by the marriage of Philip and Juana, the parents of Charles V. Italian influences mingled in too. In **literature**, the sentimental *Amadis* in the heroic lay remained the star character. It was not till the end of the century that a sense of national consciousness, new for this country, took shape, as derived from Spain's supremacy in the foreign policy of Charles and Philip which, along with the hostilities with the Moors, encouraged a tone of arrogant superiority, and interwove with it a certain untruthful mannerism, which came about because strength of character was of course to be sought anywhere else but in Spain. It was a militarist-Catholic-national mindset. But the sober civic Dutch influence simultaneously generated the corrective in Spain itself. Even before the other nations had made themselves ludicrous by aping Spanish manners, **Cervantes** was burlesquing with consummate mastery this affected mannerism in his *Don Quixote*.

§ 222. Secular Literature and Art of the 17th Century.

a.   Now the 17th century enters the field; **England** is in the vanguard with Shakespeare, followed by **France** with Louis XIV, after the Italian influence had been imperceptibly coming into vogue in the Baroque mode and the Spanish influence in the guise of high fashion. Classic maturity, as far as it could succeed in England, was first realized in **William Shakespeare** (1564-1616). What distinguishes Shakespeare, externally considered, is the ease and compass of his command of the language. Of course he benefited from the English habit, developed perhaps from the fusion of Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Norman-French heritage, of enriching their vocabulary by drawing on other languages. The refined ear of other nations would have forbidden such practice. Of all the poets in the world, Shakespeare employs the most extensive vocabulary, although the corresponding neology of terms, witty most of them, leaves an aftertaste of superficial contrivance, the trademark of witticism.

b.   The other side of Shakespeare's classical style is his competence in portraying human characters, warm as life and true to life, in vast profusion. For him, the passions are not abstract motives for which he invents characters, but they are indissolubly affiliated with the individual characters in whom they arise. This kind of

matter-of-fact, realistic observation of human life was inherent in the circumstances obtaining in Elizabeth's radiant regime. Explorers voyaged to foreign strands and conquered them, and brought back with their plunder a glut of new knowledge, a freedom of thought and judgment, and a sense of domination of everything, all of which contributes to understanding the crown of creation on earth, the human being, down to the most intimate responses of the soul. Additionally, the third distinguishing trait of Shakespeare's poetry is his temporal point of view. Man with his heart and conscience constitutes his destiny. Shakespeare knows of no extra-terrestrial influence. He stands here under the indictment of humanism. On the one hand this keeps him on track, so that he is on guard against implausible resolutions of dramaturgical conflicts, and presents a generally understandable development of his characters, but it also prevents him from penetrating into the profound inwardness reserved for German literature which reached its heights when it sought to come to terms with God and eternity.

c. In one breath with Shakespeare we mention **Bacon** (1561-1626) who with his inductive theory brought to philosophical expression the prudent, temporal ideas and views current among the English people at the time of the Stuarts. At this time the painting of the Netherlands and Germany was much admired in England, so much so in fact that the English imported not only the ideas and modes of painting, but the painters themselves (Van Dyck and Holbein). Music among them was virtually neglected, all the more so since now Puritanism, through the lack of understanding on the part of the Stuarts and their Anglican followers, was pushed into prominence. Classicism suffered neglect for the same reason. Until 1660, the only name we have is Milton (1608-1674) whom we must include in the list of leading poetic figures. Bayley, Baxter, Bunyan, as great as they are as representatives of pietism, for all that are harbingers of literary decline.

d. In Italy meanwhile, everything was deteriorating. To be sure, in the fine arts and in music a few new directions were showing up, exerting an influence throughout the world, but even these must be reckoned as products of decline. The **Baroque** style (*verucca*=wart, small flaw; Portuguese *barocco*, an irregular pearl) came into vogue in the fine arts. This style ventures beyond the strict lines of the Renaissance into abandon and formlessness. The idea is to generate massive effects of light and shadow and to create the illusion of motion in contrast to the former stark rigidity (the identical contrast as that posed later between dogmatism, on the one hand, and Pietism and Rationalism on the other). To serve this end the swinging horizontal and vertical lines, the broken and curved gables, the depressed arches, the winding pillars, the clustered pilasters, the stunted, softened, rounded off, bulbous forms, the interruption of the horizontal line, the over-ornamented pillars and architraves. Michelangelo is considered the father of this architectural style. Bernini, Borromini, and Guarnini exploited its possibilities in the 17th century, and it captivated the world. **Sculpture** and **painting** followed the same lines. In painting, a limp, saccharine accent in the perception and choice of subject was combined with advanced technique: Guido Reni, (1575-1642), Carlo Dolci (1616-1686), the *Mater dolorosa*. In every respect, it was long on technique, short on genius.

e. In **music** too, the Italians at this time laid at least a groundwork for the 18th century. After part singing had been practiced down to Palestrina and Lassus, by the end of the 16th century monody was rediscovered. This mode reflected the saccharine, subjective, superficial temper of the time. The antiphonal combination of this kind of singing with choir and instrumental music in 1600 brought the opera into existence in Florence and along with it set into immediate motion the development of technique. In the course of the 17th century the operatic mode was applied to spiritual music as well (as in the **oratorio**). The literature of Italy deteriorated, thanks to the domination of the Jesuits and to the ecclesiastical reaction. Some achievements in erudition nevertheless emerged. In natural science, there was Galileo (1564-1642), in historiography Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623). Poesy had entirely degenerated into sugary frivolity.

f. If Italy had become the standard of disfiguration in architectural design, and if her painting had declined

from the great scope of Raphael's vision, the **Netherlands** now became the standard for a different, brand-new approach to painting. During the 16th century the Dutch artists had initially developed further the style of the van Eycks in their less stilted, more natural technique (Quentin Massys). Then too they had acquired the chromatic phenomenon of the Italian Renaissance (Martin van Heinskerk). When the 17th century dawned, a school arose which advanced in entirely unexplored paths. But the school divided into two groups. One of these rose to high esteem in the Spanish area of the Netherlands and was more in the service of the Catholic church. Its center of activity was in Antwerp, and its principal genius was **Peter Paul Rubens** (1577-1640; brilliant color and ecclesiastical subjects) with his chief understudy Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). Van Dyck was preoccupied with portraiture. The other group originated in Holland after it had wrested itself from Spain. Their center was Amsterdam, and **Rembrandt** (Harmensz van Ryn, 1606-1669) was the master in residence with his understudy Franz Hals (1580-1666). Calvinism became apparent here in that these painters avoided biblical themes [Rembrandt did a number of Old and New Testament woodcuts and oils] and vibrant colors. The latter avoidance, like all other aspects of Netherlands art, may perhaps be attributed to the taste of the man in the street, as this had been a factor in Dutch art already since the 14th century. Rembrandt used chiaroscuro. Franz Hals too focused particularly on portraiture.

g.   Spain took lessons directly from the Netherlands. Velasquez (1599-1660), understudy of the Italian naturalists and of Rubens, turned realist with nationalist sensibilities. Like Shakespeare, he had the knack of representing life in its manifold diversity with great effect. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682) was inspired by Titian and was a master of silken forms. In **literature** in Spain, a tone betraying Spanish arrogance and a stilted style developed, a natural echo of the country's history. Spaniards got rich from the discovery of foreign lands, and powerful from their connection with the House of Hapsburg. Charles V and Philip II both were dyed in the wool of Hapsburg stupidity and conceit, and an arrogant attitude arose which the princes conveyed to those in their ambience. At the close of the 16th century this attitude entered literature by way of the Culteranism (*estilo culto*) of Gongora (1561-1627) who introduced a pompous style with vigorous expression and with a haughty admixture of satire. Contemporary with him, Cervantes (1547-1616) had emulated the level-headed Dutch manner, using it to point up the absurdity of Spanish pomposity. Working beside him was Lope de Vega (1562-1635) who at first absorbed the Italian influence of Ariosto in epic poetry, but then turned to drama, with even Cervantes and Calderon (1600-1681) imitating him in this. Fertile invention, genial composition, pregnant reflection of nature were the qualities the Renaissance brought forth, combined with Italian and Dutch naturalism, once Philip II's influence had waned. Devotional writings multiplying within the orbit of Theresa de Jesus defined a body of prose. In this context we must remember to mention Las Casas in America. After Philip IV, exhaustion bore down in all areas of life, continuing into the second half of the 18th century.

h.   All these influences came into play in **France** when under Louis XIV that country successfully posed as the model for the whole world. The spell of humanistic erudition had already been broken under Richelieu and Mazarin. The advanced school of etiquette and refined life-style originated in the salon of the Marquise of Rainbouillet. Classicism, freed from pedantry, was blended with bucolic poetry. Gallantry and etiquette; Balzac, [George and Madeleine de] Scudéry, pre-eminently already too **Pierre Corneille** (1606-1684). Under Richelieu's protection (establishment of the *Académie francaise*, 1635), the so-called three Aristotelian unities (action, time, place), as required by the ancient stage, had been brought up to date for dramaturgy. Within this limitation Corneille had made noble, impassioned language, authentic characters, and plausible conflicts on the stage easy to understand. Modern prose was elegantly represented in Descartes' philosophical writings and Pascal's *Lettres provinciales*.

i.   Louis XIV's home rule now brought into vogue another attitude. This drifted over from the Spanish

attitude, and resembled it in its emotionalism. If the Spaniard was pompous, the French was affected. The Spaniard was arrogant, but stiff and reserved like Philip II. Louis was even more arrogant, but elegant and affable. He was constantly trying to flatter, to ingratiate himself with others, especially with women. Among the Spanish, the uniform mode of attire was military, among the French, courtly. Both modes bore in common, besides, the general aspects of exaggeration, contrivance and flamboyance. Language, gesture, the entire presence, were similar. While the Spaniards exhibited a distinct earnestness, among the French it came down to frivolity, though never without dignified formality. The fact that these two behavioral modes could thus subjugate the whole world as never a mode had managed to do before is a token of the general intellectual insignificance of the 17th century, following hard upon the mighty industry of the 16th century.

k. French classicism now found its ultimate finish. Every aspect of behavior had to conform to the bounds of social propriety and courtly-monarchic usage. Louis' administration supported academies: in 1663, of inscriptions; in 1664, of painting and sculpture; in 1666, of the exact sciences; in 1667, the Astronomical Observatory; in 1671, the Academy of Architecture; in 1673, the Botanical Garden and the Chemical Laboratory. Dramatic poetry advanced along the path Corneille had pioneered. **Racine** (1639-1699) was magnificent in the language of sentiment, in purity, pathos, and cadenced euphony. Jean Baptiste Poquelin (**Moliere**, 1622-1673), master of comedy, wrote with even greater ease and felicity because wit comes more naturally to the French. The narrative-didactic poetry of La Fontaine (1621-1695) accompanied these works, though not eschewing the suggestive. Boileau-Depreaux (1636-1711) personified the taste of that time. In this atmosphere of etiquette, lyric poetry could hardly thrive. The novel did better, still better epistolary and memoir literature, especially by female authors: Marchioness de Sevigne, and others. In eloquence there were Fenelon and Bossuet. Historiography could only be tendentious: Claude Fleury, Jacques Basnage, and Bossuet, the memoirs of Baron de Gondy (Cardinal von Retz).

l.   The **fine arts** too kept pace. In architecture, Mansart, Leveau, Perrault, and Blondel somewhat retarded the Italian baroque by following Dutch classicism: the palaces of Versailles, Marly, Trianon; the facade of the Louvre; the completion of the Tuileries and others. In sculpture, Girardon and Puget followed the same style-in painting, Lebrun and Poussin. But the affectation, the insincere pathos, intended to create a suitable atmosphere for the King, who considered himself more than an ordinary mortal, won out with its sensuality, degenerating into nudity. Le Notre was obliged, with the same objective, to torture the natural growth of trees and bushes into stylistic forms (French **horticulture**). Around that same time Claude Lorrain (1600-1682) was painting landscapes. Although not resident in France, but in Rome, his paintings nevertheless bear something of the overblown character of the time, whereas the contemporary Dutch painter Ruisdael (1628-1682) distinguishes himself by his great simple fidelity to nature.

m.   In this regard, **Germany** fell short. The wars allowed Germany no leisure. Prior to the Thirty Years' War the Renaissance artists created guild halls and princely palaces in every German city, and miniature art abounded with many a marvelous piece of **sculpture** and **woodcarving**, much as song did in the Meistersinger guilds. After the great war, the economy was so impoverished and depressed that the Baroque style did not get off the ground until the beginning of the 18th century. Secular **poetry** only found expression in the second quarter of the 17th century, and had first to graduate from the academic schooling of the poets' associations. Meanwhile the Germans lived on imported fare. The Italians and the Spanish furnished them with poetic models, mostly in pastoral poetry. Folk poetry degenerated into the *Hanswurst* genre; and it remained at that level until the middle of the 18th century. Dramaturgy alone could boast of a poet, Andreas Gryphius (1616-1664), who, following the Dutch paradigm, though standing alone, wrote poetry of power and with fidelity to nature. In the wake of the war, satire took the opportunity to scourge the fashionable foolishness: Schuppius and Abraham a St. Clara. Here the novel *Simplizissimus* by Christoph von Grimmelshausen took center stage.

What was missing in Germany was the humanistic training which creates the forms of representation. Humanism became active again in Germany only after this era.

n.   The congregational hymn alone was explored with mastery in respect to both text and music. In the first half of the century Johann Krüger (1598-1662) and Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672) had gone along with the change brought about by Palestrina's and Lassus' work. Krüger continued writing hymns, but Schütz turned to the spiritual concert, and composed oratorios. By this altered direction, following the trend of the time, the melody in its accentuation adapted itself rather to the cadence of the text, the melodic composition was simplified, but both music and text lost the great objective tone. It was the music, suited to the hymns, for which Paul Gerhardt (1607-1676) wrote after the great war.

o.   All these observations compressed into a few sentences lead to this conclusion: In these two centuries, original productive energy is unleashed by Luther's Reformation and in the 16th century concentrates on Germany. Overall there is a transformation of viewpoints insomuch that, secondarily, an energy radiates out from Germany into all countries and into every area of life. By comparison, the Renaissance and humanism add the competence in representation and formulation, and the most advanced achievements in this regard appear in the 17th century, and in fact in the secular field: Italian, Dutch, English, and French classicism, Michelangelo, Palestrina, Lassus, Rembrandt, Shakespeare, Milton, Corneille, Racine, Moliere. Even the Baroque and opera merit mention here as new phenomena, but they already signify decline. Catholicism created nothing positive of original consequence. Actually, neither did Calvinism, as it figured only insofar as it retarded the field of art, in part, and promoted politics in part. The political ideas rising in the working sphere of Calvinism resulted rather from particular native customs, mostly of the Low German kind in England, France, and Holland. What Calvinism develops in the process is not originality.

p.   Germany's main achievements in summary are the congregational hymn and dogmatics. The magnificent feature in both is the mastery of evangelical ideas. In the hymn, in its very form, in its unpretentious and modest reticence, bespeaks a character so great that it can be analyzed less in language than it can be comprehended with emotion. Even in the 17th century, when everything is sinking backwards, Gerhardt's hymn gleams like a wondrous pearl, more precious than all of the noisy poesy and art and other capabilities of other nations. We can not say as much for **dogmatics**. The fidelity and industry in compilation and definition are imposing, like the craftsmanship of the stone mason in the Gothic cathedral. But if we examine the forms of analysis, the comparison falters. The dogmatic forms are not the Gothic lines born of genius, but the lines of the Renaissance which tortured the unwilling material into an Aristotelian construct as an artisan might, and, when it did not work, simply deviated from the line of thought. (The comparison of Lutheran dogmatics and Gothic cathedral construction was thought up by Romantic writers. The comparison expresses the truth that the work of the dogmaticians resembles the work of stone masons in its minute exactitude. The comparison stops there. The very property in the external hard stony material which turned into beautiful forms-and even in cathedral construction, the impulse was rather intellectual mathematics than artistic inspiration-diminished the magnitude of the ideas in the spiritual material of the Gospel.) Thus, the dogmatic form more nearly resembles the contemporary Baroque style which adorned the covers and borders of theological works when printed and bound.

§223. The Roman Church.

a.   In the Peace of Westphalia the papacy was compelled to see setbacks to its claims. This impression was magnified the more by occurrences in England. So exhaustion was the signature in every area, even in the Catholic church. Wherever power was exercised in the interest of the church, it was derived from the political power of princes. Nor intellectually was anything of note achieved. A few conversions hardly come into

consideration, because they were connected with intellectual inferiority, a number of cases of the same kind coming up subsequently. The busy dealings in France, too, concerning Jansenism, Gallicanism, and Quietism, would stir little interest if they did not involve Louis's absolutism. Even the one intellectual advance, to wit, that in the Catholic world the historical-philological disciplines acquired their underpinnings, must rather be ascribed to the cultural boom in France. The Jesuits kept on plying their unsavory craft in keeping with their ever deeper degenerating moral theology.

b. The popes were incompetent, without influence, and in fact ended up depending on France, even when a number of them tried to resist Louis's encroachments. Innocent X (1644-1655) and Alexander VII (1655-1667) made fools of themselves in the Jansenist Controversy, while Clement IX (1667-1670) yielded. Clement X (1670-1676), Innocent XI (1676-1689), and Alexander VIII (1689-1691), took council together with Louis against the Gallican Liberties; the first was a nepotist (Paluzzi Altieri), the second a hard-shell moralist, the third a nullity. (235.)

c. **What was going on in France** at this time took the spotlight. Louis was at bottom irreligious. In sheer vainglory, all he believed in was himself. Consequently, from the first he had no interests in the church, but he also did not want to let the pope talk his way into the situation in France. Later in life, partly to make up for his immorality and egotism, he allowed himself to be led by the Marchionesse de Maintenon and her pious cant, egged on by the Jesuits. On the one hand this led to all manner of suppression of Catholics and Protestants, on the other, a resurgence in literary effort in French and related churches.

d. In France, despite the recall of Richer, imperialism remained strong. Louis extended it by his claim to royal prerogatives, except in southern France. When he expanded this claim to include his conquests of Alsace-Lorraine and southern France, Alexander VII and Innocent XI protested. Thereupon the French clergy, who were pawns in the king's hand, issued the four ***Propositiones Cleri Gallicani***, composed by Bossuet of Meaux: 1. The pope can claim no privileges in secular matters; 2. The spiritual power of the pope is subject to the general councils; 3. In France this power is further circumscribed by French church laws; 4. Even in matters of faith the pope's judgment is not unalterable. This declaration provoked multifarious confrontations with various popes.

e. But around this time the influence of Mme. Maintenon had already taken hold. Through Louvois in 1681 the king ordered the "booted mission" of the **dragonades** (quartering of dragoons for the purpose of tearing down the Reformed churches) into action against the Huguenots. Around 500,000 refugees fled abroad, mainly to Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, and Brandenburg. He intensified this persecution in 1685 after he revoked the Edict of Nantes.

f. Around this time too Louis interfered in the **Jansenist** and **Quietist controversies**. Bishop Cornelius Jansen of Ypres, in a work on Augustine which appeared posthumously (1638), had developed the church father's doctrine of sin and grace. At the instigation of the Jesuits, Urban VIII in 1642 had banned it. Du Vergier of St. Cyr, a friend of the author, interceded for the tract and was imprisoned. A number of friends, adherents of the Abbess Angelica of Port Royal, challenged the Jesuits after 1643: her brother Anton Arnauld, a teacher at the Sorbonne, the poet Racine, the mathematician Blaise Pascal, the Bible translator de Sacy, and the church historian Tillemont. Even the Sorbonne, the parliament, and individual theologians sided with them, and the Roman Inquisition could not declare against them. But in 1653, Innocent X attacked five of Jansen's propositions. Arnauld replied in a definition of the difference between the *question du fait* and the *question du droit*, and allowed the pope's ruling to stand only in the instance of law. For this in 1656 he was debarred from the Sorbonne, which meanwhile had changed its policy, and Alexander VII condemned his distinction. Now Pascal, under the pen name Louis de Montalte, assailed Jesuit practice and made it seem ludicrous in his brilliant *Lettres provinciales*. In 1660 this tract, on orders of the parliament, was burnt by the executioner.

Then Louis, urged on by his father confessor, the Jesuit Annat, compelled all religious to subscribe to the papal bull. Many emigrated. When Clement IX relaxed these measures, many returned to submission (*Pax Clementina*).

g.   At the same time the Jesuit fight against **quietistic Mysticism** broke out. Michael Molinos, a Spanish priest, came to Rome in 1669 and there attracted a considerable following with his defense of mysticism in his *Guida spirituale*, a movement long in practice going as far back as St. Theresa, through Francois de Sales and Francisca de Chantal. Against this resumption the Jesuit Paul Segneri took issue, whereupon the Oratorian Cardinal Petrucci interceded on behalf of mysticism. Also Pope Innocent XI, a friend of Molinos, who had shown his aversion to the Jesuits by condemning sixty-seven of their doctrinal propositions, could not be goaded into proceeding against Molinos. Then it became evident how influential the father confessor La Chaise was in motivating the king. Louis prevailed upon the senile pope to take action against Molinos, insomuch that Molinos was compelled to do penance and till his death in 1697 was committed to solitary monastic confinement.

h.   Directly connected with this event was the fight against the quietism of Jeanne Marie de la Mothe-Guyon in France. After her husband's death she devoted herself, under the influence of the Barnabite father confessor Lacombe, to the mysticism of Francois de Sales, and broadened it to include the ideas of naked faith (*foi nue*) and of selfless love (*amour désinteressé*), loving God purely for the sake of God, not in order to attain salvation. Her persecutor was her step-brother, the Barnabite superior La Mothe. In 1688 Mme. de Guyon and Lacombe were imprisoned. But La Maintenon interceded for this member of her fellow sex, and her convent arrest was rescinded. Still, La Maintenon, through the agency of the king, engineered the establishment of a spiritual commission in 1693, headed by Bossuet. In 1695 the bishop of Cambrai, Francois de Salignac de la Mothe-Fenelon, joined the commission, whose influence protected Mme. Guyon on the strength of a witness of the commission. But in 1698, at the behest of La Maintenon, she was again imprisoned. Fenelon meanwhile had interceded for her teaching in a tract and in person with the pope, and the pope tried to bring about a peaceful settlement. But in 1699 Bossuet and Maintenon procured a brief against Fenelon's book, which Bossuet himself had published in his diocese. Mme. de Guyon remained in the Bastille until 1701, and in 1717 she died.

i. During these declining years of Louis's life the **Jansenist Controversy** too entered its final stage. The Oratorian Paschasius Quesnel in 1671 had published the New Testament in French with an edifying commentary, and then in 1675, because of some free-thinking assertions in an edition of the works of Leo the Great, was banished to the Netherlands. Now when the French clergy, directed by the archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Noailles, used this book, the Jesuit father confessor of the king, Le Tellier, initiated a papal brief, with the king's complicity in 1708, and in 1713 the constitution *Unigenitus* was issued by Pope Clement XI opposing it, with an injunction from the king to the clergy to accept this bull. The upshot was that the French clergy split into **Appellants** and **Acceptants**. When after the king's death the regency of the Duke of Orleans proceeded with greater liberality in this matter, the Sorbonne, a number of universities, the Maurian and Oratorian congregations (chiefly), and other groups rejected the Constitution in 1717, despite the 1718 papal ban. But when the court favorite Dubois aspired to the cardinalate, the persecution of the Appellants began in 1720 at the hands of the regent. And when Louis XV himself in 1725 acceded to the throne, his teacher Fleury strengthened his resolve in this objective. By 1728-1730 the clergy and parliament had given way, ready at last to recognize the bull as imperial law, after the fanatical convulsion then raging everywhere had animated the campaign against it.

k.   Parallel with these conflicts the development of the Old Catholic Church of the **Netherlands** unfolded. From 1592 onward the Jesuits were in Holland. They engineered at length the death by fire of the Vicar

General of Utrecht, Sasbod Vosmeer, for obstructing their machinations. When the Jansenists were persecuted, they found an open door and a following in Holland. In 1688 Archbishop Peter Codde of Utrecht was cited to Rome and ultimately deposed (1702). The Utrecht chapter, however, elected their own bishop (1723) in place of the bishop designated by Clement XI, and thus arose the so-called **Roman Catholic Church of the Old Episcopal Clergy**, which, while otherwise thoroughly Catholic, resists papal absolutism.

l. Of **conversions** during this time there were but few. The best-known examples are those of the Landgrave Ernst of Hesse in 1652, of Christina of Sweden in 1654, and of the poet Angelus Silesius in 1661. The last, a doctor by the name of Johann Scheffler, was associated with the feeble, emotional mind of the Silesian school of poets. His study of the mystics and his academic travels, which as such were becoming increasingly more accepted among Lutherans, made him more favorably disposed to mysticism until he defected to the Roman church and forthwith became an enemy of the Lutheran church. His hymns are mostly spiritual triflings, though a few pearls can be found among them which were written already before his conversion.

m. A kind of pietism that was to the liking of the Jesuits found expression in 1675 in the nun Marguerite Alacoque and the Jesuit La Colombière In a state of nerves, the nun began to imagine that the Savior had transplanted her heart into his own and was now in an amorous relationship with her. With this motivation she founded the cult of the Devotion to the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, which produced the correspondingly tasteless imagery, still in evidence today. In the **life of the orders**, the founding of the Trappist Order (1664), by Jean le Bouthilliers de Rance, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of La Trappe, was an innovation. After a profligate life he was shattered at seeing the dissected body of his beloved and founded the order, with appallingly severe self-castigations and a rule of absolute silence save for the greeting *Memento mori*. - Another foundation, that of Jean Baptiste de la Salle, fostered elementary school education.

n. In **theology**, historical criticism came to the fore; in 1643 its proponents now supplemented the editions of the church Fathers brought out by the Maurist Congregation in France, begun in 1618, with the *Acta sanctorum* of the Bollandists (the Jesuit Johann Bollandus and his collaborators) in Antwerp. In this connection the **ancillary historical disciplines** were initiated: chronology, diplomatics, paleography. Jean Mabillon (d. 1707): *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti, Annales ordinis S. Benedicti, De re diplomatica*; Sebastien le Nain de Tillemont (d. 1698): *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premieres siècles*; Claude Fleury (d. 1723): *Histoire ecclésiastique*; Bernhard Montfaucon (d. 1747): *Collectio nova patrum et scriptorum Graecorum*; Jacques Benigne Bossuet (d. 1704): *Exposition de la doctrine de l église catholique*; *Histoire des variations des églises protestantes, Discours sur l'histoire universelle*. Besides these great scholars we may mention particularly Anton (d. 1699) and Francois Pagi (d. 1721), uncle and nephew from Provence, who made corrective revisions in the *Critica historico-chronologica in annales Baronii,* and the Jesuit Louis Maimbourg (d. 1686) who wrote tendentious tracts against Protestantism: *Du Wicliffisme, Du Lutheranisme*. This sort of criticism was ventured against Holy Scripture as well by Richard Simon (d. 1712): *Histoire critique du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament*, but roused vehement opposition. Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon attained distinction as pulpit orators, as did the Germans Abraham a St. Clara and the Rhineland missionary Martin von Cochem, who interlarded their discourse with facetiousness and humor, another sign of intellectual decline. The Jesuit **moral theologian** Johann Busenbaum added fuel to the fire of the controversies over probability. At first, the *opinio minus tuta* ["the opinion less safe"] satisfied the conscience in moral decision-making, and under Oliva (d. 1681) constituted the doctrine of the order. The second half of the century saw a reaction in the opposition of the Jansenists and particularly of the Dominicans, and even within the Jesuit Order itself. A three-pronged trend evolved: Equiprobabilism, Probabilism, and Tutiorism for those whom, with increasing conviction, the principle of *opinio minus tuta* appeared inadequate. Here we must mention Cardinal Pallavicini, the Spaniard Michael de Elizalde, and the later general Thyrsus Gonzales, whose

writings, despite the consent of Popes Innocent XI and XII, were withheld from publication until late 1694.

§224. The Lutheran Church.

a.   The same general **fatigue** set in within the Lutheran church as in the Roman church. And, as it was made evident in France that the church's alertness moves in the ascendant with all other cultural connections, in Germany the same applies in the descent. The Thirty Years' War inflicted serious damage upon the Lutheran church, as upon Germany, in that it aggravated the exhaustion of mind and spirit which had already taken hold in the previous period. This became apparent in disputes, in approaches to pacification, and in doctrinal labor.

b. During this time the **Syncretistic Controversy** was fought through to its conclusion. After the fruitless *Colloquium Charitativum* in Thorn, 1645, the conflict between **Calixt** together with Hornejus against the **Saxons,** who had accused him of defection from the Lutheran confession, flared up. Another controversy, between Latermann and Myslenta, broke out in **Königsberg**, and became entangled with the previous controversy when **Latermann** tried to resolve in the predestination and conversion doctrines, even more definitively than the Philippists had already done, the contradiction to reason of these Scriptural doctrines (that people before conversion possess the volition, given to them by the Holy Spirit, to desire to be converted). The **Strassburgers** too, particularly Storch and Dannhauer, now entered the fray against Calixt. But a written verdict also largely condemned Myslenta's intemperance. In 1651 Calixt died as a result of this controversy.

c.   The Landgrave of Hesse in 1651 convoked a **religious dialogue** at **Kassel** where the Lutherans of Rinteln and the Reformed of Marburg united. Directly thereafter a religious dialogue took place in Berlin since the University of Wittenberg and the nominal *elenchus* [refutation] were denied the Lutherans. This resulted in Paul Gerhardt's losing his pastorate at the Church of St. Nicholas. In 1664 the Saxons, whom Calov had joined in Wittenberg, issued the *Consensus repetitus fidei uere Lutheranae* which they could not, however, carry through with as a confessional document. At its conclusion this conflict degenerated into complaints of defamation by the younger Calixt and Strauch in Wittenberg.

d.   The consequences of the way this turned out now became evident in every area of church life. **Theology** still labored under the hegemony of dogmatics, especially at the ancestral seats of self-conscious orthodoxy, now particularly Wittenberg and Leipzig. Theoretically, the correct general principle of the authority of Scripture and the doctrine of justification, the core and star, were still at the helm. In fact, the contention for and the fighting about this went on with perhaps even greater ferocity than before. Practically speaking, however, a still more biased intellectualism developed so that now the representation of doctrine turned into an extremely external classifying and schematizing process (Quenstedt). Even when they kept things generally **within bounds** as far as possible, still this was somewhat official, and the point was lost in casuistry. Notwithstanding, we must not forget that the Lutheran church in the years following the Great War **succeeded admirably** in restoring ruined relationships, an amazing achievement and a fact little discussed as a rule. This achievement we can observe, for instance, in the great hymn writing of Paul Gerhardt, because a hymn of such magnificence always grows upon the ground of an entire people, the hymn giving us a glimpse into the soul life of the entire people. Along with the frequently coarse style you might discover a great fund of profound devotion which stood the test in the vicissitudes of war, and far beyond.

e.   The other side of the picture reveals that **exegesis** and the **art of writing history** began to take their first steps forward. Professionally, however, the Lutherans lagged behind the corresponding achievements of the Reformed and the Catholics. Because of their failure to master the requisite skills and because of dogmatic oppression, theologians still lost their way in elaborate adherence to inherited interpretation, or in quarrels over nothing. But again, contradicting this we must emphasize here that living in the Gospel as learned from Luther, the main foundation for right interpretation, figured strongly here as well, insomuch that masters of

interpretation such as Calov and others rank with the best for all time. Now too devotional literature received serious attention and powerfully confronted Pietism. It was largely the practical pastors and church administrators who provided it, as they were nearer to the life of the people and were drawn to it by conditions brought on by the war (**g.** 11-12).

f.   Wittenberg and Leipzig were now the centers of orthodoxy (cf. g. 1-5), while the universities on the periphery such as Helmstedt and Königsberg, not to mention Marburg, struck out upon a new path opposing strictness (**g.** 6). A *gymnasium* that was established in Strassburg by Johann Sturm, by 1567 had grown into an academy, and by 1621 into a university; approaching the thorough French way of going about scholarly work, it distinguished itself by thorough dogmatic production in that, in exegesis and history, it greeted the new knowledges with a more liberal attitude than others (**g.** 7-8). In Saxony too they had yielded to this trend of the time. Lankisch's *Concordance* of 1677 constituted their chief resource (**g.** 9-10). Yet at the same time, as far back as the 1620s, they were fighting about the purity of the smooth New Testament Greek idiom, with the purists turning a deaf ear to the branches which led to a more refined understanding of language, due to their mistaken interest in championing the doctrine of inspiration.

g. Of consideration in this era were the following **Lutheran theologians:** 1. Johann Adam Schertzer (d. 1683), the Calov of Leipzig: *Breuiarium theologicum; Breuiculus theologicus; Systema theologiae XXIX definitionibus absolutum;* 2. Jakob Weller (d. 1664), professor at Wittenberg, and later successor to Hoës von Hoënegg in Dresden; controversial tracts against Calixt; 3. Johann Hülsemann (d. 1661), crowning his career as pastor and professor in Leipzig: *Extensio breviarii theologici*, against Calixt; *Dialysis apologetica*, "The Worm of Conscience," *Caluinismus irreconciliabilis, Commentarius in Jeremiam et Threnos*, and many more; 4. **Andreas Quenstedt** (d. 1688), Wittenberg: *Theologia didactico-polemica* (causal method); 5. **Abraham Calov** (1612-1686) from East Prussia, studied philology, philosophy, mathematics, botany, and theology in Königsberg 1626-1632, lectured as a master in mathematics and philosophy, and studied Gerhard's *Loci* and Oriental languages, in 1634 went to Rostock, because of wartime turmoil was unable to get to Jena and Wittenberg, and in 1637 was named professor in Königsberg and in 1643 rector of the *gymnasium* and pastor in Danzig, whence he proceeded to Wittenberg. His works: *Biblia illustrata*, against the *Annotationes* of Grotius, *Systema locorum theologicorum* (causal method), *Historia syncretistica*, and many more in practically all branches of theology; 6. Michael Walther (d. 1662), professor in Helmstedt and superintendent general in Celle; *Officina biblia nouiter adaperta*, a historical-critical biblical introduction; 7. **Johann Konrad Dannhauer** (d. 1666), Strassburg: *Hodosophia christiana sive theologia positiva*, *Liber conscientiae apertus*, *Christosophia*, *Hermeneutica sacra*, *Mysteriosophia*, *Hodomoria papistica*, *Hodomoria spiritus Calvini*; 8. Sebastian Schmid (d. 1696), Strassburg: *Colloquium biblicum* and Latin translation of the Bible; 9. Martin Geier (d. 1680), professor in Leipzig and first chaplain in ordinary in Dresden: commentaries on the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Daniel; sermons with ingenious outlines; 10. August Pfeiffer (d. 1698), professor in Leipzig and superintendent in Lübeck: *Dubia vexata*, *Critica Sacra*, *Thesaurus hermeneuticus*; 11. Christian M. Scriver (d. 1693), last post in Quedlinburg; "Spiritual Wealth of the Soul," Gotthold's devotions, sermons; 12. Heinrich Müller (d. 1675), professor in Rostock, preacher of consequence: "Apostolic Closing Argument," "Evangelical Closing Argument," "Spiritual Hours of Refreshment," "Heavenly Kiss of Love," etc.

§225. The Reformed Church.

a. The development of the Reformed church in this era closely resembles that of the Lutheran church because the latter had, since the Crypto-Calvinist Controversy, acquired much that is Calvinistic, owing to intellectualism. In the Reformed church we find the same antitheses as in the Lutheran church, orthodox scholasticism as opposed to more liberal indifferentism, in both churches directed against the mounting

philosophy of unbelief. Pietism, which the Lutheran church contracted through Calvinist influences, begins already now in this period to develop among the Reformed, but the parties mentioned take the opposite position from that of the Lutheran church because the legalistic habitude that comes into consideration in this respect is peculiar to Calvinism. The "orthodoxist" scholastic party allies itself with Pietism, while indifferentism is more amenable to the Enlightenment than among Lutherans.

b. In **Holland**, under German influences, an Aristotelian scholasticism, generally accepted as a badge and guarantee of orthodoxy, had matured in **Gisbert Voetius** (Fut=foot, d. 1676), a professor in Utrecht, and his colleague Johann Hoornbeck. This trend **Johann Coccejus** (Koch, d. 1669), a professor in Leyden, challenged in his alliance theology. He distinguished a two-fold alliance of God with men: *Foedus operum seu naturae* ["alliance of works or of nature"] before, and *foedus gratiae* ["alliance of grace"] after the fall, then further subdivided the latter into three economies: *ante legem, sub lege, post legem* ["before, under, after the law"]. The history of the Christian church, according to him, falls into seven periods (corresponding with the seven setters, trumpets, and seals in John's Revelation). In place of the *Decretum absolutum* which alone gives expression to God's activity in the history of salvation, for Coccejus the history of the church constitutes an education which accommodates itself to the needs of human personality, thus, less election by grace than guidance by grace. The typology of the Old Testament Coccejus applied not only to the New Testament, but also to post-Apostolic history. His was a biblicism which, in exegesis and history, bypassed the driving idea of election by grace in the Bible. After 1658 a fierce controversy broke out between the parties of the Voetians and Coccejans.

c. All this while **Pietism** was on the rise. As long ago as the beginning of the century, Wilhelm Teelinck (d. 1629) had urged Christian patience in the Arminian Controversy, and the devout Englishman W. Amesius in Franeker, along with Voetius and Hoornbeck, had sided with him, and together they had emphasized a legalistic strain in the adiaphora, a strain that has always predominated in Calvinism. On the other hand, the Coccejans were agreeable to the modern ideas of the times even in external manners, and gave themselves a little credit for their "animated, imaginative faith in the Bible," in contrast to the "faith in symbols" of their opponents. Politically, the Voetians supported the governorship of the House of Orange, restored in 1672, while the Coccejans held with the liberal republican party. But as against the Cartesian philosophy, gaining ground since 1629 (Descartes had taken up residence in Amsterdam), the two parties stood shoulder to shoulder. In 1643 Voetius had taken formal issue with Descartes, and in 1656 the teaching of this philosophy was banned in the universities.

d. In **France**, the theology of the Dortrecht Synod had been accepted. When Moyse Amyrault (d. 1664), a professor in Saumur, tried to render the Dortrecht Decrees a little more palatable, without really modifying them, in his doctrine of *Universalismus hypotheticus* (God, he thought, has elected all men by a hypothetical decree, if they would only believe, besides having elected a certain number by a particular decree), he met furious opposition. In **Switzerland** in 1675, the strict Calvinists led by Johann H. Heidegger (d. 1698) in Zurich and Franz Turretin (d. 1687) in Geneva opposed Amyrault in their *Formula consensus Helvetica* (1675). This confession, however, did not remain valid for long.

e. In **England**, where the irresolute Charles II, oscillating between nonchalant Enlightenment and Catholic impulses, but for political reasons declaring himself Anglican, had at first assured the Presbyterians of religious freedom, the Episcopal parliament had in 1662 blocked the king's compliance by renewing, in a majority vote, the Act of Uniformity. What followed was a persecution of the Dissenters; 2,000 pastors were driven out of the ministry, among them Richard Baxter (1615-1691, author of *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*, 1653). The Conventicle Acts (1664 and 1670) committed over 8,000 Dissenters to prison, among them John Bunyan (d.1688, author of *The Pilgrim's Progress,* 1678), and more than 60,000 were punished in other ways.

f. Against such atrocities there sprang from within the Episcopal church the movement called **Latitudinarianism**, which, in discriminating between essential and non-essential articles of faith, erred on many accounts in point of indifferentism, reflecting the kind of Arminianism dominant in England. John Hales (d. 1656) had already taken issue at Dortrecht with the decrees of that synod, and in England William Chillingworth (d. 1644) had sided with him. Now the Cambridge philosophers Henry More and Ralph Cudworth came forward, turning against Hobbes and the Materialists by resurrecting Platonism. Joining them were the theologians John Tillotson (d. 1694), archbishop of Canterbury, the renowned pulpit orator, Gilbert Burnet (d. 1715), and others.

§226. The Oriental Churches.

a. The **Greek church** languished under the isolation occasioned by Turkish oppression, still tending in the direction they chose far back in ancient times, wholly given to external formal bric-a-brac while fending off every nudge from without to animate them, both from the Roman and the Calvinist reformation. In her missionary drive, Rome had also sent Jesuits especially to Turkey and to countries infected by the Moslems. These Jesuits then concentrated on Old Church Christians too, but in vain. On the other hand, they did succeed in annulling the influence of the Calvinists. A correspondence between **Tübingen** University professors Jakob Andreae and Lukas Osiander with the patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah II (1573-1581), produced no results. One attempt of the **Calvinists** seemed more auspicious. **Kyrillus Lukaris**, initially patriarch of Alexandria (1602-1621), then patriarch of Constantinople (1621-1638), maintained a lively correspondence with theologians of Switzerland, England, and Holland, and submitted a confession that was nearly Calvinist, and for purposes of study, sent theologians to the west. The Greeks were opposed to such a union, and at the instigation of the Jesuits in 1638, Kyrill was ousted from his office by the sultan and executed for high treason. That same year Kyrill's union was condemned at a synod in Constantinople, and in 1672 at a synod in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem, a confession of Bishop Dositheus came to be accepted, which, though without conceding anything, yet friendly to Rome, condemned Protestants as αιρετικων κορυφαιοτατοι ("the worst leaders of heretics").

b. The **Russian church** became independent of Constantinople in 1589, with the patriarchate in Moscow. Here too Jesuits and Calvinists in Poland and Lithuania tried to create a union. But the metropolitan **Peter Mogilas** of Kiev (d. 1247) composed a counter-confession (*Confessio orthodoxa*, Ορθοδοξος ομολογια της πιστεως της καθολικης και αποστολικης εκκλησιας της ανατολικης). Also in the region around the Black Sea the Romanists had endeavored, ever since the 14th century, to missionize and unionize, and in 1596, in the Union of Brest, enjoyed a measure of strong success. But after 1619, the Cossacks reestablished the Orthodox church and with it the Russian dominion east of the Dnieper River. But Orthodoxy, owing to the uncultured condition of the Russians, was so muddled with heathen superstition, that they not only enveloped the czar, for example, with a religious nimbus, but also, even with their pronounced disposition for formulas, corrupted the very texts of the church book consulted for everything. Beginning in 1652, the patriarch **Nikon of Moscow** undertook a liturgical reformation, but so stirred up the populace which had its mind set on adhering to the familiar, that since that time the *Raskolniki* (apostates), who however call themselves *Starowerzy* (old, or genuine believers) constitute a sect sprawling widely and subdivided into three variant groups (*Jediniwerzy* = conforming believers; *Staroobrjadzy* = adherents of the traditional practices; *Bespopowtschiny* = priestless believers).

c. The **Nestorians**, Armenians, Syrian Jacobites, the Coptic and Abyssinian church were all more or less bound to externals. In Abyssinia, Jewish influence gained head when circumcision was introduced. **The Thomas Christians in India** were forcibly amalgamated in 1533 with the Roman church. But a group of them

in 1663 worked themselves free again, and in 1665 transferred from Nestorianism to the Jacobites. (277.)

§227. The American Settlements.

a.   The history of America, down to the American Revolution, is an appendix of the history of individual European nations, in the 16th century of the Spanish, in the 17th century of the French, English, Dutch, and Swedes. In the 16th century, the **Catholic church** alone attained to a lasting foundation in America, and that in fact only in the south. Spanish adventurers were here in search of gold, and the mendicant orders followed them. They created nothing of permanence except in Mexico where the Spaniards intermarried with the native population. In the 17th century the Catholic church was represented in the north by the French, and mainly by the Jesuits. It was owing to the era, the people, and the monastic order, that here more occurred to advance colonization and the church than in the south, and that permanent values were achieved among the Indians. Between the two Catholic spheres the English, Dutch, Swedish, and Germans colonized, and thus **Protestantism** took root in the central sector. And if for the most part they were at the same time fugitives, driven out of Europe because of their religious persuasion or political connections, here they created a new home for Europeans who would later take possession of the whole country. The **time for laying foundations** lasted until 1750 when all religious associations from over there settled down here. Because they remained dependent on European ties, there was really no inner development in progress here except perhaps among the Puritans in New England. During the first half of this period of foundation laying (until 1689), individual religious communities and nationalities settled in seclusion from one another. After the English Act of Toleration, thanks to a favorable attitude on the part of the Episcopalians, the settlers enjoyed a measure of freedom to move about. Toward the end of the period, Pietism set in, which in the next period, by bringing closer together the various circles hitherto secluded, contributed to the popular break from England in the Revolution.

b.   The **Catholic mission in the south**: Already back in 1588 Juande Oñate, in company with the Franciscan Martinez of Mexico, ventured up to the northwest in order to search for the "seven cities of Cibola" or Gran Quivera. In what is now Arizona and New Mexico they discovered the Moquis, Navajos, and Apaches and in 1608 founded **Santa Fe**. Over the years the settlement expanded in Spanish fashion, as in Old Mexico. Then in 1680 the Spaniards were eradicated in an appalling **revolution** led by a half-breed named Pope. The **Catholic mission in the north**: French fishermen and adventurers in the last years of the 15th century had arrived at the present Newfoundland and throughout the 16th century touched all the points of the Atlantic coast. But the wars between Spain and France prevented the French crown from seriously considering colonization until 1589, when Henry IV acceded to the French throne. Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain were the first to venture into establishing settlements, and they explored the interior. The Jesuits joined the expedition, and in 1608 Quebec was founded and in 1611 the state of Acadia (Nova Scotia). Now one mission chain extended southward, another westward. The first, beginning in 1638, reached into Maine and New York. The **Iroquois**, however, a confederacy of five mighty Indian tribes, were hostile to the French. On that account in 1649 they drove the **Hurons**, among whom the Jesuits had usually found welcome, westward. This brought the Jesuits Mesnard and Allouez (as early as 1650) to the Mississippi in Minnesota. In 1673 Joliet and Marquette travelled by way of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, down the Mississippi to Arkansas, and the following year Marquette founded Kaskaskia in Illinois. Commissioned by La Salle, Hennepin in 1679 pushed up to St. Anthony's Falls, where today St. Paul is located in Minnesota, and then La Salle discovered the passage via the Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico, and took possession of Louisiana for France (the entire western expanse except for the previous Spanish claims). Before 1689 missions and forts had been established all around the Great Lakes: Green Bay, De Pere, Sault Ste. Marie, St. Croix, St. Nicholas, San Antonio.

c.   Protestant colonization. English colonization of the land began as early as the French. Here too it was adventurers who initiated the idea, but in the undisguised mercantile interest of the London Company of Virginia. Virginia was colonized in 1608, and in fact without religious objectives. It was not until 1642 that also in Virginia, through Governor Berkeley, **Episcopalianism** figured in connection with Laud's high church undertakings, evicting the Puritans Bennett and Harrison who thereupon applied to English Catholic Maryland. Revolution, the restoration, and William Ill's victory in England brought about changes here too, corresponding with those in the homeland.

d.   The same London merchants in the Plymouth Company commissioned Robinson's **Separatist congregation** in Holland to emigrate (Mayflower) to present-day Massachusetts, but without their preacher. This congregation (Pilgrims) then formed their own Puritan colony with a somewhat more liberal, evangelical sense than the other colonists had when it came to the relation of church and state. Then the northeastern section of Massachusetts (Salem, Boston, and other towns) and after 1633 the present Connecticut (Hartford, New Haven, and other towns) were colonized by settlers from Puritan circles in the state church. Beginning in 1635, in opposition to the restless Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, who was pietistic but politicizing in the English manner, the Massachusetts colony became a **Puritan theocracy**, the **Congregationalism** of New England. The expelled opponents in 1639 founded the colony of Rhode Island, where a broader atmosphere of personal freedom was allowed to prevail. These events engendered a two-fold outcome, though only on external constitutional grounds, but just for that reason of some importance here because English Christendom put so much stock in such things.

e.   Separatism originally asserted the independence of congregations as opposed not only to the Anglican state church idea, but also to the Presbyterian synodical idea. Because in the wilderness they could not help being thrown upon one another in the face of England's encroachments, the legalistic aspect of the association of congregations soon took shape at the same time in the political sense. They lost their original spiritual severity in the same way. At first only those might belong to the congregation who personally had experienced "conversion" and then had entered the covenant could enjoy political suffrage (close communion). But because of the alloy of a church and state congregation, this position was untenable. After 1656 the so-called **Half-Way-Covenant** was in place, allowing anyone to belong to a church congregation who accepted the doctrines of the church and applied himself to a moral life, without the requirement of proving a specific conversion. A conference held in Boston in 1680 nevertheless accepted the position of the English Puritans who in 1658 had subscribed to the Westminster Confession of the English Presbyterians. [In the *Corrigenda*, Koehler notes: "The Indian mission of Elliot (d. 1690) in Massachusetts, which was then continued by the Mayhew family until 1893, should be mentioned here."]

f.   Between the two Protestant extremes as described, Virginia and New England, the colonization of Maryland took place in 1634 under the leadership of an English Catholic, **Lord Baltimore**. He challenged the encroachments of the Jesuits who had immigrated with his brother's expedition and desired church influences to be kept out of government. This explains his welcome of the dispossessed Puritans from Virginia, the more so because from the first, Protestants were among the immigrants. But these Puritans turned on the Catholics, when in England kingship collapsed before the revolution. They revolted in 1645 and 1655, but Cromwell declined to support them. For all that, Catholicism never amounted to much in Maryland.

g.   Between these two English colonies, as early as 1623, **Dutch settlers** had landed in what is today **New York**. New York too was a colony commissioned by merchants in Holland, who cared little about the spiritual interests of their colonists in America. They were mostly Reformed, but there were some Lutherans among them as well. The Reformed were taken care of particularly by Megapolensis (van Mecklenburg), a former Catholic and acquaintance of the Jesuit father Jogues, who in 1659 had been rescued from the hands of the

Iroquois. In order to promote the colony, the Dutch had assigned huge domains to individual "*patroons,*" for which favor they were expected to attract colonists. One of these *patroons*, van Renselaer, founded Albany and called Megapolensis to serve as preacher. Under the last governor, **Peter Stuyvesant**, the Reformed laws regulating church life became so exacting that the Lutherans applied for their own ministry. But before this materialized, the English captured the colony (1664). Previously, in 1637, the Lutheran **Swedes** under Oxenstierna had annexed a colony (New Sweden, parts of what today constitutes New Jersey and Delaware), south of the Dutch. In so doing, they realized an idea of Gustav Adolf's. These Swedes immediately, and more clear-sightedly than all other colonists, supplied the church-related needs of the settlers, and also cared for the mission among the Indians. But as early as 1654 they were caught off guard by the Dutch in the war which Holland was fighting with Sweden in Europe. In the articles of capitulation, the freedom of the Lutheran church, despite the protest of Megapolensis, was granted conditionally. A decade later, however, the English were fighting Holland, and Charles II gave his brother and successor James, Duke of York, later turned Catholic, the Dutch colony after he had conquered it (1664). Like New England, it submitted to royal governors, who now had the single objective of extinguishing the existing independence of the colonies. Connecticut and Rhode Island had already had to endure that at the hands of Andros. The second English revolution brought about a change. Since the middle of the 17th century unattached Presbyterians and Quakers had been immigrating. Toward the end of this period this immigration increased along with that of Reformed and Lutherans.

II.   The Age of Subjectivism and Individualism
in the 18th and 19th centuries, 1689-1917.
§228. General Summary.

a.   The time from 1689 to 1917 can rightly be regarded a coherent, and now concluded, period. For it is hardly subject to doubt that after the present great World War a new period of world history will open. Because we do not yet know under what general ideas this new period will run its course, we must be content, on the basis of what has happened till now, to term the period preceding it, in which the Reformation and Counter-Reformation were compared, as the **period of the new world view**.

b.   In the 16th and 17th centuries the views of the objective authority of revelation and of government still obtained. Luther set the unsound structuring of these ideas and their radical opposition against the sound subjectivism of faith and of the doctrine of the universal priesthood. But in the course of time legalistic objectivism gained the upper hand in the absolutism of princes, the royal episcopacy and the domination of theologians, which pressed its way to the forefront of politics. **Subjectivism** and **individualism**, which validated the right and the significance of the individual personality, reacted against this with the necessity of nature and with good reason. Because of the persistent domination of priests, even in Protestant circles, the opposition at first acquired a partly anti-clerical, partly anti-Christian tinge. This is the Enlightenment of the 18th century. Ecclesiastical interests, which till now had often dominated the culture of an entire country, in fact of the whole world, were driven back into the domain of private life, or voluntarily withdrew there. Beyond these private concerns subjectivism took on an anti-Christian character intent upon the subversion of revelation, and ultimately the subversion of Christianity itself.

c.   Subjectivism and individualism were prevalent already at the end of the 17th century in the two trends which originated simultaneously and then advanced against one another in warfare, that is **Pietism** and **Rationalism**. Rationalism prevailed in 1750, but proved itself an illusion in the fiasco of the French Revolution. Despite the resurgence of church-life in the 19th century, ecclesiastical interests never recovered their former dominance in the cultural life of the world, but subjectivism and individualism have prevailed

exclusively also in other areas, in science, art, domestic life, and world politics, and we might perhaps observe, even before the end of the ongoing World War, that here again they have suffered a defeat. This leads us to designate the last two centuries as together forming the **period of dominant subjectivism**. But they break down into two subordinate periods: A. The period of the anti-clerical Enlightenment, 1689-1806; B. The period of Christian and ecclesiastical restoration under the sway of general subjectivism, 1806-1917.

A. The Age of Enlightenment, 1689-1789.
§229. General Summary.

Enlightenment is the subjective mental trend of the 18th century which allowed its devotees to imagine themselves free from the authority of biblical revelation because every human being is supposedly endowed by nature with enough reasoning power to form a conception of all things, clear enough that he can handle them to general advantage. This Enlightenment exhibited the following features: 1. Biased estimation of the power of reason and of human capacity, allied with a strong urge to apply this capacity to every area of life; 2. Utilitarianism which lent itself less to speculation than to practical questions; 3. Rebellion against the authority of biblical revelation, resulting in the exchange of faith for morality and ecclesiastical indifferentism (toleration); 4. A decided democratic and somewhat superficial philistinism; 5. A sentimentality which prompted emotional frailty to seek effusive expression.

1. The Origin of the Enlightenment, 1689-1750.
§230. The General Foundations of the Enlightenment.

a. Ecclesiastical ideas had petered out. Theology, poetry, art, the formative creative power of the 17th century already lagged far behind the achievements of the 16th century, even though they had advanced in external forms. In fact, this external character, more intent upon external form than upon great content, as already evident in the exchange of believing for understanding in the 17th century, now extended over the entire secular culture, especially via the influence of the French classicism of Louis XIV, who commandeered the whole life of the world. Appearance replaced reality, in place of the true inner grasp of great ideals, the hollow phrase. Thus also no one could have expected that this intellectual constitution could evolve fresh ideas in the face of this. On the contrary, the world was tired out mentally, religiously, and ecclesiastically. Interest in confessional distinctions had gone limp as if preparing the ground for toleration. Toleration signified not a strengthening of evangelical attitude, but the result of religious fatigue and loss of interest. For this reason, as already seen in the religious wars, secular interests claimed priority and had engendered very secular modes of operation such as unfaithfulness and betrayal where formerly you would hardly have expected to find them. This was bound to unnerve generally any confidence in the reliability of ecclesiastical interests. For this reason, many who had long lost their faith but kept right on going through the motions of long-accustomed ecclesiastical usages, felt justified in dispensing with these constricting usages.

b. This situation was aggravated by the experiences occasioned by overseas commerce. At first, France and England, and then Holland and Sweden, followed Spain in acquiring overseas possessions. With fortunes from abroad pouring into the homeland, **higher education** increased in the circles of the bourgeoisie in the cities. And this education, especially in the field of natural science, social intercourse, and civic life, absorbed from the same foreign sources views other than those which till now had been accepted as given by Holy Scripture. The 17th century had made signal strides especially in mathematics. Copernicus (d. 1543), Kepler (d. 1630), Galileo (d. 1642), Gassendi (d. 1655), Boyle (d. 1691), Huyghens (d. 1695), Tschirnhausen (d. 1708], Leibnitz (d. 1716), and Newton (d. 1727) had established the mechanistic explanation of nature through their research in mechanics, mathematics, and astronomy, and, without themselves departing from ecclesiastical faith,

sparked the idea in less liberal minds that the Bible taught otherwise and was now disproven.

c.   As early as the last half of the Thirty Years' War, international politics was no longer governed by ecclesiastical ideas. After 1648 ecclesiastical ideas naturally were ruled out of the politics of Mazarin and the Swedes until 1660. Then Louis XIV opened the age of unmitigated **sovereign absolutism**, lasting throughout the 18th century under the triple constellation of Louis XIV (1645-1715), Peter the Great (1689-1725), and Frederick the Great (1740-1786). No matter how we size up the wars which fill this era, together with the diplomacy qualifying or directing them, whether these wars turned on European balance of power, or on purely dynastic interests, they one and all dispensed with the idea of religion. This fact became explicit mainly because, after the 18th century, the Christian states quite generally regarded Turkey a state capable of alliance.

d. Secular interests replaced religious interests, and it is interesting to observe how sovereign absolutism promoted the **public weal**. In Louis XIV's realm, though, this happened more at the hand of his officials and was intended by them and the king to serve his self-love, but at the same time the implementation of their views on business and commerce made it inevitable. From the crude Peter of Russia nothing better was to be expected than from Louis. It was only Frederick the Great, philosophically disposed as he was, who actually looked after his people as his forefathers had done. Directly connected with this development of sovereign absolutism was the rise of a trained class of officials which required higher education, which again, with its secular superiority in certain areas, deflated the ecclesiastical views. This enlightened education belonged to the bourgeoisie. In this sphere the ideas of **constitutional law** unfolded in the **direction of democracy**. In secular matters the inclination to limit the rights of the sovereign was dominant, but because of prevailing ecclesiastical indifference, the episcopal headship (Grotius, Pufendorf) was left everywhere to the sovereign. The people of the lower classes in Germany were chiefly kept in the faith of the fathers by hymnal and catechism. Among the nobility, Pietism had taken hold.

e.   The old Humanism that had been presssed back by Luther's work now began to to take priority again. It had been kept alive at the hands of Montaigne, Jean Bodin, and Pierre Charron. Edward Herbert of Cherbury (1581-1648) had clearly stated the Deistic ideas of the English Enlightenment even before the English Revolution. Of course, these were rather dilettantish expressions which idly fell by the way. But now philosophy bore down on these new ideas and worked them into a definite world view. In the lead was **Bacon** with his inductive empiricism. **Descartes** followed him with his rationalism; then came **Spinoza** with pantheism and his critique of revelation, and lastly **Hobbes** with his sensualism.

f.   The church in its make-up at the time could not confront ideas like these because for one thing, she lacked the Gospel, and for another, she had lost the evangelical vigor which might have helped her to adopt new forms, fill them with the Gospel, and thus reshape them for the weal of church and state. The first of these, the absence of the Gospel, obtained in the **Roman church**. Consequently, she opposed the new ideas with law and violence. This policy in Catholic countries led in turn to violent revolutions which on the one hand created nothing of political durance, on the other, though, engendered the worst outbreaks against church and Christendom, but at the same time still did not stop the papacy from the coercion of conscience.

g.   In **Protestant churches** and countries, the churches went to pieces by themselves, in proportion to the measure of evangelical sentiment which had diminished or disappeared. A gulf developed between dogmatism and legalistic administration on the one hand, and one-sided striving for piety on the other. Both phenomena spelled out externally and legalistically the drift of the time and its inherent ideas, and therefore neither was able to find the right approach to the new ideas, so far as they were justified. This development was already well on its way in the 17th century in the Reformed church, along with the first foundations of the Enlightenment, and there generated Latitudinarianism (225), a form of Enlightenment. In the Lutheran church of Germany, disintegration was in progress, going as far back in the 17th century, but the open division

between orthodoxy and Pietism did not occur until the turn of the 18th century because evangelical consciousness was stronger in the Lutheran church. That is why the two opposing trends retained more of the spiritual life which conducted faith through the Enlightenment. This, besides the natural conditions, helped the new ideas in **Reformed countries** to win through more in the external field of politics, when the respective government applied them, while in **Germany** they were carried out rather by intellectual work, and so took shape only later in the social life, or also developed other forms. For the same reason Methodism, a sect related to the Herrnhuter, a Pietistic movement, which was derived from the Enlightenment at a time when the Enlightenment in Germany had hardly set in as yet, arose in England as well.

h. Another **result of this enlightened subjectivism** was that, despite the broader international exchange, the culture of individual nations acquired a narrower, more insular character. So to understand these particularities it will help us to examine the individual circumstances of this history in their particular national contexts.

§231. The Forerunners of the Enlightenment.

a. It is not by accident that **Humanism**, pressed back by the Reformation, should cut a swath again in those circles where Calvinism prevailed, which functioned in closer contact with the after-glow of the sparkling Renaissance under Catholic supervision in England, Holland, and France. Actually, the leading ideas in these circles were originally minted in France. In his religious earnestness Calvin challenged Zwingli's superficiality and bequeathed a decided depth to Reformed conduct. But his provenance in the humanistic reformation along with his generally French character, strongly conditioned to external form as it is, ensured for him in spite of all a legalistic, intellectual habitude more amenable to the Renaissance and Humanism than to Lutheran depth of faith.

b. Where Catholic-French Renaissance and Calvinism were often inextricably commingled, as in the Huguenot wars, there we encounter the Frenchmen Bodin, Montaigne, and Charron. **Jean Bodin** (1530-1596), possibly of Jewish extraction, a Catholic parliamentarian lawyer, but who inclined politically to the Huguenots, advanced the pioneering theory, more extreme on the one hand than Machiavelli's absolutism, that the state originates in a social contract. On the other hand, he repeated the idea in his *Colloquium heptaplomeres*, from the time of Emperor Friedrich II, that you can find truth in all religions. Hence, tolerance. His influence in the circumstances then obtaining was naturally much circumscribed. This was even more so the case with his contemporary **Michael de Montaigne** (1533-1592). He had been a lawyer and mayor in Bordeaux, traveled much, and then in Paris published his *Essais* in which he expressed (often in a facetious manner) his skepticism about the relativity of thinking about anything whatsoever. Of particular interest is the priest **Pierre Charron** (1541-1603). In a tract entitled *Traité des trois vérités* (1594) he demonstrates that the Catholic church is the only one in which you can be saved. But in a subsequent *Traité de la sagesse* he shows (in the skeptical manner of Montaigne), that man, left to himself, cannot come to the true knowledge of God, and that all religions claim to have the truth.

c. In the wake of these Frenchmen came the Englishman **Francis Bacon of Verulam** (1561-1626). He came from Queen Elizabeth's characterless environs where Calvinism was muddled up with the absolutist interests of Henry VIII and the classicism of Shakespeare. His personal character did not remain free from this influence. In his *Novum Organum* he separated the areas of faith (theology and church) and of knowledge (philosophy and nature). For knowledge, he required the induction of experience (**empiricism**) as the source, and this led in the new age to realistic striving aimed at utility. For faith, he retained revelation as the source of cognition. His was a prudent perception which made the right classifications and set out right ideas for the pursuit of science as opposed to speculation, but for all of that his ideas benefited faith but little, in that he did not define what faith is, and how it relates to experience.

d.   These ideas were grasped by **Hugo Grotius** (1583-1645), the Reformed Dutch lawyer, statesman, and polymath. He is important chiefly for establishing constitutional law, the philosophy of law, and international law, ideas he encountered in the struggles against Spanish tyranny and against the monarchic impulses of Maurice of Orange, and which he represented in the interest of the highly educated wealthy bourgeoisie of Holland ("On the Freedom of the Seas"; natural law). His theological writings confirm him as the founder of Reformed Latitudinarianism which led the way directly to the Enlightenment (natural theology; grammatical-historical exegesis; *De veritate religionis christianae,* and *Annotationes ad Vet. et in N.T.).*

§232. The Enlightenment in Holland.

a.   In **Holland**, the liberation from Spain had brought about a high resurgence of culture. Their maritime location ushered the Hollanders into the deep, turning them into a mercantile people. In the wars with Spain they had acquired colonies in Africa and Asia and with them incalculable wealth. This commercial florescence was all to the benefit of the arts and sciences. Besides Grotius there were philologists like Scaliger, (d. 1609), painters like Rembrandt (d. 1669), and Franz Hals (d. 1666). The **Spanish Netherlands** had essentially only artists: Rubens (d. 1640), van Dyck (d. 1641). Their common trait, in contrast with contemporary Spanish culture, was a wholesome realism which sought to realize and set forth the infinite plenitude of actual life down to daily incidents (genre, still life). Even the artisan class participated in this cultural flowering. This in turn promoted the democratic attitude which prevented the Orange government from setting up a monarchy. In struggles subsequent to the Thirty Years' War, when they were now on the side of Sweden, now on that of England, the Dutch in 1664 lost their American colonies to England. But when England presently revolted against James II and invited William of Orange to be their king, both naval powers were allied thenceforth till near the end of the 18th century, without Holland's again regaining first place.

b.   In their political and religious development the two nations were akin and at this time interdependent. Latitudinarianism, tolerance, and Enlightenment all at once became the very air everyone was breathing in Holland as in England. In Holland, these ideas at first were hammered out philosophically. The Frenchman **René Descartes** (Cartesius, 1596-1650), originally a Catholic, served in the army of Moritz of Orange, and after 1628 remained in Holland until 1649, when he was invited by Christina of Sweden to Stockholm, where he died. He set out the first independent philosophical world view to supersede scholasticism. Proceeding from skepticism, he recognized only the fact of thinking as constant: *Cogito*, *ergo sum*. For him, this meant first of all the dualism of mind and body. The mind constitutes a substance in itself, and matter likewise, both unrelated to each other. The mind's thinking is true if it is clear. Clear it is, however, only if it has an adequate premise to build on. One of these clear ideas is the concept of God. The world, outside of the "I" originates in God. Because God is the highest intelligence and is truthful, man can rely on it that the world is just as he has recognized it to be. That was a specious way of getting around dualism.

c. Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), a Portuguese Dutch Jew, turned against the synagogue and Christianity in his independent thinking. In his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* he attacked the authenticity of biblical revelation. In his *Ethica* he set out his pantheistic philosophy. He tried to resolve the difficulty of Cartesian dualism. For him there was but one substance, God. Mind and body are mere attributes. And all individual precedents are only *modi,* God's ways of operation. This meant doing away with God's personality. God is the universe. Religion and morality for Spinoza hinged on thinking. I should consider myself a part of the whole, of the universe. When, by my thinking, I have unlocked the components, I have in effect mastered them. The most advanced kind of thinking is comprehending and understanding things as directly existing in God. This constitutes supreme happiness, from which as a matter of course right behavior follows in line with reason.

d. Another Frenchman, **Pierre Bayle** (1647-1706), son of a Huguenot pastor and a professor of philosophy in

Sedan, settled at length in Rotterdam and, as an independent man of letters, published there his *Dictionaire historique et critique,* a work of negligible imaginative merit, but which became fundamental to the rise and diffusion of the Enlightenment and was second to none in its devastating critique and because of the ease with which one could inform oneself from it about all kinds of things.

e. Thus, after Grotius, the Hollanders could boast of no other creative genius, but were chiefly engaged as mercantile dispensers of culture. Their religious energy had consumed itself in Coccejus (d. 1669) and Voetius (d. 1676). These two men were sticklers, that is, although they did not really belong to the Pietist movement which had infected Holland some time before, they interpreted the problem of adiaphora the same as the Pietists (Calvinistic style). Voetius was involved in the **conventicle cult** [secret meetings for worship]. If anything Coccejus had strengthened this practice further with his ideas on the Kingdom of God and the final catastrophe. A devotee of this pair was Jodocus von Lodenstein in Utrecht, who introduced mysticism into conventicle doings. Jean de Labadie then proceeded to separatism. The conventicle cult flourished until 1750. Voetius, it is true, had turned against **Cartesian ideas**. Notwithstanding, these ideas prevailed in Alexander Roëll (d. 1718), a professor at Franeker and Utrecht and in Balthasar Bekker (d. 1698) in his book *De betoverde Wereld*, in which he sallied forth to battle against all belief in devils and sorcery. The **new critique** in Dutch theology found exponents in Johannes Clericus (d. 1736) and Jakob Wettstein (d. 1754), who were at pains to produce a reliable New Testament text.

f.   Since mature modern philosophy begins with Descartes it seems the right time to point out the place philosophy occupies under God's hand in the world. Philosophy exists, not to work positively, constructively, as if to provide thinking and doing with material, causes, *res*, but to cart away outworn ideas. The philosopher wants to pave the way for a new mode of viewing things. To succeed, he must discard the old mode. Discarding the old is what he will be remembered for, because his own new idea will be discarded by his successor. Plato came up with the concept of the idea, Aristotle with that of the *res* (material). The dialectic of these philosophers was clumsy and hence their language hard to understand. The Scholastics took up these ideas and fashioned the first laws of logic. Even at that, they were still talking about the disconnected pieces (*disjecta membra*) of logic. What they developed was the concept of concepts. All of that was still theory of logical forms, so their language was also inept and hard to understand. Before philosophy could arrive at the syntax of logic, someone had to begin operating with the actual *res* in clear, transparent dialectic. To achieve this, however, he must first have grasped correctly the *res*. Luther was that man, the Gospel provided the *res*, and Luther's dialectic does not come from biased reason, but he approached things with his heart, and grasped them for what they are. And the clarity of logic inherent in the things themselves, expressed itself then in his transparent dialectic, understandable to everyone. In the process he came to have all kinds of opinions which have the characteristics of rules of thinking. Luther is the first to master logic clearly in dogmatic-exegetical analysis in a way that renders his perception and language permanently exemplary. The dogmaticians lost that skill again and fell back into their old clumsiness. Now philosophy showed up in order to profit from these experiences. With his tenet of skepticism, Descartes robbed his era's intellectual imagination of its energy. On the positive side, he set out the theory of the dualism of mind and being (*Sein*). Along the way, the logical rule of an adequate grounding dropped away. With his pantheism, Spinoza, however, drew attention to the fact that the act of thinking, which wants to operate as law, can not tolerate dualism, but advances monism. Thus the ball of German philosophy of modern times started rolling in that the syntax of logic came to expression.

§233. The Enlightenment in England.

a.   In **England, William III's** Act of Toleration ushered in a time of rest after the religious storms of the revolutionary era. The country now devoted itself exclusively to its political and commercial interests. The

naval victory at La Hougue in the Orleans War (1692) made England the first sea power. To exploit this victory in the interest of her commerce thereafter became the objective of English politics. Through William she took on the color of opposition to Louis XIV's encroachments in Europe. For the first time, the Peace of Ryswyk drew a line restraining the Frenchman. But already in 1701, in the War of the Spanish Succession, Louis provoked a European coalition against himself. William died in 1702, having only in 1701 provided for the Protestant succession to the throne by the Act of Settlement, himself without issue, and the children of his sister-in-law and successor deceased. By passing over the direct line of the Stuarts he secured the throne to the House of Hannover, related to the maternal line of the Stuarts. William was succeeded by his sister-in-law **Anne** (1702-1714). As she herself was incompetent, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, carried out William's ideas in the War of the Spanish Succession. During the course of this war there was consummated the union (under one parliament) of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland (1707), realms already long allied in the person of the king. Only Ireland remained apart as a self-contained part of the monarchy, ostensibly because of its Catholicism. But the land interests of the territorial magnates of Ireland, most of whom were Anglicans, played into these politics as well. In the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, England received from France the Hudson Bay lands, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. After Anne's death, the **House of Hannover**, with its four Georges (1714-1834), succeeded. This is the epoch of parliamentary aristocracy. **George I** (1714-1737), Elector of Hannover and great-grandson of James I, was a complete stranger to English affairs. Under his scepter the government fell into the hands of the Whigs under Stanhope's leadership. In 1716 seven-year electoral periods were introduced to replace the previous three-year periods. The involvement of a number of cabinet members in the South Sea Swindle in 1720 led to the takeover of the government by Walpole, who inaugurated an epoch of tranquility, but also one of untruthfulness in politics. When **George II** (1727-1760) came to the throne, Walpole was replaced by Pelham. England took part in the Austrian War of Succession. The Peace of Aachen in 1748 restored the conditions existing before the war. When the Seven Years' War broke out in 1756, George called on William Pitt (Chatham), a man personally disagreeable to himself, to head the government. As an ally of Frederick the Great, Pitt carried the war against France and Spain to the whole world. Particularly in Canada the war against the French went well and also in East India, where the French were edged out by Lord Clive, and the foundation was laid for the Anglo-Indian empire. **The aggrandizement of commerce** was the single motive idea of this policy.

b.   This cast of mind, bent on the external, revealed itself also in **art and literature**. In the years 1660–1700, as things turned out, the English veered away from the brilliant vision of human concerns as Shakespeare and Milton had projected it, to French formalism, which then held sway till 1740. The poetic depth of feeling vanished, the national mind turned to the external art of theater, to the turn of phrase. Witticism and long-winded explanation were the order of the day. The year 1662 saw the foundation of the *"Royal Society of Natural Science."* It was thanks to the last Stuarts that Frenchification [*das Franzosentum*] gained its entrance. John Dryden (d. 1700), Richard Baxter (d. 1691) and his *The Saints' Everlasting Rest, The Reformed Pastor, A Call to the Unconverted*, John Bunyan (d. 1688) and his *Pilgrim's Progress.* In their circles, the latter works represent the ideas of German Pietism. Personally, they are as imitative as photographs; these writers and their works unquestionably fall behind contemporary German devotional literature or even behind the principal works of Pietism in general. The following period is downright dull, featuring the **classical school**, which diverted itself with verbose prose satire, but in the process only touching upon everything superficially and even with external sheen unable to conceal the hollowness of phrase. Swift (d. 1745), Addison (d. 1719), Steele (d. 1729), and Pope (d. 1744) were all steeped entirely in the ideas of Enlightenment. Characteristic of English culture is the way painting at this time emerged in the art of Wm. Hogarth (d. 1764), a draftsman who distinguished himself chiefly by castigating the stupidities and vices of his era.

c.   We call the particular form of English Enlightenment **Deism**. This school had no intention of abolishing religion, but it attacked the doctrine of the Trinity and the revealed character of Holy Scripture. To Deism, Christianity appeared to be natural religion, and to that extent it allowed it to stand. The forerunner of Deism was Lord Herbert Cherbury (d. 1648). He was a statesman, an envoy to France, and in the war against Charles I he sided with parliament. The religious wars prompted him to posit five quite superficial abstractions as the basic truths of true religion: faith in the existence of God; duty to honor God; a morally chaste life; remorse for sin; belief in retribution. Cherbury was a contemporary of Descartes. He exerted little influence, and soon faded into oblivion.

d.   The ideas propounded by these forerunners of the Enlightenment were summarized by Thomas Hobbes (d. 1679) with his ideas of **Sensualism** during the time of the last Stuarts, while Spinoza was writing in Holland. Hobbes was an opponent of religious controversies. He had gone to France as a chaperone of the Prince of Wales, then received a pension from Charles II, and engaged in writing. He developed Bacon's empirical ideas in an irreligious manner, reflecting the soul-less style of his surroundings, concerned only with external form. He derived all cognition from emotion. Thinking as such is a mechanical adding and subtracting. Thinking can refer only to complex things, not to anything simple, such as God. Philosophy is mere corporeal theory. The doctrine of God is the topic of an authoritarian faith which ought to be determined by the state, the highest human authority. Politics and political science are the actual worthwhile topics for thinking. These latter theories were elaborated by Hobbes in the sense of natural law, affinities the Levelers were observing as early as the time of Cromwell.

e.   Charles Blount (d. 1693, suicide) carried out Hobbes's ideas further in his campaign against the miraculous (sacerdotal swindle, priestly fraud). John Locke (d. 1704) restored these same ideas to deistic religiosity. Locke was also a private scholar whose external fortunes fell together with those of his patron, Lord Shaftesbury. All religion, in his view, is the result of human conceptual formulation. But this takes place as we proceed on the path of sensation (emotion) and reflection (thinking and willing). That is how rational moral law originates (*lex naturae et rationis*). Hence also relative truth in heathen religions. The best of religions is Christianity. But original sin, along with the damnation of the heathen, must be discarded. Yet, the Trinity and faith in the forgiveness of sins should be retained because certified by miracles. One can acquire this faith, however, even without revelation. So, toleration is the word, except for Catholics and atheists only. *Letters of Toleration; The Reasonableness of Christianity.*

f.   In going forward, the actual Deists who followed referred to themselves as "**Freethinkers.**" John Toland (d. 1722), an Irish Catholic, and then Arminian, discarded any trace of the miraculous or irrational as an element introduced into pristine rational Christianity by Judaism, Greek mysteries, and Neoplatonism, in his book *Christianity not Mysterious,* Yet the Bible was supposed to be retained as a means of instruction. In his *Discourse on Freethinking*, Anthony Collins (d. 1729) came out strong for common sense and criticized the Bible, especially the Old Testament prophecies. His most particular opponent was the renowned philologist Bentley. Thomas Woolston (d. 1733) set out to disprove miracles and was dismissed from his position as professor of law at Cambridge. In his *Christianity as Old as the Creation,* Matthew Tindal (d. 1733) posited the doctrine of reason as genetic. Another group consisted of men of the world, esthetic, idealistic, Epicurean: the sensitive philosopher Anthony Lord Shaftesbury (d. 1715), the satirist Jonathan Swift (d. 1745), and the frivolous, urbane skeptic Lord Henry Bolingbroke (d. 1751). Besides these we might also mention Peter Annet and Conyers Middleton.

g.   This school of Deism replaced religion with a **moral science** based on the theory of cognition and on psychology. But it had little influence because Latitudinarianism, generally dominant then in the Anglican Church, thanks to Arminianism in its form at that time, satisfied the rationalist needs of the English, and spared

them from forsaking the traditional customs of state churchism.

h.   In the **Church of England** the so-called Supranaturalists superseded Deism. But they came from various schools: 1. The so-called **Arians**: Samuel Clarke (d. 1729), a star mathematician, and William Whiston (d. 1752), a mathematician, physicist, and astronomer, both of Newton's school. They tried to make Arianism respectable with the Anglican doctrine of the Trinity using the same rational motives that prompted the Deists. 2. **The opponents of the Arians:** Daniel Whitby (d. 1726), Daniel Waterland (d.1740), Thomas Sherlock (d. 1761), and the Dissenter Nathaniel Lardner (d. 1768).

i.   **Scotland** retained its conservative Calvinist mind. Politically, Scotland joined England in 1797 in the common parliament. The act recognized the Scottish Presbyterian state church as the "Established Church*."* But when in 1712 the law of patronage was re-instituted, divisions developed. In 1732 the "Secession Church" broke away, and from her again in 1752, the "Relief Church." This fragment rejected every trace of Erastianism (alliance of church and state), and emphasized voluntarism (self-determination). Just how far theological energy had sunk becomes clear chiefly from the rise of **Free Masonry** in the church itself. The builders' huts remaining from the Middle Ages gained a new lease on life thanks to the London Fire of 1660. But after the last monumental structure was built, St. Paul's church (completed in 1710 in Renaissance style), they shut down once again. Then the last four builders' huts merged in 1717 into the Great Lodge in London, and the preacher Anderson presented them with the Free Masonic constitution, containing the same superficial rationalism in the form of tenets of moral law, humanity, and patriotism, as have all secret society constitutions since then. In the 18th century from that time on, English influence manifested itself chiefly in introducing Free Masonry to other countries: Paris, 1725, Hamburg, 1737, Berlin, 1740.

k.   **Methodism.** The Methodist Awakening burst forth to confront the desolation of English Protestantism, hemmed in as it was by Deism, thus confronting the English Enlightenment in general. In point of time it coincides with Zinzendorf's Herrnhuter, and is akin to him inwardly too in many ways, both in internal motivation and in its external pertinence in contemporary history. Still, we find important differences which only the narration of German history down to this event can clarify. Here in England, Methodism appears as a reaction to the English Enlightenment, while on the continent, the Enlightenment had not yet developed nearly enough to have any effect upon England. Nevertheless, this is where the description of Methodism belongs in order to flesh out the portrait of the age. Save for Methodism, there was little change in the Enlightenment in England owing to mainland influence, because the English had in general always been very isolated, and because in the next period they would show themselves to be in general pretty unproductive in ecclesiastical matters.

l.   The prime origins of Methodism lie in the **Religious Societies** of William Law, begun after 1717 under the leadership of individual preachers in the Anglican church (campaigning against vice, setting up pauper schools, disseminating religious tracts). In 1729 as a student at Oxford, **John Wesley** (1703-1791) with his brother Charles and others founded a similar society of students. After 1732, just when the "holy club" was about to dissolve, George Whitefield (1714-1770) too went to work with them. Because they were rather mechanical in their study and devotional patterns, making a point of everyone doing everything at the same time, the other students dubbed them with the epithet "Methodists." Between 1735 and 1738, all three men, one after the other, found their way to America, and so providentially fell in with the Salzburgers and Herrnhuter. Whitefield had earlier (1736) begun to preach revival sermons in England, while the Wesleys were not converted until 1738 (John on May 24 at 8:15 in the evening while he was hearing read Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans). That summer John traveled to Herrnhut and again returned to England in the fall, with his brother. He too began to preach revival sermons, combining the drastic depiction of damnation with the most general basic ideas of the Gospel. Overwhelming success; in 1739 meetings out of doors, preaching

chapels, Bristol and London headquarters, eccentricities, mob disruptions, conversions accompanied by physical, morbid phenomena. After 1740, there was a separation from the Herrnhuter, who, now as Moravians, formed their own congregation in England. In 1741 **Wesley** (Universalist and Arminian) **broke with Whitefield** (Calvinist and Predestinarian). The further development of both communions continued in the next period.

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§234. The Enlightenment in France.
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a.   Culture in **France**, at first undeniably fresh under Louis XIV, degenerated progressively in its external preoccupation with form. In imaginative literature, observing the classical unity of action, place, and time was the primary concern. Additionally, there was a decline of the moral standpoint, thanks to the counterfeit piety of the royal court, made commonplace by the example of the Maintenon woman [the king's mistress]. Here the demoralizing ideas of Bayle's *Dictionaire* were bound to find fertile soil. Louis XV (1715-1774), grandson and successor of Louis XIV, was, until 1725, under the regency of the immoral Philip of Orleans. Philip's financial operations and Law's stock enterprises plunged the nation into economic depression. There followed till 1743 the regime of Louis's mentor Bishop Fleury, who was unable, however, to improve the political and economic damages with his irenic politics. France's participation in the War of Austrian Succession (1741-1748), when France and Spain withstood the naval powers of England and Holland while Prussia was waging her first two Silesian wars against Austria, brought to light France's internal weakness in the 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. France ceded commerce, the sea, and colonies to England.

b.   In these circumstances England now exerted her intellectual influence on France through two Frenchmen who had resided in England for some time, Montesquieu and Voltaire. That is how Deism entered France, but here it was soon transmogrified into **Naturalism** or libertarianism. The more thorough-going English morality was transmuted into offhand, frivolous witticism. The Baron de Montesquieu (d. 1755), lawyer and statesman, first wrote his *Lettres persanes*, pouring out his cynicism on monarchy and church. Then he traveled throughout Europe, and remained in England for two years, staying mainly with Chesterfield. Upon his return, he set out the liberal institutions of England as models in his *Esprit des lois*.

c.   More significant and destructive was the influence of **Voltaire** (Francois Marie Arouet, 1694-1778), trained by Jesuits, historian, poet, philosopher, and businessman, twice imprisoned in the Bastille, living in England (1726-1728), then in Epicurean court circles. He was always taken with them, but they repaid him by rejecting him because of his poisonous tongue. From 1750 to 1753 he was a guest of Frederick the Great, and after 1758 owner of the estate of Ferney at Geneva. He was an ignoble character in every respect, an abject dilettante in science, who combined his versatility with a facile style of writing which he employed with dash and satire. In his writings he attacked state and church. In England he became acquainted with liberal institutions and Deism. Because of the evil conditions existing under Jesuit absolutism in state and church, he developed a passionate polemic which he epitomized in the anti-church motto: *ecrasez-l'infame* ["crush the infamous thing"]. In 1762 he interceded for the family of the Huguenot Jean Calais, unjustly convicted (accused of murdering his son, a suicide who had turned Catholic), and if public opinion vented itself against the Jesuits and intolerance, it was mainly due to Voltaire's influence.

d.   In that the Huguenots fell silent, and Jansenism was wiped out, **Catholicism,** at the bottom of all this, had robbed itself of intellectual stimulation. It hardly lifted a finger against naturalism, atheism, and materialism. The **historical work** of the Maurians and Oratorians progressed apace in the same serene, accumulative way in which it had begun; the researcher into antiquity Bernard de Montfaucon (d. 1741) and the Benedictine Augustine Calmet (d. 1757) and his *Dictionaire de la Bible*. In the same breath, however, we should not forget the physician Jean Astruc (d. 1753) and his destructive criticism of the Pentateuch. Akin to French-Catholic

historicism we find also the Italian. In Italy, Dominicus Mansi (d. 1769) published the conciliar documents, the three Assemanni (uncle and two nephews) their works on Syriac literature and church history, Anton Muratori (d. 1750), his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, and the unearthed canon of Scripture.

e.   The **Huguenot church** in 1685 was despoiled of its official status and was crowded out of public affairs. In the wake of the horrors of the dragonnades there followed the **Cevennes Uprising** of the Camisards (from *camise,* white shirt, or *camis,* turnpike) under the leadership of Jean Cavalier, a peasant. Despite Marshal Villars' success in 1704 in pacifying the peasants, the conflict flared up again in 1707 and 1724, when a prophetic and enthusiastic movement attached to the Pietism of the time gripped the Huguenots. That uprising was suppressed with the most unspeakable savagery. In the face of this persecution, Antoine Court (1695-1760), with other itinerant preachers risking constant danger of gallows and galley, rallied the surviving Huguenots in congregations ("Church of the Wilderness"), and in 1715 in a quarry at Monoblet (near Nîmes) convoked the first synod convention in 1726, a national synod in the Valley of Vivarais. By 1728 the Protestants in Languedoc and Dauphine numbered 200,000; by 1760, there were 600,000 all told in France; in 1724 the heresy edicts began all over again, resulting in countless executions. Court had to flee and made Lausanne his headquarters. Paul Rabaut (1718-1794) succeeded him.

§235. The Enlightenment in Germany. The Political Situation.

a.   At first, **political ties** in Germany and eastern Europe were determined by the resurgence of Russia under Peter the Great 1682-1725. In **Sweden**, assisted by the towns-people and peasants, Charles XI (1660-1697) established unlimited absolutism by crushing the might of the nobility. In the Peace of Ryswyk the country achieved the pinnacle of its power. Charles XII (1697-1718) occupied the whole Baltic coast. In **Russia** a challenger was rising to meet him. The basis of his greatness had been laid by Ivan I around 1500 and his grandson Ivan IV, the Terrible (d. 1584), in the conquest of the Volga reaches and Siberia. In 1613 the House of Romanov mounted the throne. **Peter the Great** was the first to extend the kingdom westward. With the help of western culture and an alliance with Denmark and Saxony, he could venture to ignite the Northern War (1700-1721) against Charles XII. In this war Swedish power collapsed, and leadership in northeastern Europe passed to Russia. In Sweden an electoral monarchy arose, and the German possessions of Sweden fell to Denmark, Hannover, and Prussia. In Russia, Catherine I (-1727) succeeded Peter, then Peter II (-1730), Anna (-1740), and Elisabeth (-1760).

b.   Meanwhile **Austria** lagged behind. This, although she had acquired quite a few possessions along the Danube and in Italy because of the participation of Leopold I (1658-1705), Joseph I (-1711), and Charles VI (1740) in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), the First Turkish War (1714-1718), the War of the Polish Succession (1733 -1735), and the Second Turkish War (1737-1739). Although **Maria Theresa** (1740-1780) lost the northern province in both Silesian wars (1740-1742 and 1744-1745) against Frederick the Great, she did stand her ground in the War of the Austrian Succession in 1741-1748 against France, Spain, and Bavaria, and prevented France from getting control of European politics. She also entered into closer alliance with Electoral Saxony when Augustus the Strong turned Catholic. Jesuit influence, however, hindered not only the intellectual resurgence of these countries, but blocked the aspiring North, particularly Prussia. But in fact, it was all in vain and brought to a head the provocations that led to the Seven Years' War. Lastly, the German empire lost Alsace and Lorraine, and in the process Austria too lost popular standing.

c.   In all these conflicts Spain and Italy hardly counted as independent powers any longer. Since the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, they figured only as the bone of contention between France, Austria, and England. In these dealings **Spain** lost some colonies, ceding Gibraltar and a number of islands in the Mediterranean Sea to England, nonetheless remaining with Portugal an undivided power in Europe under the House of Hapsburg.

Italy, on the other hand, was broken up into several minor secundogenitures (rulership of the younger son) and ceased politically to cut any kind of figure at all. But then there followed the resurgence of Protestant Prussia, still to be dealt with. Thus not only did northern Protestantism advance even further into the foreground politically, but the internal administration of this country projected altogether new ideas in defiance of the previous age and in defiance of contemporary southern and western Europe.

d. **Prussia's** resurgence had begun already with the Great Elector. It advanced further under Friedrich I (1688-1713). The absolute government was concerned with the commonweal. Under the earnest Dankelmann's administration, government, judicial practice, industry, art, and science all flourished. In 1694 the University of Halle was founded, in 1696 the Academy of Arts, in 1700 the Academy of Sciences under the influence of Sophia Charlotte, Leibnitz and Schlüter. Pufendorf, Spener, Thomasius, and Francke. In 1701 Electoral Brandenburg became the Kingdom of Prussia. The subordinate participation in the War of the Spanish Succession and in the Northern War led to the politics of both successors. Friedrich Wilhelm I (1713-1740) was the creator of duty-conscious Prussian officialdom and of the Prussian Army. Solicitude for thrifty finance, estate and farm management, agriculture, colonization, and rendering infertile areas arable, protection of peasants, subsidizing trades, industry, business and commerce, government agencies and primary schools raised Prussia to the height ("Preparedness").

e. Already by the time of the Treaty of Prague (1635), **Saxony** was no longer at the forefront of the Protestant powers of Germany, and found detrimental the defection to Rome in 1697 of August the Strong, who could not make amends by becoming king of Poland. This connection only cost Saxony money and people, entangled her in the War of the Polish Succession (and later, of the Austrian Succession) and pressured her into a position subordinate to Prussia. The craving of the princes for art and pomp, which in August's court aped the French example, chiefly in immorality, did little to advance the cause. But that the people held true to their faith was the factor that kept Saxony at the hub of the intellectual movement. In 1692, **Hannover** became the ninth Electorate, the privilege granted to Ernst August von Lüneburg from a Braunschweig family line. After 1714 these electors were kings of England as well.

f. This is how religion became separated from politics. Ideas and interests pertaining to constitutional law, business, and natural science took center stage; and because orthodoxy had lost its creative impulse, the Enlightenment gained ground in an anti-biblical direction. But because Lutheran theology for all that had held to the foundations of the Reformation, the Enlightenment in Germany appears more conservative than elsewhere. Before the Enlightenment knew its name in Germany, another movement swept ahead of it, directly opposed to the Enlightenment, though helping her to gain her footing, namely Pietism.

§236. Pietism.

a. This phenomenon was a reaction against orthodoxism which Pietists held responsible for dogmatic ossification, external, ritualized Christianity, and the secularization of national churches. **Pietism** showed up first among the Reformed in the Netherlands and in England. But there it had another significance than in Germany because it was an aberration of the Reformed way of thinking. It was in Germany however that it first acquired the connotation it has had ever since, as opposed to the Lutheran genius. To be sure, in Germany too it had its precursors in Arndt, Müller, Scriver, and other devotional writers, but it was the intermingling with Reformed ideas and forms which first created actual Pietism.

b. The founder of the new movement was **Philipp Jakob Spener** (1635-1705). Influenced from his early youth by puritanical tracts (Bayley's *Praxis pietatis*, et al.), he started little devotional circles as a student in Strassburg, then on a study tour came to Geneva and got together there with Labadie. He was briefly a preacher in Strassburg and then became senior pastor in Frankfurt am Main when still quite young. There he

organized the *Collegia pietatis*, where animated Christians gathered round him to read the Bible and devotional books. In 1675 he published his *Pia desideria* in which he in the first place depicted the dominant vogue of the world: sensual living, caesaropapism, absence of self-denial and pointless bickering on the part of the clergy, alcoholism, and mania for litigation among the people, and in the second place recommended remedies: 1. more frequent use of God's Word; 2. establishing and exercising the spiritual priesthood; 3. more practical application of Christianity; 4. more devout and practical training of preachers; 5. more Christian conduct in religious controversies; 6. fashioning the sermon not as a model of elocution, but as a means of edification. This tract met with approval even among the orthodox because it failed to expose what was really amiss, the abandonment of the deep understanding of the Gospel as Luther had it. In 1686 Spener came to Dresden as First Chaplain in Ordinary.

c.   Around this time three young schoolmasters in Leipzig, August Hermann Franke, Paul Anton, and Johann Kaspar Schade founded a learned *Collegium philobiblicum* for the edifying interpretation of Holy Scripture. Since his "conversion" in 1689 in Lüneburg, Francke conducted *Collegia pietatis* in the German language (as the jurist Thomasius had done), later attended also by townspeople. Spener was involved in these activities, but the Leipzig theologians, whose following was diminishing, took action against these endeavors as Pietism. In 1690 the Pietistic schoolmasters had to leave Leipzig. Having broken with his elector because of the latter's alcoholism, Spener left for Berlin 1691 to become dean of St. Nicolai. Then in 1694, when Friedrich Wilhelm I founded the **University of Halle, Francke** and Anton along with Breithaupt came there on Spener's recommendation. Thomasius had arrived already in the winter of 1690 with many students from Leipzig and had held lectures. Berlin was the hub of Spener's campaign against orthodoxism. On the orthodox side stood Carpzov in Leipzig, Deutschmann, Calov's son-in-law, an eccentric fellow, in Wittenberg, Schelwig in Danzig. Both sides lacked the depth of Luther's perception. Spener was a modest, timid person, not entirely without pretention; his opponents were scholastics. One of his contemporaries was the last orthodox dogmatician, David Hollaz (1648-1713), a dean in Pomerania, who in his *Examen theologicum acroamaticum* managed to express, using the scholastic method, the piety of his time with a *suspirium* (supplicant sigh) appended to each proof passage. Standing near the Pietists were Franz Buddeus (1669-1729) in Jena and Christoph Matthaeus Pfaff (1686-1760) in Tübingen.

d.   The battle took on a different aspect when Francke entered the fray in Halle. There, motivated by purely eleemosynary intentions, he founded the **Francke Establishments** (elementary and middle-class schools, an orphanage, a *Paidagogium*, and a publishing house). In the college he trained many members of the leading noble families and in this way gained influence in their circles, as Spener had done previously. But it was mainly the charitable work with the people's children and with students, and the new idea of **mission,** which ensured the predominance and expansion of this Pietism. Friedrich IV of Denmark in 1706 founded a Tamul mission in Trankebar with Francke's understudy Ziegenbalg. Baron von Canstein and Francke in 1710 founded the Canstein Bible Institute.

e.   **Francke's** Pietism was more highly charged and biased than that of Spener. Conversion had to occur with a struggle of repentance and a break-through of grace. Anything he considered unedifying was eliminated from the theological curriculum. So this curriculum sank into utter sterility. The attempt too of Anastasius Freylinghausen, Francke's son-in-law, to animate poetry with the "Halle melodies" and lyrics to match, merely showed up their incompetence. Worst of all was Francke's biased pedagogy with its ascetic police surveillance and student conversions. After Francke's death in 1727, Pietism went downhill. Francke had an energetic and sententious nature, and his bellicose fellow-at-arms Joachim Lange (d. 1744) helped him, so that even in learned controversy, the weight of the argument accrued to the side of Pietism. The struggle turned particularly against unbelief, now riding high (against Thomasius and Wolff).

f.   Only in **Valentin Ernst Löscher** (1673-1749) did the Orthodox find an opponent of Pietism who was superior to the movement. Löscher was a professor at Wittenberg and then superintendent in Dresden. Beginning in 1702, he published the "Innocent Records of Ancient and Modern Theological Matters," the first theological periodical aimed at the Pietists. His *magnum opus,* published in 1718 and 1722, is *The Complete Timotheus Verinus.* No one could impute dead orthodoxy to Löscher. But then too, he was but a child of his time. He amassed a quantity of historical memoranda, which he charitably assessed, but did not deal deeply with the maladies of his time. He summarized his **charges against the Pietists** in these terms: indifferentism, contempt for the means of grace, enervation of the preaching office, confounding justification by faith and good works, chiliasm, terminism, precisism (*Präzisismus*), mysticism, destruction of the *subsidia religionis* [asylums or supports of religion], allowance for visionaries, perfectionism, reformatism, separatism.

g.   Two other strains of Pietism run alongside this main line, the one extra-ecclesiastical and radical, and other internal-ecclesiastical and moderate. The former generates a mass of personal, disorganized aberrations. The characteristics these circles have in common are separatism and mystic-chiliastic tendencies. 1. **Unconnected Separatists**: Gottfried Arnold (d. 1714), a professor in Giessen, who in his *Non-partisan History of Church and Heretics* confronted the orthodoxy of all times; his understudy Konrad Dippel (d. 1734), the adventurous skeptic of Pietism. 2. **Congregations**: the Philadelphian Congregation in Sayn-Wittgenstein in Berleburg, founded by Pastor Heinrich Horche. One branch of it, sensually inclined was the "Butlarian Gang" of Eva von Butlar. Later, the Berleburg Bible was published with its mystical explanations of Scripture in a threefold Scriptural sense. The Inspiration Congregations in Isenburg-Büdingen were founded by inspired Camisards [Huguenots] who had migrated to Halle and formed a peculiar *ecclesia ambulatoria* (itinerant preaching circuit) to serve the far-dispersed members of the sect.

h.   The second collateral strain is **Württemberg Pietism**. Whereas Spener and Francke concentrated on the nobility and their circles, here in Württemberg a tranquil Pietism unfolded among the common people. This movement too was instigated by Spener. It abjured every kind of exalted bias, developed a devout biblicism, and remained on the best of terms with the church government and the scientific community. Christoph Matthaeus Pfaff, the Tübingen chancellor, known for his union plan which he composed as part of his commissioned work, *Corpus Evangelicorum*, and Johann Albrecht Bengel (1752), the most competent exegete of his time (*Gnomon*) and founder of New Testament textual criticism, belonged to this movement.

i.   A branch *sui generis* was the **Congregation of the Herrnhuter Brethren**. While Pietism on the whole maintained a distinct frame of mind in the national church, which animated the "elite among the Christians," the Herrnhuter stoutly defended their own church life with their own home-made theology. And because they emerged much later than the other Pietists, they cut about the same figure as the Methodism of that time with which they were in frequent touch, also externally, in reaction against Rationalism. Since, however, the development of this movement still occurred in the period under discussion, we want to round out here the whole picture of the history of German Protestantism of that time.

k.   The founder of the Moravian Brethren was **Nikolaus Ludwig Count von Zinzendorf** (1700-1760). The son of a Saxon state minister, his baptismal sponsor was Spener. Brought up by his grandmother Frau von Gersdorf, he entered the college at Halle early, and there founded the Order of the Mustard Seed, then studied law at Wittenberg; in 1719 he encountered the Jansenists in Paris on a two-year study tour, entered government service, and soon founded the village of Herrnhut on his landed estate near Zittau as the center of a Pietistic cluster of souls. To this place Bohemian and Moravian Brethren who had migrated from their homes, led by Christian David and visionaries of every description, found their way in 1722. In 1727 Zinzendorf founded the revived **Unity of Brethren** with its unique constitution and equally unique liturgy. It was not meant to be a separation, but an *ecclesiola in ecclesia* with a leveling out of confessional differences. Their members were

incorporated in Pastor Rothe's parish in Berthelsdorf. Before long, however, they had in addition their own devotional meetings, their own constitution with twelve elders, later with an appointed bishop or elder general. The congregation was divided into sections according to gender, age, and marital status. They practiced severe church discipline with reciprocal and pastoral supervision. They referred all important questions to divination by lot. Zinzendorf then joined the Separatists in Wetterau. His connections with the Danish court made it possible in 1732 to found the **Herrnhut Mission** on the Danish island of St. Thomas in the West Indies and in 1733 in Greenland, where the Norwegian Hans Egede had already been at work since 1721. On account of these activities, the Count was subjected to discipline in 1731 by the Saxon authorities. So he submitted to examination in 1734 in Stralsund to test his orthodoxy and passed his candidature examination in Tübingen. In 1735 he commissioned Jablonski, the Reformed court preacher and bishop of the Moravian Brethren in Berlin, to consecrate as bishop the wheel-wright David Nitschmann. In 1736 he founded a congregation in Marienborn in Wetterau. In 1737 he had himself ordained **Bishop of the Brethren** by Jablonski, founded one last congregation in Herrnhag, and was banished from Saxony. He continued to labor indefatigably until 1741, making journeys through the Baltic provinces, England, North America, and St. Thomas.

l.   On his return he fell into all manner of **eccentricities**; in 1740 the General Conference met in London where the office of the Elder General was ascribed to Christ, and the special union between Christ and the poor folk among the Brethren was contracted. In 1742 Zinzendorf ordered the members of the General Conference ousted and himself assumed the leadership as "plenipotentiary servant." In 1743 (-1750) the **"time of sifting"** began with its cloying dalliance with marital discipline, making of the Savior an actual bridegroom, while the men were reduced to mere vice-grooms, the "Little Treasure Associations," the silly, nearly obscene hymns in parts, the ludicrous labels like "little hole in the side" and "Papa, Mama, Brother Lambikin" to designate the Trinity. In Herrnhag the government took steps against these extravagances and in 1750 dissolved the congregation. In 1744 Zinzendorf developed his **Tropus Idea** with which he wanted to unite Lutheranism, the Reformed church, and the Unity of Brethren in one congregation, with each persuasion to retain their distinctive doctrines. His theology is excessively Christocentric, insomuch that God the Father virtually vanishes. The sacrificial death of Christ is the one doctrine he promoted, particularly stressing the "blood and miracle doctrine" (especially the wound in Christ's side). Hence, too, his reverence for the Lord's Supper. In 1749 the congregation in Saxony gained **recognition** (and their founder recalled), not as a sect as in Prussia, but as kindred to the Augsburg Confession. Similarly, in England, they were recognized as equal in status with the Anglican church. We might add that, with his more sensitive, but joyful temperament, Zinzendorf was superior to the pessimistic Halle people. In the religious field he represented in the highest degree **sentimentalism**, later observable as the temper of the time in Rationalism. There were those who imputed to him a lack of integrity in his business dealings and utterances. That was one of Zinzendorf's quirks of character which appeared already in his youth. Much of this could be attributed to Pietism, a temper of the time not free from dishonesty. The assertion of God's grace coupled with an eye cast furtively at human operation and immediate external results cannot bring anything else about. But no one would question Zinzendorf's Christianity.

m. After Zinzendorf's death, August Gottlieb Spangenberg (1704-1792) the prudent, practical, longtime leader of the American Province of the Moravian Brethren, led the Unity to tranquil, ecclesiastically consolidated conditions (*Idea fidei fratrum*, 1775; biography of Zinzendorf, 1775).

n.   About the German transitional theology of this time we might observe in general that historical and exegetical studies gained priority in proportion as dogmatics receded. In historiography, besides Arnold and Löscher, Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (d. 1755) merits mention. A professor in Helmstedt and Göttingen, a refined man, and, because of his Latitudinarian habit of mind, aloof from all theological partisanship, he

pursued the professional treatment of church history and the development of the newer kind of preaching. So, insofar as he promoted the external form of research, along with others, he led the way to Rationalism. Johann Georg Walch (1775), a contemporary of Mosheim in Jena, was content to implement collections for historical research in the style of Löscher, but in so doing smoothed the paths for the scientific study of history. In **exegesis**, the big name is Bengel. His research in textual criticism in which he was engaged with Wettstein, only in a positive sense, and his training as a teacher in classical Greek, enabled him to penetrate deeper than others into the spirit of the language. The mature fruit was his *Gnomon* of the New Testament. Editions of the Bible: Pfaff, Hirschberger Bible; Starke's and Canstein's editions. A Latitudinarian dilution of dogmatics appeared under the name of Franz Buddeus (d. 1729) of Jena, a man of parts, as under that of the Tübingen chancellor Pfaff (1760). The Halle dogmatician Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten (1757) probably exerted the broadest influence. **Canon law** underwent further development at this time. Afterwards, the episcopal system (ecclesiastical jurisdiction relinquished to the sovereign), accepted by the earlier dogmaticians since Gerhard's time, had changed (thanks to the Thirty Years' War) into a territorial system (the sovereign *ex officio* is the *summus episcopus* [supreme bishop]; *cuius regio, eius religio*), scientifically substantiated by Pufendorf, Thomasius, and Böhmer and corroborated by the *ius naturae* [natural law], Spener's contradiction and Pfaff's union effort generated the collegial system (the church is a corporation or a supervisory board in the state which must relinquish ecclesiastical authority to the prince). The idea came from English influences and under the compulsion of the worst absolutism was scientifically substantiated with customary native thoroughness, particularly in Germany, not that it was heeded in common practice.

o. In homiletical and devotional literature, Francke, Johann Jakob Rambach (d. 1735), Rieger (d. 1743), Stark (d. 1756), Schmolck (d. 1737) and Fresenius (d. 1761) merit mention. Hymnography touched bottom at this time and then in some respects experienced a resurgence. Rambach versified dogmatics, Freylinghausen composed superficial melodies, Zinzendorf, Schmolk, and Ernst Gottlieb Woltersdorf (d. 1761) composed profound hymns with the most facile diction. The confessional and congregational hymn had reached its end. The subjective attitude of faith had asserted itself. Among the Reformed, Gerhard Tersteegen (d. 1769) took his place next to these poets. In direct proportion, music rose to new heights in Johann Sebastian Bach (d. 1750) and Georg Friedrich Händel (d. 1759). Bach, the most important organist and master of harmony, abandoned both the original rhythms and the old church harmonic modes. He accommodated the modes to the new language of music in relatively weak forms, yet, contrasted with Händel, representing German vigor and depth. Bach's music appears to be so soft in only the chorale, however, because in it he supplies the old melodies with new harmonies. But elsewhere, in choruses and instrumental composition his music resounds with German vigor, inwardness, and solidity. In England Händel did more to develop the aria, exemplifying the English national character, and also his harmony sounds softer and lighter than Bach's (compare the "St. Matthew Passion" with the "Messiah"). In their **liturgies**, the Pietists introduced the general confession, in education, the rite of confirmation. Lastly, **Protestant mission work came** into its own through Pietism, but also because the Protestant powers possessed overseas colonies, when now a great work reflecting the Gospel was accomplished (Heinrich Plützschau, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, Hans Egede).

p. Because **Pietism** yielded to Reformed influences instead of returning to the actual sources of sound doctrine and robust life, it was unable to build any kind of enduring dam against the Rationalism overtaking it. All it accomplished was to soften theology. So it was amenable to the tolerance of the time. Tolerance, however, is not one of the great ideas of the Gospel. It is merely a compromise of Rationalism with faith and in fact only among Protestants. Except for Zinzendorf, they were all at enmity with Catholicism.

§237. The Decline of the Roman Church.

a.   The **popes** lost their significance in world politics. Alexander VIII (1689-1691) was elected at Louis XIV's instigation, but could not make any headway against the king. Nepotism began to flourish again under him. Innocent XII (d. 1700) addressed nepotism and succored the poor in the church state. He even managed to get Louis to rescind the Four Propositions. But that was simply the result of external politics, and did not advance the church-life of France at all. Clement XI (d. 1720) was a stern moralist and also made his mark as a preacher, but had to remain inactive during the mutations of power in the War of the Spanish Succession and in the Northern War. He protested in vain against the elevation of Prussia to the status of a kingdom in 1701 and, subsequent to the Interdict imposed on Sicily, was obliged to support in Rome the priests who were thus expelled. When he sided with France against the emperor in the War of the Spanish Succession, his troops were defeated. In the Jansenite Conflict the pope favored the Jesuits, in the Accommodation Controversy he opposed them. Innocent XIII (d. 1724) created only two cardinals because the princes nominated were for the most part of negligible merit. Despite his caution, one of the two was the French libertine Dubois. Benedict XIII (d. 1730) was unable to canonize Gregory VII because of the protests of the secular powers. Clement XII (d. 1740) tried in vain to turn the Saxons Catholic; Benedict XIV (d. 1758) was compelled to sanction mixed marriages in Belgium and Holland.

b.   The idea of a restoration flagged. Here and there of course there were **conversions**, but all without spiritual motivation. August II the Strong, the immoral imitator of Louis XIV, turned Catholic in 1697 to qualify for kingship of Poland. In 1712 the Electoral Prince followed his example. The Lutheran country now was governed in ecclesiastical matters by Lutheran privy counsellors. Karl Alexander von Württemberg in 1712 converted to Catholicism in order to liquidate his debts. His three sons, Karl Eugen, Ludwig Eugen, and Friedrich Eugen, took the same step. Friedrich however turned Lutheran again later on. There were some **counterreformations** too. But these counterreformations only resulted from changes in government, as in 1666 when Jülich and Berg were ceded to the Catholic Palatine and in 1685 when the Electoral Palatine was ceded to Palatine Neuburg (Catholic since 1614); or they were isolated restrictions of Protestants in Catholic countries, exerting no spiritual influence at all. In Austria-Hungary (until 1705), the Protestants were still getting the worst of it under the Jesuit fledgling Leopold I, but then in 1707 Karl II compelled Joseph I (in the Altranstadt Agreement) to return the churches he had taken from the Protestants. In Hungary Karl VI (1711-1740) too perpetrated outrages. In Poland the Protestants lost the right to build churches (1717) and to hold public offices (1733). In 1724 the Thorn Bloodbath occurred, a judicial murder committed against the Lutheran mayor in the interest of the Jesuits. In Salzburg, Archbishop Count Firmian lost a great many competent citizens (1729) who emigrated to East Prussia and America in reaction to his counterreformation. These occurrences resulted only in weakening the antagonism between the church communities among the populace.

c.   With this state of affairs the **reunion efforts** were in full accord. In 1671 and 1688 Bossuet sought to stimulate interest in these efforts in France with his lectures and articles. At the same time (1676-1691), Spinola, bishop of Wienerisch-Neustadt, traveled throughout Protestant Germany with the same objective and gained the approval of the Protestant abbot Molanus von Loccum and Leibnitz. They approached Bossuet as well, but nothing came of it.

d.   The decline of the Roman church became visible moreover in the **decline of the orders and of mission work**. Only two new orders originated: the Mechitarists in Armenia and the Redemptorists or Liguorians. The latter, founded by Alfons Maria da Liguori, a lawyer in Naples, deserve attention only because of the founder's writings in which he defended three Jesuit ideas, which at length, in the 19th century, also pushed their way into recognition: Jesuit morality, the immaculate conception, and the infallibility of the pope.

e.   Lastly, the decline became evident in the tasteless (but in its sentimentality effectual) Heart-of-Jesus-Cult and in the questionable financial dealings by which the Jesuits everywhere lost the respect even of the Catholic

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world. In their mission work, the politics of accommodation continued unchecked, and when in 1703, 1707, and 1715 Clement XI determined to discontinue the practice, his legates were mistreated by the Jesuits.

§238. German Culture and Philosophy.

a.   Just as Alexandrine pedantry followed upon the great literature of the Greek classics, and medieval scholasticism upon the great labor in doctrine of the ancient church, so the **arid time of the 17th century** followed upon the great spiritual resurgence of the 16th century. Replacing creative genius, intellectual sterility could only analyze what others had created. It is God's governance that makes this happen. It is essential to understand this fact and in the light of it to evaluate and esteem the men of high caliber in question. To do this, a general survey seems desirable.

b.   Around 1650, in the wake of the wars, the population was decimated, and the ratio between men and women so far disproportionate that polygamy was legitimized by laws. Absolutism, following Louis XIV's example, forced its way into common acceptance with redoubled energy. The nobility cornered official and officer positions. The middle class counted for nothing, the police all the more. As a result, the citizenry had no self-esteem, no initiative. Even in the field of political economy, the princes were the leaders. The peasants had preserved their freedom only along the coast (Baltic Sea marshes) and in the mountains (Tyrol and upper Austria). Elsewhere, they served as serfs to the landed proprietors. Out-and-out slavery seldom occurred. In the administration of justice, Roman law was the standard and required advanced study, and under given circumstances played into the hands of the lawyers. In rural areas the nobility controlled the lower courts (patrimonial rights); in higher judicial cases the sovereign often encroached upon these rights (arbitrary justice). The judicial processes were interminable and got lost in the imperial chancery. There were trials and torture of witches. In regard to the relief of the poor, the church had failed to carry out the ideas of the Reformers, that it should train people for that work. The government now had to take hold (Friedrich Wilhelm I's organization of poor relief, 1696). Similarly, the princes took over the build-up of business and trade. Rivers and highways had to be regulated in point of improvement. Corporation and guild by-laws, municipal by-laws and custom regulations frequently impeded progress. In the manufacture of commodities, the English (in everyday commodities) and the French (in more elegant wares) outdid the Germans. Refugees disseminated technology. Because of their location, Leipzig, Bremen, Hamburg, and the cities along the Rhine, left the other cities of Germany behind.

c.   As to secular literature, all one could find now in Germany was stilted school exercises. The period 1624-1720 (from Martin Opitz to Gottsched) is the time of language societies and schools for poets. They fostered the genuine endeavor to escape from the medieval bonds of Latin humanism. But true to the German propensity to imitate, they landed in the shackles of practically all their neighbors. They had graduated from Hispanomania, Italomania, and Anglomania, and were now caught up in Gallomania. And even though Gottsched, in the period of 1720-1760, wanted to help out the German language, he was unable to divest himself, even less others, of the shackles of French classicism.

d.   The **First Silesian School**, with the Königsberger, Nürnberger, north German groups (Opitz, Fleming, Gryphius, Dach, Rist, Zesen), and the **Second Silesian School** with the Pegnitz Shepherds and Water Poets, the state novels, *Robinsonades*, and the *Simplicissimus* genre fall into this time period. Spiritual poetry and the **hymn** took part in this devolution. Here, two observations must be established. Catholic participation diminished, not only in the spiritual field, but also in the secular. So then spiritual poetry of other persuasions took first place. All poetry of this time, including the spiritual, is to a certain extent, ungenuine, and is only of negative significance. But there are isolated blossoms everywhere, albeit all of lesser value than the creations of the previous period. The quality of self-seeking subjectivism, triviality, and calculation is ever on the

increase.

e. In the **plastic arts** the Baroque style was crowded out by the Rococo (derived perhaps from "roc," boulder, or "rocaille," grotto and shell work), which retained a free-form character, only to give its embellishment more frills in curlicues and decorative floral whorls. The magnificent stuctures in and around Dresden (Pöppelmann's "Zwinger"), in Vienna (Prinz Eugen's "Belvedere," Schönbrunn Castle), and Munich, and Watteau the French painter. Only Andreas Schlüter (d. 1714) in Berlin had a great following as a master architect and sculptor (Berlin Castle, monument to the Great Elector, warrior masks in the Hall of Fame). Even the **minor arts** adopted this "overdone" ornamentation: furniture, porcelain (discovered by Böttcher in Meissen in 1709) in trinkets, enamelware, cut glass, and iron mongery. Attire and manners too dropped the style of Louis XIV, still somewhat gaudy, for the frills of the queue style of Louis XV. This French custom, whatever else may be said about it, held in check to some extent the coarseness still in evidence from the great war.

f. In **education**, moreover, what was missing was profound penetration, despite some advances which in every instance, however, touched merely the external form. The **elementary school** had to be recreated after the Thirty Years' War. Amos Comenius, the Moravian bishop, had offered rules, a study guide, and examplar in 1657 with his *Orbis pictus*, the first illustrated reader and other publications. Ernst der Fromme of Gotha (d. 1675) and Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia (d. 1740) made use of such handy guides. Aside from this, nothing much was happening as yet. The ***gymnasia***, which were multiplying, neglected the mother-tongue; they studied Greek in order to read the New Testament; Latin studies were essential in mastering grammar, meter, dialectics, rhetoric. The mind of antiquity they did not know. In Catholic countries the Jesuits supplanted the Benedictines in administering higher education and were outstanding in external drills. At the **universities**, scholasticism, pedantry, and personal interests were the order of the day. Missing was the division of labor, which automatically would have made feasible the proper attention to the individual subjects. (In Leipzig ever since Francke appeared twenty years before, there had been no exegetical college.) The universities had preserved their Grobianism [boorishness] in the form of pennalism (relationship of younger scholars, called pennals [pencil-case carriers] to the older, the shorists [tormentors], and debauchery. In an attempt to reform the university, Thomasius, Leibnitz, and the University of Halle (German language, cameralia [fiscal science], political economy), addressed in part the problems.

g. The only field in secular intellectual life where great achievements were made was **mathematics** and **natural science**. And in these the most abstract topics were examined, the laws of mechanics and statics. This emphasis reflects the external formalism and the diminishment of ecclesiastical interests. In these sciences researchers achieved great and important results: discovery of the barometer (1643) by Toricelli; air-pump, electrical engine (1650) by Guericke; law of centrifugal motion and propulsion (1687) by Huyghens; steam expansion, safety valve, and the first steam boat on the Fulda (1690) by Papin; Newton's inquiries into the frangibility of light rays (1666), important for the study of color; Huyghen's theory of light waves (1690); Newton's law of gravitation (1682); Cassini's establishment of the duration of the rotation of the sun, of Jupiter, and of Mars; and Picard's establishment of the size of the earth by measurement of a French meridian. Astronomical observations took place in Paris and Greenwich. In 1717 Halley discovered the path of comets and Guericke the movement of fixed stars. There was a quarrel between Newton and Chasles (who defended Paschal), and later, between Newton and Leibnitz, about who first discovered differential calculus.

h. When we summarize this information, it becomes clear that it was not great, powerful truths that challenge the mind and emotions, such as the Gospel or the content of great poetry, but palpable things which we perceive with our senses, and elaborate only with our intellect, that were the main preoccupation of this era. Hence the orientation of the corresponding philosophy which expressed the mind of the time: indifferentism to

religion, a mechanical explanation of the world serving only the interests of the intellect, a temper of mind which invariably leads to subjectivism and individualism with the kindred concept of philistine self-interest.

i.   Hobbes' and Locke's sensualism latched on to these discoveries. **German philosophy** (Leibnitz and Wolff) built on them in seeking to press through to clear, assured universal views, along the path Descartes and Spinoza had pioneered. **Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz** (1646-1716) was one of the most important polyhistors in the world. Trained as a lawyer and philosopher, he entered the electoral court of Mainz. After he had already published important monographs on judicial, philosophical, and pedagogical questions he turned to political topics and as a result came to Paris. Through his acquaintance with the most eminent mathematicians, Arnauld, Huyghens, Tschirnhausen, Newton and others, he took up mathmatical studies and discovered differential calculus. The distinction of becoming a pensioner of the University of Paris he declined, in order to preserve his Lutheran confession, returned to Mainz, and in 1676 went to Hannover as librarian. Here he was occupied with political and historical works, and kept up an extensive correspondence. Now he concentrated on etymological and theological questions as well, unification of the confessions, and founding of academies in Berlin and Petersburg, which he hoped would counter-balance the predominance of Catholicism. In every field Leibnitz achieved significant goals, but because of the range of his work he never got around to composing a great summation. We must note in the same breath that his work turns on external forms and never plumbs the depths. Thus it is characteristic of the time of the Enlightenment, as is, above all, his **philosophical system**, which sets out to combine the mechanical explanation of natural phenomena with Christianity.

k.   So, not one substance, as Spinoza taught, nor two substances, as Descartes maintained, but an infinity of substances (**monads**) conceived, however, as the one substance of Spinoza with the two substances of Descartes, mind and body, as attributes, since the mind is the determinant. With Descartes Leibnitz views God as the highest monad, in which the highest intelligence assures the harmony of the mind of all monads (*harmonia praestabilita*). The other monads have properties of limitation and imperfection, according to their proximity to, or distance from, the highest monad, from which physical and moral evils are to be explained. For all that, the present world is the best possible. But Leibnitz went even further in that he sought to prove, by contesting indeterminism, the harmony of philosophy with revelation. Christianity is the religion of the mind, the purest, most enlightened of all religions. This position, which exerted little influence on contemporary thinking, does possess this general distinction, in that it expressed, as Descartes and Spinoza had already done, the first step of the dominance of subjective thinking, and for Germany in particular, the particular distinction that this thinking retained a conservative cast.

l.   **Christian Thomasius** (1655-1728), a lawyer in Leipzig, took issue with all forms of pedantry and anything that practically speaking was useless. Opposed to the Latin language and Greek literature, he replaced them with the German language and French literature. He was against abstruse theological systems and the *gravitas* of clergymen and their authority in external, political, and civic matters. Academically he mainly followed Grotius and Pufendorf in promoting the abolition of torture and witches' trials and the territorial system. Witty language, but also exaggeration and triviality; the newspaper. Dispossessed along with the Pietists in Saxony, he ventured to Brandenburg and there became the intellectual founder of the University of Halle.

m. Christian Wolff (1679-1754) enjoyed more influence than Thomasius. Raised a Pietist, he became a professor of mathematics and of natural science in Halle. By systematizing and simplifying Leibnitz's doctrine of monads he popularized it, but worked mainly with his mathematical and demonstrative methodology. In theology, he began with lectures on pastoral practice and adhered to revelation, but reason for him remained the actual authority, in fact, as it resulted from his style of combining concept and demonstration. It was the

Halle Pietists, of all people, who consequently accused him of determinism, atheism, and Spinozism. Friedrich Wilhelm I banished him on that account, and he went to Marburg where he attracted a wide following. Frederick the Great recalled him in 1740. Although, or perhaps precisely because of the fact that he was the least original of thinkers, he exerted externally the most influence on those on the verge of adopting Rationalism.

§239. The German Enlightenment.

a.   The actual representatives of the **Enlightenment** in Germany at this time were Dippel, Edelmann, and Schmidt. Konrad Dippel (d. 1734) came out of orthodox circles and at first took up the cudgels against Pietism. But then, on reading Spener's writings and thanks to Arnold's influence he joined Lange and Thomasius in opposing orthodoxy. Yet, when he came up with mystical ideas and fell into alchemist delirium mingled with an adventurous passion for lucre, he degenerated also physically into irresolute meandering and eventuated intellectually into a skepticism tinged with satire. A kindred restless character was Johann Christian Edelmann (d. 1767), hailing from Pietistic circles. Dippel's writings and Arnold's history of heresy roused him to hatred, at first for the mystery of iniquity among the clergy, then for the Bible itself. Under Zinzendorf's influence, he entered the "inspired congregations" in Berleburg, became involved in all kinds of spiritual law cases and ultimately turned into an evil-minded mocker. Lorenz Schmidt (d. 1749 as court official in Wolfenbüttel), when still a candidate for the ministry, published the notorious "Wertheimer Bible" in which he interpolated into Holy Scripture anti-biblical Enlightenment ideas in such a cavalier manner that he was punished with imprisonment as a mocker of religion by the highest tribunal of the German empire in Vienna.

b.   In any event, **Wolff's philosophy** figured as the chief factor in the mental life of this time. In Berlin, Manteuffel and the *Alethophiles* ["friends of truth"] 1733-1740 worked with that same mentality. In Leipzig, **Gottsched** (d. 1766), a student of Wolff's, had put his shoulder to the wheel in behalf of the German language from 1724 on. But because he represented only the external forms of French classicism without deep content, entirely after Wolff's manner, a shallow Rationalism was bound to emerge in his bourgeois dramas, which inadvertently brought to expression its intellectual infirmity. Of the same sort were many prestigious theologians at the lesser courts. Dean Johann Gustav Reinbeck (d. 1741) in Berlin kept Wolffianism alive even in his sermons. Similarly, Canz and Bilfinger in Tübingen and Carpov and Reusch in Jena. Then there were the absurd theological scribblings called *physicobronto* (thunder) - *acrido* (grasshopper) - *pyro* (fire) - *ichthyo* (fish) - *insecto* - *litho* (stone) - *hydro* (water) *astro* (star) - *melitto* (bee) and others from 1745 to 1748, when rural pastors got busily involved with farming and natural science in their theological literature. Furthermore, there were translations of deistic and anti-deistic writings, thanks to the connection of the House of Hannover with England which now contributed more than French influences to cultural decline and to the rise of the Enlightenment. These publications were presently hawked through the newspapers, such as that of the book-dealer Nicolai in Berlin and, from 1733 onward, by the Free Masonic Lodges. The Berleburger and the Wertheimer Bibles were pitted against the reliable Bible editions.

§240. The American Church.

a.   American history at this time continued to constitute an appendix of European history. Hence European subjectivism asserted its influence here as well and led on toward the divorce of America from Europe. The time was occupied by three European wars which asserted a decisive influence on external American relationships. The Nine Years' War ("King William's War*,"* 1689-1697) provoked conflicts on the northeastern border between the French and English. In the War of the Spanish Succession (*"Queen Anne's War,"* 1703-1713), when a French prince ascended the Spanish throne, the English colonies north and south

were embroiled in the war against the French and the Spanish. Acadia (Nova Scotia) in 1713 was ceded to England. In 1724, the French missions in the north among the Indians in Maine were destroyed. In the south, the English drove far beyond the previous Spanish borders. In the War of the Austrian Succession (*"King George's War,"* 1744-1748) neither side made any lasting conquests.

b.   During this time the **French settlements** multiplied from the St. Lawrence River to the Mississippi, and from there down to the Gulf of Mexico: Niagara, Detroit, Chicago, Vincennes, Memphis, Natchez. Jesuit missions flourished, and while the order was charged with all manner of unworthy secular dealings in South America and Asia, the antagonism of the secular rulers in Quebec hindered it in its similar undertakings here. The Jesuits had pushed ahead as far as Arizona. Tucson was founded in 1750.

c.   In the **English colonies** the witches' trials draw immediate attention. In **New England** in the 1790s, most likely because of the ecclesiastical-political excitement, outrages were perpetrated in Salem, just when they were beginning to put an end to this sort of thing in Germany. (In Great Britain, especially in Scotland, these medieval views prevailed well into the 18th century.) Otherwise, church-life continued along with its old ways at first as new institutions were still coming into existence. The universal impulse for the time being was, however, to rush toward organization where it was not yet in place. In **Connecticut** Congregationalism approached Presbyterianism, while in Massachusetts it held to its original constitutional perceptions. Anglicanism roused itself as well, but undertook little more than that Anglican churches were opened in all the northern cities. Beginning in 1689, Dr. Blair labored in the south and in 1701 in London founded *"The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."* This society was active mainly in the Carolinas.

d.   In 1663 the land of the **two Carolinas** [the Province of Carolina included parts of present day Georgia and other states] was granted to certain nobles in order to found a feudal colony for which John Locke outlined a constitution. Immigrants arrived from all quarters. By 1672 the Quakers Fox and Edmunson were on the scene, but accomplished little. From 1685 onward an especially large number of Dutch and French Calvinists came over in the wake of the lifting of the Edict of Nantes. In 1734 the Salzburgers and the Wesleys arrived. Lastly, there were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who had emigrated from the northern part of Ireland where they had immigrated from Scotland consequent to persecutions connected with the Jacobite disturbances, and then emigrated to America. They poured in in great multitudes and settled mainly in New York, New Jersey, and New England, and then southward down into Florida.

e.   In England, Cromwell had ruthlessly hounded the Quakers (Tremblers) because of their initial excesses. Their founder was George Fox (d. 1691), who began as an itinerant preacher in 1649 inveighing against moral delinquency and proclaiming "Christ in us" and the "inner light." Robert Barclay (d. 1690) became their theologian, and around 1660 they became organized. As early as 1655 there were Quakers in every colony, but they were persecuted everywhere, more than anywhere else in Massachusetts, and least of all by the Hollanders under Stuyvesant. Penn had purchased New Jersey for them in 1674, and in 1681, Pennsylvania. Here he opened a free community, different from Rhode Island in that besides freedom, cordiality and peace were the rule. This was thanks chiefly to the Quakers. The Quakers were concerned more than anything about treating the Indians correctly. This was why Pennsylvania flourished so rapidly and, because just then the German immigration began, the state became largely German. It was because **Pennsylvania** was opened to all and sundry by its founder in 1682 that myriads of Germans also thronged to America. Penn's residence in Germany in 1685 had attracted Pastorius with a host of Palatinate Mennonites. The Spanish War of Succession had devastated the Palatinate, and Queen Anne invited those effected to England. But so many responded in 1709 that some of them had to be sent to settle in Ireland, some in America. They were settled particularly in southeastern **New York** and in Pennsylvania. There were the colonists of Kocherthal and further ventures up until 1735. These migrations gave German Reformed and Lutherans wide representation.

f.   The **Reformed** were subject to the high consistory of Heidelberg. Because they came from western Germany, however, they included every conceivable sect: Mystics, Labadists, Inspirationists, Ronsdorfer, Ellerians, etc. In America, many joined the Dunkers, a Baptist sect (Weissel, the monk of Ephrata). This brought about considerable disunity among them, and at first they considered forming a union with other German communities. At first, Lutherans went unshepherded. But the Hannoverian-English royal house were already united with Halle because of the patronage of its German churches in London, and when in 1734 it offered the Salzburgers sanctuary in Georgia, the Halle votaries Bolzius and Gronau were sent along with them. Around this same time Zinzendorf founded a colony of Schwenkfelder and Herrnhuter in Georgia under the leadership of August Gottlieb Spangenberg. These people at once began the mission there among the Cherokees, Creeks, and Negro slaves (Böhler, Schulius, and Zeisberger). Malaria fever however drove them out, and in 1740 Whitefield gave them land in Pennsylvania (Nazareth under Spangenberg's leadership). Zinzendorf himself came in 1741, founded Bethlehem, and tried to achieve a federation of all Protestants. But German separatism (perhaps more than confessional fidelity) thwarted the effort. Thus from now on the Herrnhuter stood alone. In 1742 **Johann Melchior Mühlenberg**, a Hannoverian of the Halle persuasion, came over through the agency of Gotthilf August Francke (the son of the founder of the Francke institutions and the Hannover consistory) and the English king and organized the Lutherans. In keeping with his pet phrase, *ecclesia plantanda* ["the church must be planted"] this seemed to him the first item on the agenda, reflecting less his Pietism than his Hannoverian talent for organization. In 1746 the Swiss **Michael Schlatter** was sent over by the Reformed *Classis* [grouping of presbyters] in Amsterdam to whom the Heidelberger consistory had applied in order to organize the Reformed Germans.

g.   Already at the time of the last Stuarts. the efforts of Anglicans, together with the absolutist regulations of the government, had brought about the relaxation of the insularity which divorced the colonists from one another, especially in New England. When the Act of Toleration went into effect, their freedom of movement grew still more noticeably. At the same time the kings of the House of Hannover adhered to **Anglicanism**. At the time Anglicanism was regarded, however mistakenly, as English Lutheranism, because both communions observed liturgical forms. It was latitudinarian or Arminian. Because the English ecclesiastical controversies turned largely on merely external forms, English Christianity had for the most part faded into doctrinal pallor, and this tendency was only encouraged by the pre-eminence of Anglicanism. The same influence showed up in America. It worked in two ways. It gave Pietism cause and opportunity to get on its feet, and the existing antagonism against England among the Puritans of New England, intensely church-oriented as it was, now became purely political. And as Pietism flooded the entire country and spread its leveling effect all over, this temperament filtered into all of the colonies, the more so as now there were so many Germans living there who were less attached to England. This political development occupies the next period, whereas the Pietistic movement would realize its fullest development already before 1750.

h.   The Arminianism of the Anglicans had made their religious life shallow. This shallowing out, especially among the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and the Dutch and German Reformed among them, became more far-reaching in that around this time the colonists broke away from the home church and entered into rudimentary alliances in America. Among the strict Calvinistic Puritans the preoccupation with formal constitution had deadened their religious sense. Then in English-American circles, the **Enlightenment** set in, even before Methodism had done so in England, and in fact came over directly from Germany. In 1719 Jakob Freylinghausen preached in the Dutch-Reformed church in Raritan, New Jersey, and revivals occurred, the kind that had become commonplace in Halle circles. This revivalist movement communicated itself in 1726 to the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in New Brunswick under the supervision of Gilbert Tennent who preached with the same fervor as Freylinghausen. In 1734 the same movement rose in Northhampton, Massachusetts, in

response to the preaching of Jonathan Edwards. In 1734 both Wesleys came to America. En route they met with the Salzburgers and Herrnhuter, and Spangenberg refused to acknowledge Wesley's Christianity. In 1738 Whitefield came to America, while Wesley returned to Europe, and there, on a side trip to the continent, was converted by Peter Böhler in Frankfurt. Wesley and Whitefield then parted ways over Arminianism and Calvinism. Whitefield returned to America as many as six times and charged the whole country with his great movement.

2. Victory of the Enlightenment, 1750-1789.
a. Popular Philosophy.
§241. Political and Commercial Conditions.

a.   The struggles for the European balance of power continued. In the middle of events were Frederick the Great, the American War of Independence, and the French Revolution. In the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), Prussia, with England's help, asserted itself against France, Sweden, Russia, Austria, and the Imperial army. In time, this fired the Germans with national impulses again, together with a sense of power. The Polish disturbances after 1764 led to the partition of Poland in 1772. With this partition Germany regained what it had lost in 1466, and Prussia consolidated its possession. In the Russian-Turkish War (1768-1774) and in the Russian-Austrian War against the Turks (1787-1792) Russia expanded her frontier southward as far as Asia, while Austria gained nothing, and Prussia, by entering on the side of Turkey, demonstrated that ecclesiastical interests had entirely disappeared from politics. Prussia confronted the endeavor of Joseph II (1780-1790) to enlarge Austria in the Bavarian War of Succession (1778-1779), in a treaty in 1784, and finally in the "German Alliance of Princes for the Preservation of the Imperial System" (1785). Already now, the empire was an illusion.

b. In **England**, before the end of the Seven Years' War, the headstrong, incompetent George III (1760-1820) acceded to the throne. He terminated the rule of the parliamentary majorities and plunged the country into incalculable political turmoil. So he left Prussia in the lurch against the continental coalition. With this betrayal England won the French colonies in North America, in the Peace of Paris (1763). But then the American War of Independence unfolded with its aftermath. Even as England justly demanded that the colonies should help liquidate the national debts, George's headstrong policy denied them representation in parliament. War was the result (1773-1783); France and Spain helped the Americans. Frederick the Great recognized their independence. England lost the original English colonies and kept only the original French colony of Canada. In other respects, however, she had even more invincibly fortified her supremacy of the sea, and with the King's appointment of the Younger Pitt (1783-1801) to man the national rudder, England prepared herself for the later struggle against France under the Republic and Napoleon.

c. In **France**, after the king's teacher Fleury had stepped aside, Louis XV's mistresses, Pompadour and Dubarry were in control. Meanwhile, Choiseul ran the government, and by his participation in the Seven Years' War against Prussia and England, brought France nothing but defeats. Through all this the domestic economy sank into ever deeper depression. Colbert's mercantilism and his tariffs and credits had promoted industry, to be sure, but because the mass of the population was impoverished, and nothing otherwise was done for them, the national economy benefited only the rich and the Jesuits. That aggravated the popular hatred against the existing conditions. Neither the dissolution of the Jesuit Order in France in 1764, nor the physiocratism of Quesnay (a nation can only get rich by means of agriculture and cattle breeding), could change the situation in the slightest. The first measure intensified the hatred against the Church, and the second did not help the people in their poverty. The Encyclopedists, under the direction of Diderot the editor of the *Encyclopedia* (1751-1766), stoked the fire of hatred against every evidence of despotism with their

materialistic world view. Thus France lurched headlong toward the Revolution.

d. In all these struggles, what was at issue at bottom, besides the power interest of the rulers, was the **economic interests** of the nations, and thus, in the interplay of powers, the **ideas of freedom** ripened, to find expression in America, England, and France not only in the rise of the common people, but also in the absolutist administrational measures of Frederick the Great and Joseph II. Ecclesiastical interests became altogether marginal. A new cultural resurgence, untouched by ecclesiastical ideas, was on the way, most successfully in those countries which had risen to the top by means of military prowess, Germany and England. In his police state Frederick the Great provided for every branch of the life of the commonalty, for farming, industry and trade, management, justice, education, and art. This solicitude benefited all of Germany. Soil was rendered arable and fertile, the living conditions of farmers and workers were well regulated, new agricultural products (potatoes, highly developed fruit, tobacco) were introduced; the manufacture of porcelain, the silk and cotton industry were introduced and flourished, and consequently there appeared a department for the regulation of financial transactions and of worker protection, as also for taxation, and postal and business affairs. Administration and law followed along the same lines, as did general property law (1794). The king provided for elementary education, but less so for science and art. The domestic economic boom, however, allowed these disciplines, naturally, to rise of themselves with the study of the classics.

e. In England, these developments took shape by themselves in the sweep of the general resurgence. Inventions (Arkwright's spinning machine 1738, the cotton industry, ceramic art, the iron industry, coal mining, the steam engine of James Watt, 1765-1784) kept pace with advances in natural science and geographical discoveries (1779 murder of Cook). But hand in hand with improvements in farming led by the lords, the independent class of farmers disappeared as well, and child labor and Negro slave traffic became important in industry. In other respects, this resurgence affected the national mind, self-reliance, and enterprise. In opposition to French mercantilism, Adam Smith, a professor in Edinburgh, posited the idea in 1776 that labor is the source of wealth in his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of the Nations*. To help labor he demanded free competition and opposed a protectionist system. Thus he became the founder of modern national economics and introduced the ideas which in the 19th century led to socialism, and simultaneously elevated the tyranny of the faithless Enlightenment of the 18th century into a practical system and introduced it into the everyday occupations of ordinary people.

§242. The Enlightenment in the Intellectual and Ecclesiastical Realms.

a. The **hostile attitude of the Enlightenment toward revelation** became universally accepted because the element of feeling had disappeared from doctrinal representations. Understanding, wanting to understand, took control of doctrine. This already amounted to rationalism, even when doctrine was done right. Therefore, in church practice, determined throughout by dogmatics as it was, biased volition, the law, and tyranny, were thoroughly in charge. The residue of feeling fled to Pietism; but because Pietism neglected doctrine, the content of feeling, the only thing that came of this was empty fantasy once again. So everything came down to external formulas: either doctrine minus a conception of deep feeling, the external stuff essential to the church's administration or emotionality minus deep doctrinal content. This coincided with the hollow phraseology of French culture, interwoven with the same elements in the Catholic church together with the interests of aggressive wealth and aggressive secular power.

b. Consequently too, French culture at this point could at last spread to Germany and England inasmuch as hollowness epitomized the universal world attitude, and because it found voice in the more significant minds in France. Corneille, Racine, Moliere and the contemporary French artists are more significant than Dryden, Pope, and Addison in England, and the Silesian poetry schools in Germany. It must follow that all their poetry

and art was stereotypical; in England mainly intellectual, in Germany mainly sentimental, in France mainly ribald and irreverent. Only when external tangibles were at issue, as in mathematics, in natural science, in business, federal economy, jurisprudence, might you find measurable progress. This helped the formal bent of the mind to become more substantive, after the antagonism between mind and faith had died out due to latitudinarian tolerance, and people could devote themselves impartially to the study of nature and the ancients. It is hard to tell where the impulse came from, whether from England or from Germany. Again it seems best to treat the development in the three countries separately.

§243. The Enlightenment in England.

a. In **England**, thanks to its overseas enterprises, people had gained a broader view and much new knowledge and more balanced judgment. This necessarily had to influence their general mood. To begin with, it afforded the mind new content, in the typical English way, practical, and rational. The **novelists** Defoe (d. 1731), Richardson (d. 1761), Fielding (d. 1754), and Goldsmith (d. 1774) applied themselves to a simple, realistic portrayal of these new aspects of life and of life in general. Interactions with the Germans through the House of Hannover had most likely exerted a telling influence. In Göttingen, Mosheim's new **historical method** had come to light. In England, Hume (d. 1776) and Gibbon (d. 1794) now stepped up. In his *History of England* Hume offers, in clear, supple diction, a version of events frankly partisan to the Stuarts, yet he tries to comprehend events from the vantage point of every individual relationship. Gibbon's monumental *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is somewhat more impartial. Both authors are rationalists, Hume a skeptic, Gibbon doctrinaire. Adam Smith was working at the same time in the field of national economy.

b. This **historical impulse** from the Germans inspired the English, even in poetry, to veer away from the French foreign standard to their own great poets, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton. [The actor] David Garrick, drawn into German circles through his German wife, showed his compatriots Shakespeare's characters with the natural technique which distinguished him. In this way the English rediscovered the sheer joy in actual things in nature, history, and life. At the same time they received from the Germans the great music of Händel and underwent the **Pietistic influence** of Halle and Herrnhut. This provided the English mind with enough imagination to discover deeper ideas than visible surfaces suggested. Macpherson (1764), Ossian, Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, Gray's *Elegy*, William Collins' *Ode to Evening*, and the novels of Goldsmith, Sterne, and Smollett showed this influence, and Samuel Johnson's protest against it could not hinder the development.

c. By these means the English shook off hollow phraseology. **Unbelief**, however, stayed put. Hume (*Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*) carried Locke's sensualism to the point of skepticism. He denied the necessity of general concepts because he thought of them only individually, and he considered volition and action to be the mechanized results of passions. Volition, he said, is ongoing being. What unites people inwardly is sympathy. Necessity finds approval, and reason teaches us to choose expedient means. Adam Smith based his moral philosophy on the same idea. Moral judgment does not initially bear upon one's own action but on that of others. Conscience is the echo of another's judgment of our own action.

d. In **Anglican theology,** Latitudinarianism had always been the rule, and in fact, with its conservative way of thinking, it had never accepted Deism, but had rather accommodated itself to Arianism. This Arian tendency now took shape in the **Unitarianism** of Blackburn and particularly that of his son-in-law Theophil Lindsay, who in 1774 founded his own fellowship in London, when his proposal to correct the *Book of Common Prayer* was turned down. The renowned chemist and physicist Joseph Priestley, from 1780 onward the pastor of a Dissenter congregation, also supported the Unitarian persuasion, but in 1791 had to flee to America to get away from the London populace. Until 1830 in England, denial of the Trinity remained a capital offense.

e.   In vogue with this was the **mysticism** of the Free Masons and the occultism of the Swedenborgians. Immanuel Swedenborg (d. 1772), a mining consultant in Stockholm, believed he could communicate with departed spirits. He considered himself called to found the church of the New Jerusalem to replace the church which had grown decadent since the Council of Nicaea. Congregations of this persuasion sprang up only in England (after 1788) and in North America. In Württemberg, Öttinger was sympathetic to these ideas.

f.   A deeper religious sense was regnant in **Methodist** circles. Wesley had given his adherents an external organization as well, although he avoided separation from the national church. The local unit constituted the "society." Every "society" was divided into classes with class leaders. Members received quarterly tickets. Anyone who did not measure up was removed. The whole sphere of activity of a society was subdivided into "circuits" (in 1770 there were 50 "circuits" with 29,406 members; in 1783 there were 45,995 members). All were engaged in the work as preachers or helpers or nurses. For the most part members came from the middle classes. Through the agency of Lady Huntington, whose private chaplain had been Whitefield, even some of the nobility joined. In 1770-1777, however, a controversy welled up between the Arminian Wesley and the Calvinist Whitefield over the question of predestination. Because of it, in 1783 the "Lady Huntington Connexion" withdrew from the others.

g.   There were other revivalist preachers besides the Methodists. Chief among them were the Presbyterian Free Churches in Scotland who persevered in conservative Calvinism. And when the French Revolution with its horrors broke out, many, especially in the so-called upper levels of English society, returned to the Gospel. In consequence, the **heathen mission** and **Bible dissemination**, and, in the next century, the **anti-slavery movement** along American lines, were set in motion. Beginning in 1792 was the Baptist Mission Society (William Carey 1834), in 1795, the London Mission Society (later, purely Congregationalist), in 1799 the Ecclesiastical Mission Society (Anglican), in 1804 the British and Foreign Bible Society.

§244. The Enlightenment in France.

a.   In **France**, Voltaire's Enlightenment grew ever more pervasive. As yet, it drew its inspiration from England. But the **Encyclopedists** turned it into skepticism and atheism. Denis Diderot (d. 1784), like Voltaire a Jesuit fledgling, had already in 1746 declared himself a Deist in his *Pensées philosophiques*, but became increasingly skeptical to the point of materialism. Following the lead of the English, he published at the same time a *Dictionnaire universel de médecine*, and its favorable reception prompted his *Universal Encyclopedia* which he published in 1751 with Marmontel, Daubenton, Rousseau, Leblond, Lemmonier, and d'Alembert. He earned nothing from it, and Empress Catherine II of Russia purchased his library and invited him to her court. He could not get along with her, however, returned, and shifted his efforts to writing prurient novels and comedies. Jean le Rond d'Alembert (d. 1783), bastard son of the brilliant Mme. de Tencin, was disinherited and entered an educational institution, studied mathematics, medicine, and law, and then excelled in natural science. Later he joined Diderot as principal partner in compiling the encyclopedia, declined invitations to the courts of both Frederick II and Catherine II, and was known as one of the most decent among his associates.

b. Paul Heinrich Dietrich Baron von Hollbach (d. 1789), the son of a rich German parvenu from the Bavarian Palatinate, was the materialist in this circle (*Systeme de la nature*) and also a dissolute person. His like-minded partner Claude Helvetius (d. 1771), a financier and moral philosopher, wound up in Potsdam because his attacks on religion and politics were being assailed. Ostensibly somewhat more cautious, but at bottom even more cynical, was the physician Julien de Lamettrie (d. 1751). To him, a man's ultimate happiness was fulfilled in sensual enjoyment. Expelled from France, he retired to Berlin via Holland and died at the court of Frederick II. The idealist, Jean Jacques Rousseau (d. 1778), was the most influential Frenchman of that time, after Voltaire. He was the son of a Huguenot clockmaker in Geneva. After a desultory education, he remained

sunk in sensuality and sentimentality all his life, was an icon of disorganization, and publicized all of the related ideas of his time and of his life with such naiveté that this probably was the mainspring of his influence. He hoped, in all his writings (*Confessions, The New Eloise, Du contrat social, Emile, ou sur l'education*) and two private writings, to lead mankind back to nature in education, statecraft, art, science, and morality. His originality has been celebrated always and everywhere, but his intellectual activity amounted only to his spilling out, nearly like a child, everything that anyone in his circles was thinking or doing without modesty or bridle.

c.   The Catholicism of the Jesuits had visited one more bloody persecution upon the **Huguenots** (1743-1752). In this connection there occurred the execution of the innocent Jean Calas in Toulouse (1762). Voltaire's defending of toleration and the general influence of the Encyclopedists brought about the collapse in 1764 of the Jesuit Order in France. But not until 1787 did Louis XVI grant legal protection to the Protestants; religious freedom was realized in 1789 through the National Assembly. For all that it was Paul Rabaut (1718-1794) who rallied and fortified the clusters of Huguenots. Oberlin (1740-1826) labored as a Lutheran preacher in Steintal in Alsace but did not attract attention until the Revolution.

§245. The Enlightenment in Germany.

a. In Germany, the government of the skeptical Deist **Frederick the Great** was decisive for the victory of the Enlightenment. Voltaire and Lamettrie resided at his court. Maupertis (d. 1759), a French mathematician who had been engaged in scientific pursuits in England, Switzerland, and in Lapland, came to Berlin in 1740 and became president of the Academy. On the progress of education in general in Germany this Berlin-French connection asserted hardly any influence. Frederick himself was a devotee of the French Enlightenment. He believed in the existence of God because to him it seemed to follow from expediency in nature. Consequently, he had no use for French materialism. Then again, he stood entirely aloof from Christianity, even though on certain occasions he seemed gripped by it in spite of himself. Inimical to every hint of fanaticism and clerical ostentation, he wanted everyone in his country to get to heaven in his own fashion (*dass jeder nach seiner Fasson selig werde*). Impertinent mockery of anything sacred to others he would not countenance, but on the contrary provided for the orderly administration of church properties. These views ultimately in 1794 found definition in the Prussian Civil Code.

b. In **Germany**, education as derived from Wolff and Gottsched broadened to include **Deistic popular philosophy** and the composition of moralizing novels and dramas. This mode was found mainly in Saxony and Halle. **Vulgar rationalism**, akin to it, was centered in Berlin in the publishing firm of Nicolai, and was attuned somewhat differently. Here Moses Mendelssohn (d. 1786), an ailing Jewish accountant in a silk factory, defended vulgar rationalism. A protégé of Shaftesbury, he devoted himself to English literature and metaphysical questions (immortality of the soul) and other general philosophical topics in the style of Addison. He was a friend of Lessing and Nicolai, and most importantly redefined Judaism in a Deistic manner and thus secured a pre-eminent place for it in German literature. In Hamburg, Hermann Samuel Reimarus (d. 1768) served as professor at the *gymnasium*. In his tract "Apology or Vindication for Sensible Votaries of God" he criticized, from his superficial observation of ecclesiastical customs, the church's conception of revelation and Christianity which he passed off as deception. Lessing published certain parts of this tract in Wolfenbüttel under the title "Fragments of an Anonymous Writer." Against these "Fragments" Johann Melchior Göze, the orthodox principal pastor in Hamburg, and others raised a storm. Lessing's customary formal competence failed him in his defense of the "Fragments," most likely because he was defending a shady cause. For his part Göze did not hit the mark either.

c.   **Philanthropinism**, a combination of the German intellectualism of Wolff's school with Rousseau's

obsession with nature and the mentality of the English nature novel, is the peculiar direction in the philosophy of education which took shape at this time. It derives its name from the first *Philanthropinum* of Johann Bernhardt Basedow (d. 1790), a model school opened in 1774 in Dessau which would be succeeded by others. Along Basedow's path there trod J.H. Campe (d. 1818), Gedicke (d. 1803), Salzmann (d.1811), and Planta (d. 1772). They championed the following ideas: "Physical and mental degeneration arises from a faulty education designed to instill correctness in faith and in Latin composition by means of the study of the catechism and Latin grammar. The nature of man is good, and education must accommodate itself to nature and promote it. To be able to do this it is necessary to respect man and all that is human, and not as hitherto, to despise it." These people translated *Robinson Crusoe* into German from English, and supported it as required reading for children, and thought that moral instruction would follow by itself. This point of view was still on the face of it philistine, like vulgar rationalism, and achieved but little.

d.   Directly associated with this flat intellectualism, which in its religious lassitude left the German soul unsatisfied, **mysticism** made its appearance. This aberration went in for all kinds of fantastic secretive mummery and occultism in the Free Masonic lodges originating in England and entertained itself with the hollowest phraseology, and individuals engaged in it never gave it a second thought. Beginning in 1773, in fact, even Jesuits could join the lodges.

e.   **Theology** too reflected these views of the majority of the educated. Theological aspirants were unable to escape from the dominant influences. The views formerly in vogue faded away without a new, clear position being attained. This failure obtained because, given the dearth of actual evangelical understanding, no one had come to terms in so many words with a single phase of the newer development. Dogmatics had to disintegrate because its intellectual forms had been mistaken for the essence. Now suddenly the individualism of the diverse theological points of view took control in lieu of the earlier, closed system. On the whole, faith in revelation held true, yet no one had countered reason. Thus these very concepts, still employed in the teaching of faith, were becoming mere external, vacant forms; if truth be told, sheer unbelief was crowding in.

f.   **Enlightenment theology** took place in three stages: transition theology, neology, rationalism. The latter took hold only after Kant's critique. The first two stages adhered to revelation, **transition theology** tenuously even to dogma. This first stage opened to two trends: 1. the **Wolffians**, who wanted to prove dogma and revelation in the manner of their teacher: Jakob Carpov (d. 1768) in Jena and Sigismund Jakob Baumgarten (d. 1757) in Halle; 2. **Critical research scholars:** Johann Lorenz Mosheim (d. 1755) and Franz Walch (d. 1784) as historians, and Johann David Michaelis (d. 1791) in Göttingen, the most radical; Johann August Ernesti (d. 1781) in Leipzig as an isagogist who established New Testament hermeneutics and isagogics on the basis of new linguistic knowledge. Neology relinquished dogma, but retained revelation as the mainstay of natural religion. In these circles, too, there were two trends: 1. **The conservative trend:** Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (d. 1769), professor of poetry in Leipzig, a devout man, trained as a theologian, a curate of souls for his community, acclaimed as a writer of fables (he composed spiritual hymns as well). Gottfried Less (d. 1797) was a dogmatician in Göttingen. 2. **The liberal trend:** the Berlin high consistorial counsellors A. Fr. W. Sack (d. 1786), Johann Joachim Spalding (d. 1804), W. Abraham Teller (d. 1804), Morus, Nösselt, Töllner, Jerusalem, and Zollikoffer.

g.   A natural but generally deplored development along these lines was the **liberal naturalism** of Karl Friedrich Bahrdt (d. 1792), a professor in Leipzig and Giessen, director of the Philanthropine institute, general superintendent, university lecturer in Halle, and lastly innkeeper ("Latest Revelations of God in Letters and Stories," in poor taste). Similar, if less haphazard, were Andr. Riem and Johann H. Schultz (*Zopfschulz*), based in Berlin and dismissed by the Wöllner Edict because of their rationalist position.

h.   From this philistine style there issued, in England as in Germany, a purely intellectual resurgence, which

in time even benefited Christianity.

b. The Spiritual Resurgence of the Enlightenment in Idealism.
§246. The German Classical Authors and Kant.

a. Already in Gottsched's day, the philistine influence of this "Leipzig dictator" was being countervailed by Bodmer, Haller, and Hagedorn in reference to the English Milton and Shakespeare. After Gottsched's death Gellert followed in his paths. Ultimately, however a new spirituality gained the upper hand, thanks to **Klopstock's** influence. Klopstock was German, endowed with Christian and believing empathy, and this German-Christian spirit he poured into the forms of Greco-Roman antiquity. In this spirit he brought German classicism to the fore. At the same time though, he was in a way the father of a tearful sentimentality which later spread abroad. Yet this flaw lay inherent in the circumstances attendant upon a self-reliant mind wresting itself free from the rigid, oppressive, heartless shackles of external forms, as Spener, Zinzendorf, and Wesley had already done in the spiritual field.

b. The opposite of Klopstock was **Gotthold Ephraim Lessing** (1729-1781). Antiquarian, heathen, polemical; the most illustrious representative of the humanism repressed by the Reformation, who without English cant and without French bigotry, but with German depth of soul, entered the lists for Greek classicism. He was unable, however, to quest for truth with the naiveté of the ancient Greeks; nay, once the Gospel had entered into the world and been rejected by men, for the modern seeker after truth the quest for the truth came to outweigh the truth itself. Thus Lessing's creations in regard to poetry could only leave the soul unsatisfied, although his animated formal influence was evident everywhere in the awakening from a philistine coma. Lessing addressed theology as well: *Berengarius Turonensis,* his writings in the "Fragment Controversy," his theologically tendentious drama, *Nathan der Weise, "*The Education of Mankind." In these publications he declared himself opposed to Enlightenment theology. He was endowed with a deeper understanding of history, as witness his attempt to apply the idea of development to the history of religion, and his differentiating between religion and theology. He saw in human history the moral development of mankind and expected "that the standard of the New Testament would be superseded by the standard of the Enlightenment and purity, as people would then love virtue for its own sake." All of these ideas as Lessing presented them however had an unfinished quality about them. Of course, we must remember that in his ideas he was ahead of his time. Hence too he evaluated them more fearlessly and exactly than his successors, who developed the master's ideas askew. The Gospel, however, he did not know. Nor did Lessing work out a philosophy, because his assignment was to rouse philistines formally by severe critique.

c.   Directly related to this activity of Lessing's came **Neo-humanism** in the higher schools. People had been reading the classics for two hundred years, but only with theology in mind. Now they read them for their own sake. This promoted linguistic study and esthetic training. Gessner and Heyne in Göttingen and Ernesti in Leipzig promoted linguistic studies. In Italy in 1748 excavations were undertaken in Pompeii, and Winckelmann went to Italy, from where he taught the Germans to understand ancient Greek sculpture. This advanced **higher and elementary public** instruction. Theologians, to be sure, missed out on this because at the time they were not up to it. The sense for nature and history, however, took breath from the Greek spirit and came alive in every field. The recognition grew, particularly in Prussia, thanks to the efforts of the country squire Eberhard von Rochow, "that the elementary school is the mandate of the state, not of the confessional denomination." Thus the elementary school passed to the purview of the irreligious state because the church was asleep at the switch. In Switzerland Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), taking his cue from Rousseau, put into practice the idea proposed by Comenius that the teacher should instruct not by means of verbal description but by direct visual demonstration.

d.   Another group, representing German idealism, which gave structure to the movement in the 1760s, promoted a new subjective emotional life based on previous experiences (**period of genius, *Sturm und Drang*** [storm and stress]). Genius was the topic of the day, the creative power of the individual and of talented nations. People studied Rousseau, Homer, and Shakespeare, the English and Scottish folk songs and ballads, and developed a sense for what was original and came from the people. This in turn gave way in some to an extravagant emotional piety which again was nurtured by still other influences. On the other hand, a new grasp of history took hold which in turn strengthened the grasp of Christianity. Among the few who rose to this occasion, we find Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788) in Königsberg, the "Magus of the north." Coming from Pietistic circles, after comprehensive courses of study, he had held various subordinate positions in learned and commercial circles and at length came to Princess Galitzin who, after his decease, had him buried in her garden. In his "Socratic Memoirs" and "Crusades of a Philosopher" he expressed his idealism and his ultimate position as believing in revelation, in disconnected and abstruse explanations. A kindred mind was Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801), the preacher from Zurich. He gained a reputation mainly from his *Physiognomic Fragments for the Promotion of Insight into Human Character and Philanthropy*, and engaged in constant intercourse with all of the idealistic minds of his time. He too took Christianity to be a personal relationship with Christ, the personification of noble humanity, and with the salvation achieved by him.

e.   The most important personality in this group was **Johann Gottfried Herder** (1744-1803) from Riga, named general superintendent in Weimar in 1776. Inspired by Hume, Shaftesbury, and Rousseau, he was an Enlightenment man, but, all the same, instantly recognized the weaknesses prevalent in intellectualism and morality, in exegesis and history, as practiced in his time. Through intercourse with Hamann, he came to practice a piety in which Christianity seemed to him the religion of humanity, and the Bible became precious to him for its historical and poetic content. With his appreciation for the poetry of the nations, his *Ideas on the Philosophy of Human History* stands as a work of supreme importance. History to him is the providence of the ideas of God. He endeavors to overhear the national soul. That is why the sacred books of the nations and national poetry were of such significance to him. With such resources he approximated the understanding of Christianity more nearly than his fellows.

f.   A unique figure was **Immanuel Kant** (1724-1804), a professor in Königsberg. Brought up in a Pietistic home and trained in Wolffian philosophy, he carefully re-examined the ideas of the Enlightenment in the light of Hume's skepticism. In his "Critique of Pure Reason" he arrived at this result: the forms of observation and of thinking are native to the mind of man. The forms of observation are space and time; the forms of thinking are the **categories** of quantity (unity, plurality, totality), quality (reality, negation, limitation), relation (substantiality, causality, reciprocal action), and modality (possibility, actuality, necessity). In these forms the thinking of man takes place. The "object itself" (*das Ding an sich*) man never attains to, but it is a matter of human comprehension. In this way Kant secured the mind's control over material. But in this way also the transcendental world and all theoretical metaphysics were annulled. These aspects he reconstructed in his *Critique of Practical Reason*. God, freedom, immortality (the principal concepts of the Enlightenment) are the undeniable postulates of practical reason. In ethics he approached eudaemonism (that enjoyment is the highest human goal) with his **categorical imperative** (act in such a manner that the maxims of your volition invariably may count as the principle of a general world order). That was the expression of the devotion to duty acquired by the Prussians from Friedrich Wilhelm I on down. For Kant in his *Religion Within the Bounds of Bare Reason* religion is morality. The good principle is the ideal. The final victory of this principle is the foundation of the Kingdom of God. The historical churches are mere appendages. The goal must be pure religious faith. Anything habitual and mandatory is counterfeit. Thus Kant surmounted the vulgarism of his time, it is true, but not the rationalism.

g.   Lastly, the poets of the classical school must be recognized as the flower of this epoch. **Wolfgang Amadeus Goethe** (1749-1832) was, in comparison with Schiller, the great, clear, temperate mind for whom the ideas of the Enlightenment, which formally set to rights temperate reason as against intellectualism and emotionalism and which at the same time secured to the life of emotion the participation in everything great and thus brought to attention the overwhelming content in nature and history - Goethe was the mind for whom these ideas became life and energy. He had worked himself free from the alien literary mannerisms which had more or less always been restrictive and regnant in Germany, so that the way his mind perceived, how his imagination created, how his language naturally echoed the content, appeared as embodied freedom and mastery, a mastery that had not been present again since Luther; a man without a queue in a time when everyone wore at least a peruke. He raised himself out of the philistinism which without exception measured all of the conquests of the time by the limited standard of sensible necessity, those of the English, of the French, and of the Germans in governmental, scientific, artistic, and also theological fields. He himself strove on the basis of the temporal mind to penetrate into the ideas of God and eternity, of sin, grace, and salvation, and to represent them with his means of expression as the influence of the French, the English, and the Greeks had prepared them. Thus his poetry became the flower of all secular poetry which develops under the peal of the Gospel.

h.   With all of his exertions, however, Goethe failed to penetrate the ideas of eternity. In his parental home the poet became a more than an average intimate of Pietism (Susanne von Klettenberg, his mother's friend); in Weimar, his association with Herder conveyed him into the realm of supranaturalism which steered clear of Rationalism; but on his Italian tour the ancient heathenism enveloped him in whom sensuous impulses were already naturally very strong, so that he ended in virtual hatred of Christianity. In Goethe's later years it was his association with Schiller and Kant's critiques which brought the poet to a so-called clarified worldview. But with this, when all is said, he still had not gotten anywhere. In the most exalted moments of his spiritual creativity Goethe never advanced any farther than restating the ideas of the ancient Greek dramas on inexorable justice, without finding out how the schism in the soul, which is fostered by the consideration of naked justice, can be resolved. He had no actual understanding of sin. Sin for him was nothing more than a pantheistic principle. He knew of no other salvation than the so-called self-redemption which happens when you penetrate into the essence of nature and her ecology. Accordingly, for him the results of salvation were merely poetic, artistic gratification. Everything remained a matter of form and never became real. Such views, therefore, could satisfy neither the deepest life of the soul, the conscience, nor create the higher life of the soul, the exultation in Christ. The talk about wrestling oneself out of the vulgar remained a mere external panacea, and the notion that the diverse religions, Christianity included, are more or less mere inadequate labels for his pantheistic ideas, never even transcended the previous notions of the Enlightenment except through their poetic expression. Kant and Goethe, like all the rest, are just rationalists. But what they did was once again to raise the activity of the mind to its meridian.

i.   **Friedrich Schiller** (1759-1805), for all his amiable idealism could not aspire to the colossal stature of his friend. Even as to form, he never outgrew the ancient classical limitations. His religious interest, despite his inclination toward Kant, never reared itself very far above the ideas of commonplace Rationalism. Christoph M. Wieland (1733-1813), who merits mention to complete the list of those in this circle of resurgent genius, represented immoral French facetious naturalism. In the field of music, **Joseph Haydn** (1732-1809), **Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart** (1756-1791), and **Ludwig van Beethoven** (1770-1827) belonged to this group of poets who, inspired by the Greeks, wrestled their way out of the murky superficialities and the subordination of their art to foreign standards, to clear, classically beautiful forms, in harmony with German style. Also in the plastic arts, classicism affected only the form. In this respect the English took the lead in

natural treatment of garden layouts and in emulating foreign architectural styles (discovery of the Empire style later exported from France, with the application of the Gothic style to palace construction.) For the first time ever, important painters in their midst rose to pre-eminence: Joshua Reynolds (d. 1792) and Thomas Gainsborough (d. 1788), who like the Frenchman Louis David (d. 1825) distinguished themselves in portraiture. The German Raphael Mengs (d. 1779) was a painter of historical scenes and of saints, who left the viewer cold because he lacked inspiration. It was the classicists who first carried the Enlightenment ideas to the heights. In so doing they contributed to their own defeat. Lessing's position was that reason is a sufficient source of religion. Kant attempted to justify that idea philosophically and to give it scientific structure. The great poets and composers gave the idea poetical and musical definition.

§247. The Influence of Idealism on Theology.

a.   Rationalism replaced neology in the wake of the spiritual resurgence. Rationalism went in three directions: 1. the actual Rationalists, who held natural religion to be necessary without denying revelation on principle (Kant's definition); 2. the Supranaturalists, who held revelation to be necessary; 3. the Naturalists, who denied revelation. The new forms and the spiritual resurgence benefited theology at first, but, of course, only insofar as the diverse areas of theological work were newly annexed, even though in the Rationalist sense. The historical disciplines in particular, and isagogics primarily, occupied the most prominent place for several generations.

b.   The scientific-theological representative of **Rationalism** was **Johann Sal. Semler** (d. 1791), a professor at Halle. He came out of Pietism, was trained by Wolff, and, inspired by the English and Dutch, went on to found a historically focused theology. The blessings that plan would have yielded would have been manifold had Semler known the Gospel. But in his instruction, the study of history was impaired by intellectualism. Semler distinguished between theology and religion. He trained his critique on the biblical canon, as had been done for some time in Western countries. In this connection he gave up the doctrine of inspiration. He considered inspired only scriptures that served the purposes of moral improvement. The rest of doctrinal content he considered **accommodation** to local and contemporary views of the biblical heroes, Jesus, and the authors. Christianity, he said, was imperfect even in its earliest manifestations. Consequently, there could be no absolute system of doctrine. The Bible was of value as the single charter of Christianity. In so saying, Semler retained the concept of revelation. At the same time he distinguished between public and private religion. The state, he maintained, must establish religion for the masses, but the educated must enjoy personal freedom. Impelled by these views, Semler fought off Bahrdt's naturalism and the "Wolfenbüttel Fragments," and defended the Wöllner Religious Edict.

c.   In Jena **Johann Jakob Griesbach** (d. 1811) made a telling contribution to **New Testament textual criticism.** Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (d. 1827) in Göttingen and Bernhard Bertholdt (d. 1822) in Erlangen in the same way promoted **Old and New Testament research**. Ernest Friedrich K. Rosenmüller (d. 1835) in Leipzig and Eberhard Gottlob Paulus (d. 1851) in Jena were New Testament exegetes who often, in a trivializing way, tried to explain away the miracles in the Bible especially as natural events. Dogmatics was reworked by Heinrich Tieftrunk (d. 1837) in Halle and Philipp Konrad Henke (d. 1809) in Helmsted. Henke also compiled church history, and Wilhelm Münscher (d. 1814) in Marburg was the first to set out the **history of dogma.** Practical theologians included Jos. Friedrich Löffler (d. 1816) in Gotha, August Hermann Niemeyer (d. 1828) in Halle, and Johann Heinrich Zschokke (d. 1848), his last position in Switzerland (*Hours of Devotion*).

d. Naturalism was represented by Bahrdt. The **supranaturalist dogmaticians** were G. Christian Knapp (d. 1825) in Halle, G. Fr. Seiler (d. 1807) in Erlangen, Gottlob Chr. Storr (d. 1805) in Tübingen, founder of the

"earlier Tübingen School," Volkmar Reinhard (d. 1812), a professor in Wittenberg, first chaplain in ordinary in Dresden. J. Friedrich Kleuker (d. 1827) worked as an apologist in Kiel, the mathematician Leonhardt Euler (d. 1783) in Petersburg, and Albrecht Haller (d. 1777), poet, physiologist, geologist, etc. in Bern. J.M. Schröckh (d. 1808) held the post of church historian in Wittenberg. Meriting mention as a Supranaturalist Rationalist is the church historian H.G. Tzschirner (d. 1828) in Leipzig, and as a Rationalist Supranaturalist his professional associate, G.J. Planck (d. 1833) in Göttingen.

e.	In the field of worship practice in liturgics the revival was hardly significant as yet. Agendas, hymnbooks, and catechisms were modernized and watered down. Klopstock began to change the form of the hymn; later also the content was ruined. The protests of Herder and Schubert against this abuse fell on deaf ears. Church music fared the same. Notes of equal value were set to the melodies of congregational hymns, and interludes were interspersed between the lines; as if this were not enough, operatic style began to saturate church music. Congregational life in its depths, owing to the old hymns still sung because they had become the most intimate possession of the people, remained at a higher level than one might have expected, judging from surface activity.

§248. The Reaction to Unbelief.

a.	A result of the combination of the classical resurgence in Germany with Pietistic influences was the positive **reaction against unbelief**. It is interesting here to find Protestants, Lutherans and Reformed, meeting with Catholics without anyone venturing to charge them with unionism. In opposition to unbelief they stood shoulder to shoulder and became the seed for the reawakening of faith in the 19th century.

b.	In **Württemberg,** the prelate Friedrich Christian Ötinger (1702-1782), the "Magus of the South," was active. He was a student of Bengel's, but also a devotee of Jakob Böhme and of Swedenborg. He had nevertheless learned from his teacher Bengel to study the Scripture and in spite of his theosophical extravagance remained at heart true to his Lutheran confession. The pastors Philipp Michael Hahn (1739-1790) and Magn. Friedrich Roos (1727-1803) looked to him for guidance. Their goal was edification in Spener's sense, and they lost themselves in all manner of apocalyptic and theosophical speculations, chiefly Hahn who was corrected for it by the consistory. This circle branched out into two distinct fellowships actively opposed to one another: 1. the **Michelians**, who clustered around the butcher Michael Hahn (1758-1819) who set forth theosophical ideas in a variety of tracts and in point of doctrine stressed "Christ in us" above "Christ for us"; 2. the **Pregizerians,** who followed the preacher Christian Gottlieb Pregizer (1751-1816) and maintained their emphasis on the doctrine of justification.

c.	Early on, along the Rhine, the physician Samuel Collenbusch (1724-1803), formerly a Lutheran, had been promoting aims similar to those of the Württemberg Pietists. He argued against the doctrine of the wrath of God and the punitive suffering of Christ. Among his adherents were the brothers Hasenkamp, Johann Gerhard (1736-1777), and Friedrich Arnold (1747-1795), who succeeded one another as rectors in Duisberg, and the preacher Gottfried Menken (1768-1831) in Bremen. This circle worked in close alliance with the Catholic circle of the Princess Amalie von Galitzin (1748-1806) in Münster. Here Goethe, Herder, Jung Stilling, Claudius, Lavater, Hamann, and the Catholics Overberg and the government minister Von Fürstenberg got together. Matthias Claudius (1740-1815) published the *Wandsbecker Boten* in Wandsbeck (near Hamburg) with the aim of confessing his Christian faith in a simple, discreet way in his comments on the literature of his time. Jung Stilling (1740-1817) had risen rapidly from an elementary school teacher to become an ophthalmologist and professor of political science in Kaiserslautern, but resigned from his position in order to dedicate himself to the Awakening. These friends of the Princess Galitzin took their inspiration in part from Friedrich Heinrich Jakobi (1743-1819), the philosopher of sentiment. Jakobi had studied natural science in

Geneva, then entered his father's business firm in Düsseldorf, became a state official in Munich, and wrote philosophical *Essays* against Spinoza and Hume. He was only an amateur philosopher trying to express clearly his theory that reason does not constitute the whole man, but that emotion represents an important factor in life. Hence to him it was not moral law, as Kant maintained, but faith which is the "instinctual presupposition of life and religion." He never won through to a clear profession of the Gospel.

d. In Frankfurt a. M. Susanne Kath. von Klettenberg (1823-1874) attracted a Pietistic circle of friends including Goethe's mother. Anna Schlatter (1773-1826) asserted a similar influence in **Switzerland**. In **Augsburg** Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772) and his son Johann Urlsperger (1728-1806), who succeeded his father as leader, stood alone. The father had earlier made connections with the English Lutherans and the Americans on behalf of the Salzburgers. The son later served as a model for the English by founding the **German Christian Society** in Basel in 1780, distributing Bibles and tracts, evangelizing, and doing mission work, etc.

e. In **Dillingen** a group formed around the Catholic dogmatics professor Michael Sailer (1751-1832) which in the following period partly converted to the Lutheran Church and partly aided ultramontanism: Feneberg, Boos, Lindl, Gossner, Henhöfer, Wessenberg, Diepenbrock. Sailer continued associating with Jung Stilling, Lavater, and other Protestants with whom he shared a tendency to mysticism, impelling him to promulgate the kingdom of love through love. He was dismissed from his professorship at the University on suspicion of belonging to the Order of the Illuminati.

f. From the 1770s onward the **governments** too began to oppose Rationalism. In 1776 the *Corpus Evangelicorum* demanded that action be taken against Semler. That same year Electoral Saxony issued a religious edict against the Enlightenment, in 1780 Württemberg followed suit, in 1787 Ulm, in 1788 Prussia, in 1790 Baden; all to no effect. Of special significance was the **edict of the Prussian minister of culture, Wöllner**. This pastor had drifted out of orthodoxy into Pietism because of the Enlightenment and now prevailed upon the successor of Frederick the Great, Friedrich Wilhelm II (1786-1797), who emulated Louis XIV in immorality and bigotry, to issue an edict in 1788 against the Enlightenment. Pastors were required, even if convinced to the contrary, to apply themselves to church doctrine. A system of surveillance was planned for ministerial candidates and pastors. The offensive aspects of the plan were the persons of the King and of the minister of culture, elevated as he was through Rosicrucian Secret Society connections, and the mindless coercion they contemplated. The naturalistic "Zopf-Schulz" [Johann Heinrich Schulz] was removed. In 1799 the truly devout Friedrich Wilhelm III (1797-1840) revoked the edict.

§249. The Enlightenment in the Catholic Church.

a. The Catholic church too was seriously affected by the Enlightenment. The papacy itself could not steer clear of it. The confessional position of the church for all that was nonetheless upheld. The popes even now as yet cut no figure because they had nothing to represent. Benedict XIV (1740-1758) was the most deeply affected by the temper of the time. He forbade the persecution of heretics, recognized mixed marriages, opposed the Jesuit Order and the excessive observance of festivals, and amicably approached Protestant princes (recognition of the Kingdom of Prussia). There was disunion among the cardinals, Zelanti (friends of the Jesuits) versus crown cardinals.

b. Under Benedict's pontificate, justice caught up with the **Jesuit Order. Portugal** had regained its independence from Spain in 1640. With the reign of King Joseph I Emanuel (1750-1777), the Enlightenment took charge. The leading minister was the former Jesuit fledgling, the **Marquis of Pombal.** In order to undo the collapse caused by the previous clerical regime, he set sweeping reforms in motion without letting the earthquake in Lisbon bother him. In 1750 Spain had ceded Paraguay, along with other colonial possessions, to

Portugal. The Jesuit state was now dissolved, the Indian Rebellion of 1756 crushed, and the state's culture destroyed. Beginning in 1757 there was the conflict in Portugal resulting from the political economy (protective duty) and educational reforms instituted by Pombal. An investigation of the administration of the Portuguese Jesuits, initiated by Pope Benedict himself, confirmed the charges filed against them. But Clement XIII (1758-1769), a Zelant, interceded for them. The Order was dissolved in 1756 in Portugal and the padres were forcibly deported to Rome.

c.   At this same time the old episcopal idea arose in **Germany**. The electoral prince Maximilian Joseph III (1745-1777) of Bavaria, despite his strict orthodoxy, had long since wanted to help his country out of the quagmire by reforming practices in church, monastery, and school. At the same time the suffragan bishop [a diocesan bishop subordinate to a metropolitan] of Trier, **Nikolaus von Hontheim** (1701-1790), in 1763 issued a notice: *Justini Febronii de statu ecclesiae et legitima potestate Romani pontificis liber singularis*. Written in a convoluted, abstruse style, in order to win back the Protestants, it defended the authority of the councils and the independence of the bishops in the face of the pretensions of the popes. The book was translated into every European language. At the same time the Jesuit Order in **France** fell afoul of the law. When the Jesuit firm La Valette in Martinique failed because their ships had sunk, the Order was held responsible for reparations. It agreed to comply, however only with masses for the dead. Upon this presumption the enlightened minister Choisuel and the Paris parliament proceeded against the Order. When Louis XV proposed that the French Jesuits branch off from the Order, Clement declined with the words: *Sint ut sunt, aut non sint* ["Let them be as they are, or let them not be"]. In 1764 the Order was dissolved in France. Immediately after that, the Bourbon governments banished it from Spain, Naples, and Parma.

d.   This energetic action of the governments brought about, immediately after Clement's death, the election of **Clement XIV** (1769-1774, Ganganelli). He was no friend of the Jesuits. Yet only reluctantly in **1773**, in the papal brief *Dominus ac redemptor noster* did he **dissolve the Order for all time**, because it sowed dissension everywhere, spread doctrines dangerous to faith and morals, and was bent on earthly possessions. Frederick the Great vouchsafed protection to the Jesuits and used them to revive the Catholic Schools in Silesia. Catherine II of Russia allowed the whole organization to continue with their rights in place in her country in order to assert her hegemony in Poland.

e.   Meanwhile the anti-curial struggle of the German bishops continued apace. Now it received new sustenance. In Rome, subsequent to the death of Clement XIV, under suspicion of poisoning as it was, there followed Pius VI (1775-1799), another Zelant. But he was able to support the Jesuits only in secret. He compensated by exerting himself the more in another cause. In Bavaria, the elector Karl Theodor (1777-1799) succeeded Maximilian Joseph. Under his sway the reforms of his predecessors disappeared again. He also requested of Pius a nuncio from Munich. But as early as 1582, the archbishops of Germany had been burdened with the established nunciature in Cologne. Now in 1785, when the Nuncio Pacca appeared in Munich, the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, Trier, and Salzburg in 1786 rose to protest in the **Ems Punctation** [preliminary statement], and demanded an independent German Catholic church. At the same time a free Catholic university was established to which even Protestant teachers were called. Nonetheless the curia won out in the controversy because the bishops, just as in the time of Charles the Bald in France, sided with the pope who lived beyond the mountains. Pius had the satisfaction of knowing that the aged Nikolaus von Hontheim had already in 1778 suffered himself to be coerced into recanting. But on the other hand it had to be Pius VI who would be compelled to experience the total collapse of the hierarchy under Napoleon.

f. In Germany in 1776 the **Order of Illuminati** was founded by Adam Weishaupt, a Jesuit fledgling and a professor in Ingolstad, in order to disseminate propaganda for the Deistic Enlightenment. He had learned the method from the Jesuits; from the Free Masons he had borrowed the forms of constitution. Many Protestants,

for example, Karl August von Weimar, Goethe, and Herder were members. Baron Adolf von Knigge, known for his writing on decorum, belonged to the Order too, and fell into disagreement with Weishaupt. This seriously compromised the Order. Already by 1785, it had come to an end, when the Bavarian government dismissed Weishaupt from his professorship.

g.   Of greater importance were the **governmental measures** taken in the interest of the Enlightenment in **Catholic countries**. Under **Maria Theresa** (1740-1780) the Jesuits asserted a dominant influence in Austria, and they misused it too until the benevolent, strict Catholic sovereign had to take severe measures. She deprived the Jesuits of school administration and checked the aggrandizement of the Order and of monasteries. This occurred in consonance with the curia. Then she carried out the abolition of the Order itself. Her son **Joseph II** (1780-1790), already called emperor since the death of his father (1765), undertook a sweeping reform after the muster of Frederick the Great in the ten years of his incumbency. The Church was to become an institution of the state and of the national Enlightenment. The emperor issued the **Patent of Toleration** in 1781 which, while it allowed the Roman Catholic Church a privileged position, secured permission for Lutherans, Reformed, and Greek Orthodox. They enjoyed equal civil rights with the others and freedom of worship, but had to put up with all manner of restrictions (no bells, steeples, or direct access from the streets; Catholic education of children from mixed marriages; surplice fees paid to the Catholic church; inheritance of real estate only by special dispensation). For the Catholic church Joseph planned the effectuation of a national church: 1. independence from Rome (prohibition against appeal, sovereign approval, regulation of episcopal boundaries); 2. reform of monastery life, discontinuance of the orders and of regulations not conducive to national enlightenment (contemplative orders, seminaries for priests, pilgrimages, etc.); 3. reform of public worship and preparatory training for priests (German language to be used in divine service; limitation of relics, pilgrimages, and ceremonies; preaching; training in state seminaries; prohibition against studying at the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome); 4. reform of marital rights (divorce and the right to remarry). Pope Pius tried to countervail this reform in 1782 with a trip to Vienna, but in vain. Nevertheless, this Josephinism proved to be merely an episode. The despotic method put clergy and nobility out of humor. In Belgium, which belonged to Austria, and in Hungary, the situation deteriorated into nation-wide insurrections.

h.   Leopold II (1790-1792), Joseph's brother and successor, under the influence of Scipione Ricci, had planned before this to bring about reforms in Tuscany (Synod of Pistoia, 1786), but foundered under the opposition of the bishops. As Joseph's successor he ruled in Austria in the spirit of his brother, but in Belgium he yielded. Beyond these efforts, here too the Enlightenment had little influence among the populace, more among the elite. Yet **mysticism** was dominant in many respects, whether in the classical form of the Münster Circle, or in the evangelical form of the Dillinger Circle, or among most of the lower clergy in other areas, following the ideas of the **Liguori** [or Redemptorists, founded in 1732]. Theology remained largely under the influence of Liguori. The works of Mansi [*Acts of the Councils,* 1759 ff.] and the Assemanni at this time went even farther. The theology of the Enlightenment was cultivated in the high schools of the Rhenish electors and in Würzburg and Salzburg. It was biblicistic and oriented towards the national church. Isenbiehl in Mainz, Blau in Bonn, and Werkmeister in Stuttgart were the main advocates.

§250. The American Church.

a. The history of America in this period is divided into two parts by the Declaration of Independence. The time before 1776 is still occupied by Pietism and by the organizational work of the churches. The churches however still felt dependent upon the homeland. After the war the idea of independence communicated itself to the churches, even to those which for quite some time were still strongly affected by the immigration from Europe.

b. The **Catholic church** was sensibly affected in two ways: the destruction of French missions and the establishment of an American episcopate. During the Seven Years' War the French and Indians in the northern parts of the American colonies had to combat the English. In the Peace of Paris [1762-3] the English received all of the French possessions in North America and Spanish Florida. The Spanish received the domain west of the Mississippi previously claimed by the French. Immediately thereafter the Jesuit Order was disbanded. Owing to the marked English hatred for anything Catholic, the French mission colonies were destroyed wherever the English went, but nothing new would replace them. Nor in the east did the Catholics fare especially well. The cultivation of the church was lacking. As early as 1745 a Latin school for Catholics had been set up in Baltimore, but a church administration with some understanding of the developments in the English colonies was missing. When the English took possession of the French colonies in 1763, American Catholics were assigned to the bishop of Quebec. That prelate however paid but little attention to his wards in the English colonies, and they were assigned to the supervision of the apostolic vicar of London. After the colonies separated from England, however, the bishop of London refused to look after the Americans any more. Eventually then in 1790 **John Carroll** of Baltimore was consecrated apostolic prefect.

c. In the **Protestant church** the first result of the Awakening and of the influences generated by the mission journeys of the Wesleys, Zinzendorf, and Whitefield, was that Mühlenberg and Schlatter came to organize the **German** Lutherans and Reformed. Thus as early as 1748 a **Lutheran synod** convened in Philadelphia; by 1750 Mühlenberg was working also in New York; in 1760 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was founded and in 1774 the Ministerium of New York. The **Swedish** Lutherans still remained under Swedish royal protection. With Wrangel, their superintendent, Mühlenberg was on good terms. Both men felt almost at home in the English Episcopal Church. Both recognized the necessity of providing indigenous pastors. But Wrangel was called away from the Swedes, and thus his countrymen over here lost their identity among the English Episcopalians and the German Lutherans. Even the Germans, because of their native inclination to adopt foreign ways, were in danger of losing their identity among the English.

d. In the **English** church in America the Awakening set off a tidal wave which brought on divisions. The antagonism of Pietistic ideas, the ideas which had formerly figured among the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, led directly to **Jonathan Edwards** (d. 1758) setting to work at rounding out "**American theology**." His followers in this effort were Bellamy (d. 1790), Hopkins (d. 1803), Edwards Jr. (d. 1801), Emmons (d. 1840), and Dwight (d. 1817). Some of these men were related to each other, some succeeded one another as students and teachers down to the first third of the 19th century. They studied, taught, and held administrative offices at Harvard, Yale (founded 1701), and Princeton (founded 1745). Jonathan Edwards' ideas ran somewhat as follows: 1. man is able to fulfill God's will, he just does not want to; 2. virtue is selfless love; 3. God's actions in salvation and punishment proceed from his benevolence for the whole human race; and 4. the individual human is part and parcel of his nation. So while, on the one hand, the total efficacy of God remains in effect, the responsibility falls on man anyhow. This modification qualifies Calvinistic determinism, but the Gospel as well. Bellamy emphasized universal salvation and vicarious atonement. Hopkins emphasized the sole efficacy of God in the Calvinistic sense. Edwards Jr. held the salvation of the individual to be an act, not of righteousness, but of the free will of God. Emmons was a Supralapsarian [the Fall itself was part of God's eternal plan]. Dwight stressed the contrary, that God is not an originator of sin.

e. From the clash of orientations there arose then the division between **Old** and **New Lights** or **Sides**, in which the old adhered to their fossilized habit of leaning toward Latitudinarianism, while the new put more stock in revival than in doctrine. The particularities revealed the following divisions. The "Free Will Baptists" had been in existence as early as 1729 among the **Baptists**; in 1780, in the wake of the collisions in American theology, the "Original Free Will Baptists" emerged; they did not recognize the others as such, who despite

their new leanings kept the old name. Then there were the *"Separate Baptists,"* who took part in Whitefield's revivals. Some of them in 1790 rejoined the Regular Baptists and adopted the name *"Union Baptists."* In 1774 the *"Reformed Presbyterians"* branched off from the **Presbyterians**. Already in 1723 the Baptists were known as "Dunkards" among the **Germans**. In Germantown, Christian Sauer, the first Bible publisher in America and one of the first to endorse independence for the country, belonged to the Dunkards. From these again, as early as 1728, the German "Seventh Day Baptists" branched off under the leadership of Konrad Beissel. Likewise, in 1770, the *"River Brethren"* left the mainstream of the German Reformed, and in the course of time split up into numerous small groups. That same year the first Mennonite congregation took shape. Also the Schwenkefelder severed themselves from the majority. In 1765 the German-Irish Philipp Embury (Eimburg) and his partisans, who in Europe had belonged to the Methodists, came over from Limerick in Ireland. Here they held their classes among all Protestant communities without founding a congregation of their own. In time, however, by 1772, it became necessary for Wesley to send them Francis Asbury to function as superintendent in Wesley's place. In 1784 Wesley ordained Dr. Thomas Coke as superintendent by virtue of his "plenipotentiary episcopal power" (which he did not want to apply in England because of his membership in the state church, but now, because of the separation of the United States from England, he could exercise for America). That same year the **Methodist Episcopal** Church was organized, and since 1788 its leaders have been designated bishops. They esteemed Wesley's *Notes*, *Sermons*, and *Minutes* as confessional writings.

f. There were four general results of the summary ecclesiastical development: 1. the expansion of the Baptist community; 2. the enhancement of religious interest; 3. the freedom of individuals to transfer church membership; 4. a sense of fellowship permeating all Protestant churches. Above all, Americans stood allied against England. From 1775 onward they were engaged in the War of Independence (1775-1783), in the course of which Germans played a more telling role, both in initiatives and performance, than they are credited with in most American histories. In 1776 the Declaration of Independence ensued, in which 13 states declared freedom to be an inalienable human right. In 1789 the **Constitution of the United States of America** was ratified, guaranteeing to all religious creeds which do not endanger public morality, unrestricted freedom of religion and worship. Every communion however had to fend for itself.

g. During the War the Episcopalians, Methodists, and Quakers suffered oppression because the Episcopalians and Methodists were ecclesiastically allied with England, and the Quakers for the most part were opposed to any kind of warfare. During the war, John Murray, a protégé of Wesley's, founded the **first Universalist congregation** in Gloucester, Massachusetts (1779). That same year, under the leadership of Elhanan Winchester, **The Society of Universal Baptists** branched off from the Baptist community. In 1794 the General Assembly of the Presbyterians expelled the Universalists from their midst. In 1792 the first **Church of the New Jerusalem** (Swedenborg) was founded. That same year too a communistic society, the **Shakers**, established itself under the leadership of Anna Lee, who required communal property ownership and celibacy of her adherents. In 1800 Otterbein founded the **United Brethren in Christ** among the Germans, following Wesley's plan. But because efforts to make the Germans English were part of the understanding, again the *Albrechtsbrüder*, the **Evangelical Fellowship**, branched off from this group (1807).

B. The Bankruptcy of the Enlightenment, 1789-1815.
§251. The Revolution.

a. The religionless state. No sooner had the one church resolved itself into three in the Reformation than the idea of the religionless state necessarily had to follow. There are even hints of this to be found in Luther. Now it was of the essence to pour the Gospel into the new form, that is, to restructure the external mechanism in such a way that the church should be freed from political and social influences. That did not happen, at least

not generally, and not completely, because the political and social developments had not matured to such a point as yet. The state was bound to run the church, or the church was bound to run the state. Nor did Lutheran dogmatics find the right definition because in such external matters the conditions at the time and the corresponding views still set the standard. Thus at length the idea of the religionless state had to force its way into human conditions. In America this occurred at first as a result of the combined product of Luther, Calvin, non-conformists, independents, Lutheran orthodoxy, Grotius, Pufendorf, Thomasius, Pfaff, Montesquieu, Quakers, Baptists, and Germans in America. But America was not as yet reacting upon Europe, and the European conditions were so tangled and deep-seated that the application of force there had to be greater than in America. The opportunity offered itself unbidden in France.

b. The conditions in France. Because of Catholicism and the wretched political economy in the reign of both Kings Louis, the storm had to come here in order to prove that Gallicanism was not an idea of ecclesiastical freedom, but of absolutism. The dissolution of the Jesuit Order, the re-awakening of episcopalism, especially in Germany, and the reforms of Joseph II, were forewarnings of the storm. The immediate conditions which gave rise to the storm were of a complex nature. They can be summarized in the phrase *ancien régime,* the old system. For generations people had been complaining about the poor conduct of foreign affairs, about the financial depression, about unchecked absolutism, and about the privileges of the favored classes. Nobility and clergy, numbering some 300,000 favored (out of 24 million), were tax exempt and claimed all of the lucrative honorary positions. The bourgeoisie, though now grown vocal, had to bear the burden and gained nothing from the financial and political operations. Add to these the venal offices, the unbending requirement of artisans to join a guild, the poverty, particularly of the farmers, and the immoral presumption of the upper classes. In the intellectual paralysis always overshadowing such combustible conditions, absolutism had allowed the new political and ecclesiastical ideas to mature in England and Germany and then to be preached by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and others in France. The summary result of these antagonisms was that the glory of the nation was diminished, her wealth squandered, her laws destroyed, and her leaders had no *esprit*.

c. The Revolution. This describes the situation at the death of Louis XV. The young Louis XVI (b. 1754, r. 1774-1793), it was hoped, might help. He summoned new men to his presence: Turgot, Malesherbes, and Necker, but the stupidity of his spouse, Antoinette of Austria, and his own incompetence impeded their work, not always responsibly discharged by them either. So by 1789 things had gone so far that the Third Estate in the *Etats généraux* set itself up as ***Assemblée nationale constituante***. Notwithstanding Mirabeau's countervailing influence, the Bastille was stormed on July 14, and on August 4 feudal rights were rescinded, and the peasants became lords of the land. Many aristocrats fled the country (émigrés). In October the King was compelled to remove from Versailles to Paris. In December, under the influence of the democratic Jacobin club (assembly hall in the Jacobin monastery), an influence which spread across the whole country, a new classification of the country into 83 departments was decided upon; in February of 1790 there came the dissolution of all monasteries and spiritual orders and the confiscation of patrimonies as national property, also the *Constitution civile du clergé* (83 dioceses, canton-parishes, 10 archbishops, election of pastors by all citizens of the canton including Protestants and Jews, election of bishops by department administration, with priests to swear upon the constitution), the issuance of paper currency, and the celebration of the "Festival of Fraternity." Mirabeau died, the King fled but was remanded and in 1791 forced to sign the constitution. When the pope protested against this action, they deprived him of Avignon and Venaissin.

d. Now the *Constituante* dissolved to be replaced by the ***Assemblée legislative*** (1791-1792). In the new assembly the Girondists (named after the department where the leaders hailed from) took precedence over the Feillants (a branch of the Cistercians whose monastery served as the place of assembly of this political club, named after the order), loyalists to king and the law. They upheld the laws against the émigrés and against the

priests who refused the oath in obedience to the demand of Pope Pius. Meanwhile the **First Coalition** was formed between **Prussia** under Friedrich Wilhelm II and **Austria** under Franz II (1792-1835). France declared war against this coalition. Because of the law banishing priests who refused to take the oath, tumults arose, and the King, who refused his consent, was put into prison (*temple*). This made the Jacobins Danton, Marat, and Robespierre masters of the situation. In September [1792], 1500 aristocrats were murdered/slaughtered.

e. *La convention nationale,* 1792-1795. On the motion of the Montagnards ("Mountain Party," so-named because they occupied the upper ranks of the seats in the assembly hall; the common council had the vote of Jacobins and *Sansculottes* (without breeches because they wore long trousers), the king was executed in January of 1793, and a Revolutionary tribunal was set up. This toppled the Gironde [moderate republican assembly]. Now the civil war began in the south. Marat was murdered by Charlotte Corday in July; Toulon and Lyon were subjugated. Terrorism of the guillotine. **Christianity was officially eliminated in October**. With a new chronology introduced, Christian festivals were prohibited, the "Festival of Reason" was instituted with a corresponding dedication of Notre Dame on the 10th of November. Assaults on churches led to the demolition of 2,000 churches, including the Strasbourg Cathedral. In April of 1794 Danton was executed. Robespierre's reversal; recognition and festival of the Supreme Being in May. Robespierre was executed in July, and terrorism was ended by the Thermidorians (Thermidor=hottest month, namely, July, in which Robespierre was overthrown, hence the name of the victors), Carnot, and the *jeunesse dorée* ("golden youth," gallants, opponents of the *Sansculottes*). In February of 1795 religious freedom was restored. An insurrection of the Jacobins was crushed in May. An insurrection of the Royalists was suppressed in October by **Napoleon Bonaparte**, general of the Convention, and the **Directory,** composed of five men with a bi-cameral system, Council of Seniors and Council of the Five Hundred, was instituted.

§252. Napoleon.

a. Meanwhile the **First Coalition War**, 1792-1797, was being fought. All of the powers were engaged except Switzerland, Venice, Genoa, Turkey, and Scandinavia. In the course of the war Poland was partitioned among her neighbors, in 1792 for the second time and in 1795 for the third, because prior to this there had been a republican uprising in Poland under Koscziusko. Napoleon subjugated Italy and set up the "Cisalpine Republic." In 1798 he subjuaged France also, in opposition to the peace provisions, and established the "Ligurian," "Roman," and "Helvetian" Republic. The pope had to pay 39 million lire, relinquish his pontifical state, and was at last led captive to France where he died in 1799. France now, at the Rastatt Congree (1797-1799), demanded the entire left bank of the Rhine. In 1798 Napoleon went to Egypt. [In the *Corrigenda*, Koehler notes that in the same year Nelson defeated the French navy at Aboukir Bay.]

b. Hereupon England, Russia, Portugal, Austria, and Naples entered an alliance to engage in the **Second Coalition War**, 1799-1801. Napoleon hurried back to Paris from Syria and, with the *coup d'etat* of November, 1799, consolidated his position in the government as First Consul. The consulate constitution provided for two consuls, 80 senators, and legislation by the 300 with 80 tribunes. Napoleon won victories in 1800 at Marengo and Hohenlinden. Peace settlements were made in 1801 and 1802. Pius VII (1800-1823), elected under Austrian protection, entered Rome, backed by the Russians and the Turks. The Republic was eliminated, and the pontifical state restored. As consul Napoleon reinstated the Catholic church in France and in 1801 concluded a **concordat** with the pope. (Catholicism was recognized, not as the state religion, but as the religion of the majority of French citizens, and was legally and financially protected under the general supervision of the state. The state nominated the archbishops and bishops, the pope ordained them; bishops and clergy had to swear allegiance. Parish priests were elected by the bishop with government approval. Clerical endowments came from the state treasury. There was restitution of churches and of lost property). The

concordat, a model for many others in the 19th century, remained in force until 1905. The so-called **Organic Articles** of April 1802 were subjoined to this concordat without consultation with the pope (all synodical resolutions etc. and papal edicts subject to government approval, official acts of the clergy performed gratuitously, and right of appeal to the state council against the clergy, religious freedom, equality of rights, and right to organize for Protestants). The Catholic clergy were furious. The Reformed and the Lutheran churches of France were reinstated (Oberlin). In 1802, after Napoleon had been declared Consul for life, he issued the civil code, the civic law book (since 1807 called *Code Napoléon*). Thereupon in 1804 he was elected hereditary emperor and instated himself with elaborate pomp. In the presence of the pope he placed the crown on his own head. This provoked dissensions. In 1805 the Cisalpine Republic was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy, and Catholicism was elevated to the national religion. Meanwhile in Germany the **climactic resolution of the Regensburg Deputation** had been passed (1803), after the princes had made compensation for the surrender of the left Rhine bank by secularizing the spiritual domains. Only three spiritual imperial princes remained: the Elector of Mainz and the two grand masters of the Johannites and of the Teutonic Knights; there were six imperial cities, but ten electors.

c. Now the **Third Coalition War**, 1803-1805, broke out. England precipitated it. By 1805 Sweden, Russia, and Austria had joined. Prussia remained neutral. [Nelson destroyed the French and Spanish fleet at Trafalgar (1805).] In the Peace of Pressburg, December 1805, Austria lost Tirol and her claims in Italy. Bavaria and Württemberg became kingdoms. Napoleonic princes ascended the thrones of Naples, Holland, and Berg. In 1806 the German empire ceased to exist, and Napoleon set up the Rhenish Confederation. He dealt unworthily with Prussia, though. This brought on a war with unfortunate results for Prussia (Jena and Auerstadt, 1806). The French occupied Berlin, and the royal family fled to Königsberg. The Russians arrived too late to help, and in 1807 Prussia had to countenance all manner of limitations in the Peace of Tilsit. Westphalia was made a kingdom and Warsaw a duchy. Meanwhile Napoleon had proclaimed the Continental Blockade against England.

d. The defeat, however, served as an impulse to Prussia's rebirth. As minister in 1807, Baron **Karl vom Stein** saw his reforms carried out, which put an end to the nation's previous guardianship and filled the populace with the spirit of spontaneity, alertness, and emancipation (alleviation of the restraints on the sale of goods, abolition of vassalage, municipal ordinances granting cities their own election of officers and administration). After 1810 Count von Hardenburg continued this program by introducing freedom of trade and balancing imposts and taxes, and Scharnhorst reorganized the army to be recruited from the citizenry. The poets Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860), Theodor Körner (1791-1813), and Max von Schenkendorf (1783-1817) gave tongue to the soul of the people which in the process at once departed somewhat from the relaxed Rationalism till now publicly dominant.

e. Meanwhile Napoleon had overrun Portugal and intended to give Spain, which had replaced Charles IV with Ferdinand VII as its king, to his brother Joseph. This ignited the Spanish revolution in 1808. The Spanish were supported by the English under Wellington's command. In 1809 Austria too took up arms in the war but had to sue for peace and in 1810 gave Napoleon the Princess Marie as empress. Here the treaty between Alexander of Russia and Napoleon, in effect since 1807, broke apart because of the aggrandizement of Warsaw, the annexation of Oldenburg, and the Continental System [blockade]. In 1812 Napoleon set out for Moscow and returned with a fragment of his army. Now in 1813 the Prussians arose and, allied with Austria and Russia, drove Napoleon out of Germany, banished him to Elba (1814), and put Louis XVIII on the French throne. When Napoleon returned from Elba in 1815, he was defeated by the allies, now joined by England, at Belle Alliance or Waterloo, and exiled to St. Helena.

f. In politics, even before the close of this period, England had taken a lesson from America. As she had

ventured out, since Cromwell's time, upon the conquest of the global main in the interest of her own trade, in her war against France she had allowed herself to commit atrocities against America as well. The **United States** had put up with these affronts in the course of the First Coalition War under the regime of the "Federalist" (denounced for this as the *"British Party"* by the Francophile republicans, hence called "Democrats"), and for the time being had in fact prohibited her ships to conduct any trade abroad. But brazen infractions of the French Directory (the X.Y.Z. Affair) led directly in 1798 to a short naval war against France. When nevertheless in Napoleon's death throes against the island power, the reciprocal prohibitions and the "Long Embargo" of the henceforth republican administration of the American federated states were completely paralyzing the trade of the citizens, they imposed their will on the government in the 1810 elections, provoking the second war against England (1812-1814), as England refused to repeal her privy council edicts. Even though in the peace treaty the question of the "freedom of the seas" was tacitly bypassed, America's naval victories were not without effect.

g. Beginning in 1804 there had been differences between Napoleon and Pope **Pius VII** because Napoleon had given the empire precedence over the papacy. Consequently, Napoleon ordered Castel Sant'Angelo occupied (1808) and in 1809 dissolved the Pontifical State and subsumed it into France. When Pius fired back with excommunication, he was remanded to Savona and in 1812 brought to Fontainebleau and in 1813 compelled to sign a concordat which made him the first ecclesiastical official of France with his see in Avignon. The turmoil rampant after 1813 induced Napoleon in 1814 to restore the pontifical state shortly before his final abdication.

h. The Enlightenment had, with its individualistic subjectivism, discredited Holy Scripture and faith in it as unreliable and superfluous. It had replaced these with human reason and ascribed to reason a profitable function above all others and as its highest achievement, in the spirit of time, held out the hope of political freedom and with it the ultimate expectation of human well-being. Nowhere was anything like this realized. In America, of course, freedom from England had been arrived at, but there, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" of the individual wore no other mask after the war than before. The situation here remained what it had always been: the few who possessed might and means exploited these gifts to their own advantage and to the detriment of the masses. In France the commons had ventured a step ahead and had triumphed over the ruling and affluent classes. But its misuse of power was the most monstrous the world had ever seen and resembled insanity not only in its rage but also in its solemn actions (abolition of faith in God, etc.). Napoleon belonged to the Revolution as her son. His conduct displays the same characteristics of insanity described above and differs from the activity of the Revolution only in his awareness of his aims, which was unique to him as the action of an individual man. Thus the Enlightenment had in fact not only gone bankrupt, but what is harder to believe, the whole world recognized the fact as well. That is why the world turned to Romanticism which gave voice to this conviction.

§253. Romanticism.

a. The general foundations of Romanticism. Already parallel with Classicism one could discern a turn of mind which only later would spring up in the wake of the catastrophic Revolution and separate itself and take off from Classicism, and that was Romanticism. In **England** and **France,** it was originally little more than a pervasive presentiment of a refreshing feeling for nature in contrast to the hollow phrases of Anglo-French Classicism. In **Germany,** it was Classicism which had renewed the feeling for nature and a sensibility for history. There Romanticism was a literary movement, as opposed to intellectualism and moralism, both dominant hitherto in the Enlightenment, which particularly monopolized emotion. **Classicism,** of course, which had come into its own with its study of Greek antiquity, had also already taken issue with the aspects of the Enlightenment discussed above and had returned to nature and in its own soul had rediscovered an

animated creative imagination. But in all of this the classic sense of moderation had remained paramount. Within the orbit of Romanticism which at first endeavored to carry art into everyday life, everyone shied away from this sense of moderation. An overdone, wanton, abandoned subjectivism broke out, bent on breaking all conventional rules of art and morality and on activating a genial imagination without limitations. Hence there was an extravagance of emotion, taking special pleasure in the free play of the imagination, which then expressed itself in bombastic language. On the other hand, Romanticism at once adopted the ideas of freedom and especially those dwelling on the importance of personality. This Romantic trend also shared with Classicism a highly developed sensitivity to nature, influenced by Spinozan ideas. Up to this point the Romantic trend was of a **purely esthetic**, **mystical** nature. This was also still a characteristic of the previous Enlightenment. But now when the Revolution in France, itself partly an evocation of this excessive Romantic emotion, broke out in its abominations, Romanticism forsook the Enlightenment and in her studies returned to the time prior to the Enlightenment and there found law and religion, and on these foundations built the sense for patriotism, patriotic history, for history of any kind, and for the Christian religion, in the face of the contemporary or very recent feverish relapse into Greek paganism.

b. As a result of the fact that this retreat to the Middle Ages proceeded from, and at the same time was accompanied by, a strong excess of emotion, it often led emotion into a kind of mysticism for which Protestantism was not the answer and which consequently sought its salvation in Catholic ceremony. At length, in addition to this, we find the connection with circles which had preserved their faith for themselves throughout the previous period and from whom at the end of the 18th century the new evangelical impulse stirred. The Romantics in **England** were Charles Lamb (1775-1834), Robert Southey (1774-1843), William Cowper (1731-1800), Robert Burns (1759-1796), **Walter Scott** (1771-1832), Jane Austen (1775-1817), William Wordsworth (1770-1850), Samuel Coleridge (1772-1830), **Lord Byron** (1788-1824), Percy Shelley (1792-1822), John Keats (1795-1821), and Thomas De Quincey (1785-1859).

c. Wordsworth figures as the founder of this trend and as the poet of nature. Cowper added the religious note. Burns touched on the grass-roots. Scott is the story teller who transmitted national history to the nation. Coleridge made German philosophy and poetry at home in England and is the poet of metaphysical ideas which he found in nature and history, where it was chiefly beauty that attracted him. Byron was the most ingenious and at once the most capacious mind of all the English Romantics. At the same time, he was possessed of the revolutionary mentality of the time, now leading him to compulsive activism on the one hand, and driving him again to world weariness on the other. The English hated Byron in his time, while today they underrate him because they attach too much importance to external form. Shelley is the lyric poet of revolution. Keats is the lyric poet of beauty. De Quincey is the master prose stylist. The effectiveness of these men could not achieve universal significance because of England's isolation, and even at home they came into consideration for the church only in the subsequent period. In **France**, the Deistic cult of the Theophilanthropes of Paris had been spreading all over France after 1797, but soon fell into decline when Napoleon deprived the cult of its churches. Now by contrast, as opposed to the abandoned subjectivism of the Enlightenment and the atrocities of the Revolution, a revival of Catholicism colored by Romanticism took hold. The chief leaders were Francois Vicomte de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), who as a Romantic poet and politician advocated **Ultramontanism** during the first half of the 19th century (*Le Genie du Christianisme*), Count Joseph de Maistre (1754-1821), who as a state official in Turin operated with the same intention, and Louis Vicomte de Bonald (1754-1840), advocated the trend philosophically.

d. The really important center for Romanticism as it became significant throughout the 19th century was **Germany**. The first pioneers of early Romanticism were the brothers **August Wilhelm Schlegel** (1767-1845) and **Friedrich Schlegel** (1772-1829) and **Ludwig Tieck** (1773-1853) in Jena. Here a lively interplay of acute

minds (Fichte, Hegel, Reinhold, Woltmann, Thibaut, Voss, the two Humboldts, Steffens, Brentano) was in progress, and there was a general push against philistinism, which although it is always enthusiastic about poetry in books and from books, clings otherwise to pedantry and to the squalid and vulgar elements of life. The object of these pioneers was to convey poetry, as learned from Goethe, into everyday life. What they hoped to achieve was a uniformity of morals, of language, of views of life, of aspirations, and also of faith, "**the symbolical worldview**." Therefore, they criticized Schiller's dramatic characters, not entirely without cause, for being representations not quite lifelike and true. These critics addressed the sentimentality of the philistine domestic and family novels, the effeminacy of Kotzebue's dramas, the commonplace cavalier and robber romances of Zschokke and others written in the manner of Wieland. While bringing poetry into life, they at once lost focus in a pronounced absence of moral restraint, just as formerly in the time of the *Minnelied*, a danger ever lurking in the indulgence in mysticism and exuberance.

e. The verse these poets created is hardly the most distinguished of their products. They are important because they gave the world the history of literature and art and Shakespeare in classical translation to the Germans. The aspiration toward unity of the sum of life led directly to the recognition of ancient polity, of ancient royal rule, of feudal fidelity, and to Catholicism. The first intimation of this latter disposition appears in 1797 in the *Effusions of an Art-loving Friar,* by Wilhelm Wackenroder (1773-1798), a friend of Tieck's. Devotion and reveling in art are shown here to intermingle so completely, as had often happened before and after, that the poet remained mired in this pathological state of such Romanticism, even though possessed of a deeper, more substantive Protestantism. *Christianity or Europe* by Novalis (Count Friedrich von Hardenberg) 1799, the most eminent lyric poet of Romanticism, tends in the same direction: Mariolatry and hagiography. His spiritual lyrics are his best. In 1800 Friedrich Stolberg converted to the Roman church, in 1808, Friedrich Schlegel. The ostensible poetic movement, not deeply rooted in its understanding of the Gospel, could scarcely bring about much else, and Voss's *How Fritz Stolberg Became Unfree* falls somewhat short of the mark, because in matters like this only the Gospel can strike the right key.

f. The **reawakening of religious life at the grass-roots level** was something else. The Enlightenment had not unchurched the broad masses of the populace. Among them an unsophisticated, often profound devotion obtained. The Lutheran hymn, Bible, and catechism had engendered that attitude. In the last decades of the 18th century other preparatory factors were also Pietism and German Idealism among the **educated**. When the French hegemony and then the Wars of Liberation loomed, the Free Masonic cosmopolitanism and irreligious indifferentism of the educated citizenry were swept away under moral and material coercion. When Stein, a man of simple piety, began his reformatory work, he founded it on the grass-roots religious sentiment. Fichte and Schleiermacher helped along in this effort, even though their religious views differed entirely from the piety of the common folk. The poetry of the religiously attuned liberation songs of Arndt, Körner, Schenkendorf, and others, more nearly approximated this piety. Yet even in this poetry that which was specifically Christian retreated even further. God and immortality were the main themes, and Protestants and Catholics found themselves united. The theological fruits of Romanticism are to be found in Schleiermacher.

§254. Romanticism in Theology. Schleiermacher.

a. Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768-1834), son of a Reformed chaplain and a pious mother, was brought up in the Herrnhut schools in Niesky and Barby, but turned skeptic. Then, influenced by Kant's philosophy, he came to Halle and matured inwardly. He became a private tutor, in 1796 a Reformed preacher at the Charité in Berlin, and associated with Friedrich Schlegel [Shakespeare translator]. His *Lectures on Religion* (1799) date from that time. Religion is neither knowing nor transacting, but observing and feeling of the universe in the one-ness of all being. The main concern is not doctrinal tenets, but religious experience.

Hence the doctrine of the personality of God and the hope of immortality are immaterial. Every religion leads to congregational organism. Combination with government is ruinous. The Christian religion is the best; natural religion is a mere abstraction. But Christian religion, with Christ and Bible, may not be exclusive as if it were the only one. Schleiermacher's version was a Spinozan, pantheistic religiosity which reacted against Rationalism.

b. In his *Monologues* in 1800, Schleiermacher dealt with the moral life. Man must conquer himself in the free state of being. These tracts, written in what for us seems extremely stilted language, evinced their Romantic affinity. Because they tackled the essential questions in the form of Rationalism using a language saturated with ideas on art, it was just the pious at that time who could appreciate them, despite their often nebulous generalities and despite their contradiction of biblical doctrines. We can not expect of the majority of that time to recognize the fact that the actual content was still missing, because for over a hundred years now they had been living on forms without content.

c. Schleiermacher agreed to a transfer from Berlin to Stolp in order to terminate a relationship with a pastor's wife. Then he became professor of philosophy in Halle. When Napoleon closed the university there, he went to Berlin in 1807 as pastor of Trinity Church. From the founding in 1810 of the University of Berlin, he was a professor of theology there as well. His *Brief Outline of the Study of Theology* posited theology as an organic entity and practical theology as its fruit, a thesis which reorganized the whole course of theology in its external structure. His magnum opus appeared in 1821, ***The Christian Faith According to the Principles of the Evangelical Church***. In Schleiermacher's view, as he explains it in his *Brief Outline,* dogmatics is a historical discipline. It must account for what the congregation believes. Following its directives, everything in Christendom refers to Jesus. Religion is the feeling of absolute dependence on God. God is the highest causality, operative as omnipotence, eternity, and omniscience. Sin is the suppression of intellectual strength by the predominance of the sensory functions. Christ is the most sublime product of humanity, in a certain sense the same thing as the most sublime product of divinity. In him there existed the most sublime divine consciousness. The resurrection of Christ and the ascension are rejected as historical events. Redemption is the reception into the divine consciousness of Christ. Atonement is the reception into his blessedness. The Holy Spirit is not an individual essence, but the congregational spirit issuing from Christ in the church. The church is the fellowship of the born-again, animated by this Spirit.

d. In this teaching of faith Schleiermacher no doubt arrived at a more positive position, following the drift of the time in regard to Christianity, than in the *Reden und Monologen*, but at the same time, clearly, his explanations throughout dispense with the actual Christian core. He remained a Rationalist and Pantheist, not that anyone could fault him for deliberate improbity as a human (a certain pose reflecting the bustle of early Romanticism remained one of his peculiarities throughout his life down to his death, as for instance in his last celebration of the Lord's Supper). But anyone can see as well that his position must have boded ill for a theology which desires to call itself derived from the Bible, Christian, and at the same time following Schleiermacher. Schleiermacher himself never really found his footing (from a purely human perspective) with respect to any single concept (sin, redemption, reconciliation, consciousness of God, grace, God), but remained helpless in forms and in stock phraseology like Goethe, yet different, too, in that Goethe, being the greater mind in his circumspect, unpretentious manner when he read the Bible or observed the simple faith of the common folk, received some intuition from the greater content of the Bible of how all this contradicted his own opinions.

e. Thus in the re-awakening of faith Schleiermacher is responsible for theology remaining dead set in speculation and in the poverty of historical sense, even when engaged in the work of history. On the other hand, we must grant that for many, Schleiermacher was the impulse not only to rise out of Rationalism, but

also to stand proof against the intellectualism of orthodoxy. Still, all of that rests altogether on external forms. But anyone familiar with the run of history can understand how Schleiermacher pioneered the way for all theology down to the present day.

§255. Romanticism in the Philosophy of Post-Kantian Idealism.

a. Closely linked with the Romantic movement was the development of the new philosophy. The Enlightenment fostered the notion that man with his mind (his reasoning intellect) could profitably settle everything. Hume and Rousseau had protested against the intellect while Hume replaced it with sensation, and Rousseau with emotion. **Kant** however had reexamined the whole subject and disputed man's ability to arrive at understanding the world of appearances with his reason at all. Thus he did away with the old metaphysics (doctrine of transcendentalism) (as early as Hume, metaphysics had meant the doctrine of the bases of our cognition of things, and since Kant, the critique of reason has been practically synonymous with transcendent philosophy). The world, things in themselves, he had let stand. But he had given to the contemplation of man a different direction, that is the ethical, by the doctrine of duty, the categorical imperative. Thereby he had also ruled out philistine utilitarian preoccupations. Now then, the new philosophers applied themselves to the "things in themselves," denied their independent existence, and passed them off as conscious phenomena, products of the mind. So being was equated exclusively with idea, the mind. This constitutes post-Kantian Idealism. The philosophers in question were Fichte, Schelling, Hegel.

b. Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) of Saxony, already as a boy taken by a strong passion for action and a pronounced sense of duty with a decided pathos, came to Zurich as a private tutor with Spinozan and pedagogical ideas. There he aspired to oratory. His work entitled *Critique of All Revelation,* then considered Kantian, opened the door for him in 1794 in Jena. At the time he also endorsed freedom and the French Revolution until even Goethe took him for a democrat. But now he developed his philosophy. The **ego** for him is an existing certainty (Descartes), all else is **non-ego**. The ego disposes other things and is ordained to subdue them. God, according to Fichte, is merely moral world-order. People considered this to be atheism, and in 1799 it cost the philosopher his job. Then he proceeded to Berlin as a private scholar. The fall of Prussia shook him so that his philosophy now took on a mystical complexion resembling Spinoza's absolute Being. His *Addresses to the German Nation* in the winter of 1807, in which he roused the "educated" to devote themselves to the fatherland, won him wide affection. In 1810 he was called to the university. Christianity he held to be the pedagogical means of history. Religion for him was the unrestricted understanding of the moral world order as life-motive. Christianity was not mere doctrine, but constitution of life in volition and act. He envisioned a kingdom of freedom and equality of all men before God.

c. In Fichte the bombastic style of early Romanticism stirred. This style was polished by **Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling** (1775-1854). Schelling came from Württemberg and taught in Tübingen, Leipzig, Jena, Würzburg, Munich, Erlangen, and Berlin. He underwent two transformations. In his first period, 1794-1808, he was a pantheist, dependent on Spinoza and Fichte. Then he developed his **identity philosophy,** or his system of **Transcendental Idealism**. Fichte had not quite defined dualism as yet. Now Schelling did so. Not Ego and Non-Ego, but the identity of both constitutes the True. God is the Absolute whose two poles are mind and nature. God is the neutral force between Idealism and Realism. Additionally, there was Schelling's **nature philosophy.** Insofar as the mind of man is absorbed in creative activity, he views his own nature by intellectual observation in nature. Two energies of divergent force are infinitely active in nature; the result is organized nature. With these delineations, more imaginative than scientific, Schelling opened new ways for natural science to take in the whole picture in brilliant combinations, in poetic conception and explanations. The natural scientists Steffens, Schubert, and Oken were his adherents, but he incurred the disdain of most

professionals. He extended the same observational technique to **history** and in doing so happened on volition and on Christian-theological topics. In his second period, 1809-1820, he adhered more closely to scholasticism and Jakob Böhme. In the third period, 1820-1854, the debut of Hegel, his student, induced him to further, more positive explanations, which now however were overshadowed by Hegel's ideas.

d. Georg Wilhelm Hegel (1770-1831) first in Jena and after 1818 in Berlin, transformed Schelling's Identity System into logic and thus filled out post-Kantian Idealism with energetic speculative thinking, with magnificent systematic construction and exacting method. Only the True exists. The False is not the opposite but the negative of the single intellectual life pervading everything. The All originates according to the **principle of motion**. This principle, however, does not function according to the laws of intellectual observation, but according to the **kind of thought process** in position, negation, affirmation; in thesis, antithesis, synthesis. The Absolute is not a being complete to begin with, but the result of the self-locomotion of the concept. With these principles objective happening is in full accord. All happening is Being and non-Being. Insofar as it becomes something else, it negates itself and thereby enters upon a broader, richer happening. These ideas further enhanced the study of history and sociology and played in intimate context with the trains of thought of Romanticism. Thus there followed upon Kant's destruction of metaphysics a new metaphysical speculative system which drew religion also along into its compass. This required first of all, if not the right grasp of Christianity or the Gospel, then a titanic wrestling in the world to overpower the existing ideas about reformation, enlightenment, and revolution, and to arrive at clear, simple opinions again, and it entailed an entire series of reorientations. This work occupies the whole time down to the present great war, and the business of the subsequent chapters is to evaluate in its significance, from the contemporary point of view, every phase of this mental wrestling.

e. While these philosophers held the stage, there was another at work, one also conditioned by Romanticism, but who advanced more along Kant's lines, without fanfare, but later influenced the development of theology: **Jakob Friedrich Fries** (1773-1843), professor in Heidelberg and Jena. One of his critiques of Kant's ideas was that they did not sufficiently consider the empirical-psychological nature of transcendental cognition, but rather laid an aprioristic foundation for theoretical and practical philosophy. Trying to supply this deficiency, he was well aware of the limits of possibility in this respect. He posited three principles of knowing, believing, and premonition, and in this way, nearly in the manner of Jakobi, true to his Herrnhut lineage, he deepened and intensified the Kantian ideas.

f. Economic ideas. Certain ideas which the Revolution underscored were kept alive in this period, so that throughout the entire new century they evolved along with the restorations and created problems in politics and in social life, which this age has been trying to solve ever since. In England, Thomas Robert Malthus (1760-1834) extended the ideas of Adam Smith, setting forth his theory of population, namely, that population increases faster than the means of subsistence. Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) posited the principle, related to this idea, that happiness is the main object of existence. James Mill (1773-1836) declared that the morality of any action is determined by its utility. In France, Count Claude Henri Saint Simon (1760-1825), after failing in technical and economic enterprises in America and Europe, advanced the idea of a new organization of industry in the interest of workers, which became operational however only later, and was worked out among his students Thierry, Comte, Halévy, and Rodriguez.

C. The Modern Restoration, 1814-1917.
1. The Contest between Reaction and Revolution, 1814-1848.
§256. General Summary.

a. The Napoleonic wars were the direct result of the Revolution. Once they were past, life sprang up anew in

every field throughout the world. At first though, under the influence of Romanticism, a great **political and ecclesiastical** reaction set in, 1814-1835, in a return to pre-Revolutionary conditions with an intent to suppress any libertarian initiatives. This wave also swept up intellectual life. Poetry and art acquired new impulses. The Enlightenment was repressed. Church life too took part in this movement. A resurgence of ecclesiastical life took place which, moving recessively, promoted a fresh confessional stamp. Catholicism kept right on track in this turn of events. In 1814 the pope reinstated the Jesuit Order. But in 1817 the Reformation Jubilee made the world conscious of Luther's fresh, fertile ideas. The former Theistic religiosity now took on a confessional cast.

b. This reaction, however, compelled the political, liberal, and revolutionary aspirations to accommodate themselves to the present and to make a new start. They were even more able to do this as the reaction was producing no creative effect in any field. In the course of the ensuing struggles, though, the reactionary, or positive, aspirations also gained strength. From the antagonism engendered by these movements there rose a **median position** of liberalism in government, church, and culture. At the same time the two extreme trends continued strong. The ideas of the Enlightenment and of the **Revolution** found their voices in socialism and materialism. The **reaction** progressed to Ultramontanism and high churchianity. After 1870 intellectual life died down perceptibly all over, and economic interests so overwhelmed every aspect of intellectual life that nowhere could the most exalted ideas really strike fire. To make this happen would require the [present First World] War to cleanse the air, we hope, for a purer breath of the Gospel.

§257. Politics and Economic Life.

a. The Revolution had **quickened** the longing of nations for **independent governmental institutions.** These ideas went hand-in-hand with Free Masonic cosmopolitanism. But this cosmopolitanism, in consequence of the historical tendency of Romanticism, was enveloped in a new nationalism, in patriotic emotion. People were hoping for national and liberal constitutions with constitutional-monarchical authority. But when the representatives of the powers rearranged the alliances at the **Congress of Vienna**, 1814-1818 (Metternich, reactionary; Stein, progressive; Talleyrand, diplomatic), the idea of legitimacy combined with the monarchical form of government carried the day. In Spain, Sardinia, Tuscany, and Modena the old dynasties were reinstated. The pope got back the papal state. Austria received Milan, Venice, Illyria, Dalmatia, Salzburg, Tyrol, and Galicia. Prussia received part of Poland, Pomerania, Westphalia, the Rhine Province, and a part of Saxony. Russia took the largest part of Poland and Finland. Sweden kept Norway in personal union. Holland and Belgium were united into the "Kingdom of the Netherlands." England received some of the French and Dutch colonies. Only the spiritual principalities and the free imperial cities were not restituted. Even Austria did not want to have the "German Empire" again. Instead, the incompetent "German Coalition" with its 38 states under Austrian leadership and its assembly of the German diet at Frankfurt am Main was reinstated. All Christian confessions were guaranteed equal status. The governmental disorganization in Germany and Italy, however, failed to satisfy patriotic national expectations and led to more fighting in the time ahead.

b. Reacting to this dissatisfaction in 1815, the monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia formed the "**Holy Alliance**" under the religious Romantic influence of Frau von Krüdener. Alexander I was the soul of the federation; Franz I followed only reluctantly. They bound themselves to rule according to the precepts of the Christian religion. The monarchs wanted to regard each other as brethren and to be fathers to their subjects. By and by, all of the monarchs in Europe except the king of England joined the federation. The pope and sultan naturally were not involved. In its Christian aspirations the federation sprang partly from extreme absolutist ideas, partly from a not so seriously meant, but merely vagrant exuberance of Alexander's. In his devout, ingenuous soul Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia probably meant it as it read. The federation was aimed against

revolution and the Enlightenment, and was later exploited especially by Metternich against the further libertarian aspirations of the nations. Against it in the course of time England joined forces with America, and what came of that in 1823 was the Monroe Doctrine.

c. At these developments the nations were bitterly disappointed. From the same Romanticism which gave rise to the reactionary movements everywhere there sprang up corresponding **liberal tendencies.** In Germany in 1817, on the occasion of the Reformation Jubilee (*Wartburgfest,* 18 October 1817), the *Deutsche Burschenschaft* [German students' association] was founded, with the idea the students fostered of forming a free German empire under the influence of an opulent poetry in flower and of a thorough study of history but also promoted with a good deal of frenetic bustle. In March of 1819 Kotzebue, the German poet of risqué dramas, was murdered by the fanatic student Sand. Against these agitations in 1819 the **Karlsbad Resolutions** were issued in compliance with which the universities and the press were subjected to close observation as though they were sources of poison. The suspension of the students' association and the investigation of the demagogues followed, at whose hands the later humorist Fritz Reuter had to suffer. Only in the smaller kingdoms did they get around to the promised constitutions. In Prussia there were only provincial classes. In Spain and Italy **revolutions** flared up (the secret society of the *Carbonari*) against which Austria, representing the Alliance, intervened and crushed. The Spanish colonies in South America alone won out in 1811-1830 in their **struggles for liberation,** under the protection of the Monroe Doctrine. The liberation struggle of the Hellenes against the Turks in 1821-1829 (Byron) likewise succeeded. In Greece in 1832, Otto of Bavaria was installed as king. A **second series of revolutions** followed which began in 1830 in France, and continued in Belgium and Poland and then led to the Paris February Revolution of 1848 and finally to the crisis of 1848-1852.

d. In these years too **economic circumstances** were radically altered. With the improvement of the steam engine, invented earlier in 1769 by James Watt, large scale enterprise in industry was reserved for **capitalism**. Factories were built and the **wage-earner** class came into being. Beginning in 1801 steam was used to run locomotives. In 1822 Gauss and Weber invented the electromagnetic telegraph in Göttingen, which was perfected in 1837 in England by Wheatstone and Cooke and in 1844 in America. These inventions taken together greatly enhanced factory industry and the business connected with it. Saint Simonism (255 f.) then picked up the related ideas and set as the goal of true economy the acquisition of the means of production by co-operation. In France the distinction was already being drawn between *peuple,* the labor class, and bourgeoisie, the prosperous middle class. P.F. Proudhon (1809-1865) at that time coined the catch-word "Property is theft." Robert Owen (1771-1858) in England promoted socialism by means of tracts and communist experiments. All of these efforts served to excite the discontent of the fourth estate and to accelerate the looming greater revolutions of the coming years which were more the result of nationalist ideas.

§258. The New Romanticism.

a. Meanwhile Romanticism had turned into a national and more conservative general cultural trend. If the earlier group was individualistic and esthetically philosophical, the later group addressed national, historical ideas. If the former hung on to the heathen ideas of Goethe or the commonplace religious mind of the classical and pious time, the Romantics of this era played along with religious variations until 1848. As for the rest, the later Romantics like the earlier still went in for the visionary, the formless and the aimless, or for the medieval and the popular modes.

b. Following the example of earlier Romanticism, the devotees of the new school at first tried their hand at **epic** and **dramatic poetry**. E.T.A. Hoffmann (d. 1822) and Zach Werner (d. 1823) wrote horror stories and fatalistic tragedies, and the mediocre literature of the circulating libraries, of the theater, and of the best-selling

paperbacks and almanacs fell in line. Feminine novels, insipid plays and insipid piety; Clauren and his set (Christoph von Schmid's pious stories an exception). This craze gave way to the influence of Walter Scott's historical novels, as emulated by W. Hauff (d. 1827; *Lichtenstein*) and Willibald Alexis (d. 1871; Brandenburg romances). **Lyric poetry** fared better. Achim von Arnim (d. 1831), Brentano (d. 1842) and his sister, and Goethe's friend Bettina (d. 1859) had taken a cue from Herder in their interest in folk poetry, and in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* had limited themselves in the historical, national sense to the folksong of Germany. Fouqué (1843), who wrote mostly Germanic plays, expressed in his hymnody the feudal aristocratic pietism of the Reaction. Adalbert von Chamisso (d. 1838), a native Frenchman, sang the nostalgia of the exile in masterful German lyric poetry, in ballads, and in his fable *Peter Schlemihl*. Eichendorff (d. 1857) was the poet of the German forest and of travel and of idle dreaming (a result of the Reaction). Others let their fancy carry them abroad because home held nothing for them, the philhellenes to Greece, like W. Müller (d. 1827), others, in Goethe's wake, even farther east, among them Friedrich Rückert (d. 1866) and August von Platen (d. 1835). The Swabian school returned to the ballad and folk legend: **Ludwig Uhland** (d. 1869), G. Schwab, Justus Kerner, Eduard Möricke. Also from this nature–inspired lyric poetry emerged the brilliant popular tone of **Heinrich Heine** (d. 1856); only his impudent Jewish wit cast him, in his *Feuilletonistik*, together with the "Young Germany" crowd. This school too belongs under the head of Romanticism, but it paved the way for the end of Romanticism. In contrast to southern German congeniality and piety the rule here was northern German critique, doubt, and aggressive satire (Börne, Gutzkow, Laube). – **German poetry** was still alive. It lacked the grandeur of Goethe's time, but it was acquiring an earthy ring, the language of the 19th century, a benefit and also a detriment to the nation.

c. Somewhat different was the progress of the **visual arts**. During these hundred years nothing much had been happening in this field. Copper engravers like Chodowiecki, painters like Angelika Kauffmann, Tischbein, and Mengs, were already touched by classicism but without great content as yet. Then Asmus Carstens came to know the Greeks in their simplicity and also how to observe life as they did. In Rome at the same time **Antonio Canova** (1757–1822), in Württemberg Johann H. v. Dannecker (1758-1841), and in Berlin Johann Gottfried Schadow (1764-1850) attracted attention. These men were sculptors, and a little later the architect Karl Fr. Schinkel (1781-1841) joined them. They worked in the great classical vein at the beginning of the 19th century, and the last named founded the Berlin School, with the sculptor Christian Rauch (1777-1857) enrolling lastly, all of whom continued working in the classical vein, but with Romantic inwardness. Carstens (alluded to above) influenced the young Dane **Bertel Thorwaldsen** (1770–1844) in Italy so perceptibly that his technique gripped even the elder Antonio Canova. In Rome in 1815 the **Nazarenes**, a German school of painters influenced by the Romantic poets, met up with these sculptors, and beginning where the external forms of Baroque and Classicism left off, proved more concerned with spiritual expression than with pictorial finish. In Rome they found the support of the Prussian envoys Barthold Niebuhr (1831) and Christian K. Jos. Bunsen (1860), both part of the resurgence of faith in northern Germany, associated with Prussian Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm (IV) in advancing artistic aspirations. Peter Cornelius, the leader of the Nazarenes, as the most distinguished master of his time and following the philosophical trend in Germany, veered away from photographic fidelity to nature and thus helped to usher in the countervailing trend of Impressionism. Jos. Koch expressed the Romantic ideal in his landscapes. Schnorr (von Carolsfeld) and Richter applied themselves to illustration, the former in his illustrated Bible (in classical guise), the latter in his pious anthologies of illustration done in Romantic, homespun style. While the Munich and Berlin Schools were flourishing under the guidance of these masters, a school of painters under Niebuhr's influence began in Düsseldorf which led back from the conventionalism of Cornelius to more natural and more classical applications (W. von Schadow, a son of the aforementioned).

d. The development of modern German **historiography** is related to the rise of Romanticism and goes back to Herder and Johann von Müller (1752–1809). Philological research made an essential contribution, particularly the Germanic studies of the brothers Grimm. Somewhat opposed to the Romantic School, we find the **"Historical School"** which created the scientific method and historical criticism, the essence of modern German historiography. Epochal were J. A. Fr. Eichhorn (1781-1854), *History of German Law*, 1808–1828; Barthold Niebuhr, *Roman History*, 1811-1832; Friedrich Karl von Savigny (1779-1861), *History of Roman Law*, 1815-1831. But before these advances could be achieved, a thoroughgoing compilation of sources had to materialize. To bring this about, Baron Karl von Stein organized a society which commissioned G. H. Pertz (d. 1876) to edit the ***Monumenta Germaniae***. A series of preeminent men worked with these people without particular connections with them; the more important were Friedrich von Raumer (1784-1873) and Heinrich Leo (1799-1878). The latter turned Catholic. Opposed to these stood the "**Heidelbergers**" and the "**Rankeian School.**" The "Heidelbergers" originated with F. C. Schlosser (1776-1861) and combined literature and cultural history as Gibbon had done. In the next period Gervinus and Häusser adopted Schlosser's approach. Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) on the other hand promoted diplomatic history, so-called, which made the constitutional life of the nations its point of departure and the central theme of its purview. By his comprehensive research, brilliant critique, keen characterization, and magnificent universal historical perception, Ranke became the founder of genetic historiography, which won its commanding position by its method of systematic research of the sources. Ranke's disciple was G. Waitz (1813-1886), successor to Pertz as editor of the *Monumenta Germaniae*.

e. In **music**, Karl Maria von Weber (d. 1826) introduced Romanticism in *Der Freischütz*, the idiom of Beethoven's classical opera, striving for heightened passionate expression. Giacomo Meyerbeer (d. 1864), a native of Berlin, chose the Italian Rossini for a model, and composed his operas for Parisians in a little lighter style. Franz Schubert (d. 1828) carried Romanticism into the music of the German *Lied*, and Robert Schumann (d. 1856) into instrumental music. Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdi (d. 1847) emulated Bach and Händel, though he was influenced by the Romantic tone of his time. [In the *Corrigenda,* Koehler notes that "Frederic Chopin, the Polish pianist and composer in Paris, should have been mentioned here."]

f. In **England** where Romanticism first appeared, the **poets** named above kept on working (Romanticism in England continues only till 1837; then begins the Victorian age lasting till 1901). In this era the novel was rounded out particularly by Charles Dickens (d. 1870). Here too **historiography** advanced in conjunction with Romanticism: Henry Hallam's (d. 1859) *Constitutional History of England*, et al. In the highly developed political life of England, Romantic subjectivism was bound to be pronounced, and especially so with Thomas B. Macaulay (d. 1859), the master of style. **Architecturally**, England at the end of the 18th century was in the lead, not in the discovery of new forms (this seems to have terminated anyhow), but in the application of former styles. While architects in the Berlin School were using the ancient Greek forms with consummate mastery, the English chose the Gothic style they had never quite abandoned and thus introduced the great Romantic architecture of the mid-19th century on which rested the *Queen Victoria Style*, much in evidence since the 1850s (a kind of naturalism stamped on a base of Gothic, and especially Japanese, architecture). In the field of **painting** the English had William Turner, the landscapist, and Charles Landseer, the painter of animals.

g. In **France** under the empire the impulse of the works of Mme. De Stael and Chateaubriand initiated a vogue. In 1820 Alphonse de Lamartine (d. 1869) published his *Meditations poétiques*. But before long, the young Victor Hugo (1802-1885) assumed leadership. He discarded the shackles of convention and the apparatus of classical mythology and displayed a vigorous matter-of-fact idiom and an animated imagery and for materials delved into France's past. He looked to Germany and England for his standards: Goethe, Schiller,

Shakespeare, Calderon, Scott, Byron. The novel especially benefited from this: Balzac, Dumas (*pere*), Sue, Sand, nearly all of whom however wrote for a less discriminating readership. Whereas hitherto the classical school had only cast the universal into relief, the new school emphasized mainly historical verisimilitude and local color. Ranged with the poets were the **historians** who immediately fell into three schools: the systematic and rational, under Guizot, the descriptive, under Thierry, the fatalistic, under Thiers. Between the former two stood Michelet. There was a bewildering mass of memoirs from the time of the empire. In **music** the Italians had reigned supreme till the end of the 18th century. In the 19th century the French entered competition with the Italians in three categories: in the operetta, in grand opera, and in program music. Leading in the operetta was the light, graceful mobility of the French soul as evident in Auber, Mehul, Gretry, Boildieu, Adam, Herold. Cherubini is akin to the German classicists. At the same time, however, Offenbach of Cologne staged his commonplace burlesques in Paris. In 1830 Meyerbeer and Rossini initiated new action in grand opera: Gounod, Bizet, and Massenet. Berlioz and David set the style in program music. In the **fine arts** at this time the French had only painters: Eugene Delacroix, the founder (d. 1863), Horace Vernet (d. 1863), and Paul Delaroche (d. 1856), the most notable representatives of Romantic painting.

h. Italy had undergone a literary change since the middle of the 18th century, studying the ancients and Dante in response to English and German influences. From 1815 onward, upon the defeat of Napoleon, this exotic influence in the contest between Classicism and Romanticism made itself resonant. Romanticism carried the day, and her leaders were Allesandro Manzoni (1785-1873) and Silvio Pellico (1788-1854), distinguishing themselves in lyric poetry, drama, and novel writing, and for the most part cultivating the idea of the unification of Italy and embracing rigid Catholicism, although Pellico was suspected of Carbonarism. Italians at this time produced little of note in either architecture or painting. One phenomenon heralded the beginning of their intellectual resurgence, a classical master of the first magnitude, Antonio Canova. From that time forward the two schools of Canova and Thorwaldsen penetrated the reaches of all Italy.

i. For **Spain** the Amnesty of 1833 introduced Romanticism from France and England as something quite new: Angelo Saavedra, Duke of Rivas (d. 1865), a refugee, poet, and statesman after the French model. The visual arts in Spain in the 18th and 19th century down to 1880 did not have much influence.

§259. The Catholic Church in the Romance Countries.

a. When Pius VII returned to Rome in 1814, he immediately reinstated the Jesuit Order with the bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum* and condemned the Bible societies. This alienated most people, but it was altogether of a piece with the general recidivism to the conditions prevailing not only before the Revolution, but before the Enlightenment (besides, this move of the pope's might have been predicted by anyone who knew what Scripture thinks about the papacy). The pope's action set the tone for the progressive development of Catholic church's prospects. Everything conspired toward **Ultramontanism**, the logical form of Catholic confessionalism. Consalvi, the efficient papal secretary, succeeded in restoring the Papal States at the Congress of Vienna, and thereafter the papacy persecuted everything which had contributed to its temporary decline. It became the harshest opponent of all the achievements of the French Revolution and of modern culture in general.

b. The **popes**. Pius VII (1800-1823) was personally affable. Leo XII (1823-1829) was a Zelant and especially anti-Semitic. He re-activated the inquisition prisons and gave the Jesuits the *Collegium Romanum*. Pius VIII (1824-1830) showed moderation in the Cologne Church Controversy and against Louis Philippe (1830-1848) of France. Gregory XVI (1831-1846), a reactionary, condemned "brazen-faced science," indifferentism, freedom of the press, gas lighting, and railroad trains.

c. The **Jesuit Order** lost no time entrenching itself in every country. It was restored in Russia already in 1801, in 1804 in Naples. Every country followed suit, in Austria at first with restrictions, and in France only with the personal approval of Louis XVIII. Portugal alone resisted till 1832. Russia in 1820 removed the Order again. In 1824 the Curia surrendered the *Collegium Romanum* to the Order, and in 1836 the entire mission effort.

d. Right after Pope Pius returned to Rome, Consalvi got busy **reinstating** the old ties in the countries where the Revolution had brought about changes. In Spain under Ferdinand VII (1814-1833), in Sicily under Ferdinand I (1809-1825), and in Sardinia under Victor Emanuel I (1802-1821), the church was established as the state religion and was entrusted with the administration of schools. In France Louis XVIII (1814-1824) sought to renew the Concordat of 1516, but the legislative chambers and public opinion held to the 1801 Concordat. In **Italy**, political and ecclesiastical abuses led to popular uprisings in Naples and Piedmont (secret society of Carbonari) in 1820. Metternich, empowered to act by the Holy Alliance, subdued them. Now in 1831 when the darkly negative Gregory succeeded Pius VIII, the commons revolted again, and for the second time were suppressed by **Austria**. Gregory and his secretary Lambruschini bore down on every sign of cultural life, but had to stand by when Austrian and French troops occupied Italian soil and fed the fires of popular hatred of foreigners and clergy. Here notwithstanding, after 1843 there emerged the neo-Guelfian school of the philosopher Antonio Rosmini and of the priest Vincenzo Gioberti, who melded Catholicism and Italian national unity with Romanticism. Beyond this, Romanticism was advocated by the poets Silvio Pellico and Alessandro Manzoni.

e. Austria's victories in Italy provoked **France** to envy, and she sped to make forays into Spain. In **Spain** the military insurrection of 1820 was directed against the Jesuits and was suppressed by France under orders of the Holy Alliance. But on Ferdinand's death his infant daughter Isabella (1833-1868) became queen, and her mother Christina conducted the regency with a liberal approach (as in the struggle between Christinos and Carlists, adherents of the despot Don Carlos, Ferdinand's brother). The commons raged against churches and monasteries, and the *cortes* were compelled to abolish monasteries, tithes, and church lands. This was changed only after 1843.

f. In **Portugal** John VI ruled from Brazil. But in 1820 the *cortes* worked out a constitution, and when John arrived in 1821, he was constrained to confirm it by oath. In 1822 his son Pedro was proclaimed emperor in Brazil, and the country wrested itself free of Portugal. But in 1826 John VI died, and Pedro of Brazil waived the Portuguese crown in deference to his daughter Maria, whom he gave in marriage to his brother Miguel. Miguel (1828-1834) usurped the government in a reactionary move. In 1834 however Pedro dethroned and expelled him, re-introduced the liberal constitution, and Maria da Gloria reigned until 1853, and was reconciled with the curia.

g. The first Spanish war gave the **Spanish colonies in America** an opening in 1808 to refuse recognition of King Joseph and in 1810 to achieve independence. New Granada, Peru, and Mexico thereupon initiated the bloody war of 1814-1829. In 1822 Mexico declared herself independent, and when France showed signs of intruding, Monroe, president of the United States, proclaimed the "Monroe Doctrine," which forbade European monarchies to be established on the American continent. In consequence, Spain lost all her colonies in 1825 except Cuba, and Brazil was recognized as a special imperial kingdom under Dom Pedro. In these conflicts the Enlightenment stood opposed to the Roman church. For all that, the Roman church remained unshaken by this turmoil. Not until the later conflicts was liberalism driven into anti-clerical channels, and then the church was often met with restrictions (in regard to monastic life, holy days, church property, the Jesuit Order).

h. In **France**, after the overthrow of Napoleon, a reaction had set in (the "white horror" of the white Jacobins, the murder of Protestants in southern French cities; the hyperroyalist chamber), which proved too much for even King Louis, a man of moderation. The reactionary principals were the king's brother Charles and his

sons. The murder in 1820 of the second son, the duke of Berry, by a radical, gave the upper hand to these Ultras. **The Romantics and the Jesuits** agreed on the principle that the only remedy against subversion was total submission to the infallible pope. The abbé Robert de Lamennais (1782-1854) and the senator Joseph de Maistre were the literary advocates for this school of thought. The Romantic poets Chateaubriand (1768-1848) and the young Victor Hugo (1802-1895) stood shoulder to shoulder with them. Although still barred from France, the Jesuits, as "fathers of the faith," received the surrendered minor seminaries (gymnasia, junior colleges) and provided pre-theological training for the prospective clergy. Under Charles X (1824-1830) the Reaction went to an extreme (annulment of the freedom of the press and of the franchise for the trading class), and provoked the opposition of the liberals (Guizot and others) and brought on the **Revolution** of 1830 when the clerical Bourbons were deposed, and the liberal Orléanists were enthroned. The priests Lamennais and Henri Lacordaire (1802-1861) resigned themselves to this citizen kingdom, and the Count Charles de Montalembert (1810-1870) also sided with them. In the newspaper *L'Avenir*, 1830-1832, they joined democracy with Ultramontanism. But Pope Gregory condemned the newspaper and its principles, and Lacordaire and Montalembert conceded. In 1848 Lacordaire, a Dominican renowned as a pulpit orator, and Montalembert both again became Republicans. Lamennais on the other hand ventured farther and in 1834 broke altogether with the papacy in his *Paroles d'un croyant*, now proclaiming Christianity and socialism for the common people. But the papal votaries founded the newspaper *L'Univers,* edited from 1840 by Louis Veuillot, which won over French society and ultimately also the royal court for Ultramontanism.

i. In the **Netherlands** Wilhelm I (1815-1840) had in his reign favored Dutch interests above the Belgian Catholic. Despite the Concordat of 1827 the Belgian Revolution broke out (1830), in which anti-Oranian liberalism and clerical democracy coalesced. **Belgium** became a constitutional monarchy with its Protestant King Leopold von Koburg, who promised, however, to have his children brought up Catholic. The University of Louvain was established as Ultramonanist, and monasteries proliferated. After the Revolution, liberalism again separated from its predominant ally, and the liberal University of Brussels was founded.

k. In **England**, Catholics, although enjoying freedom of worship since 1791, were deprived of political rights. In Ireland most of the commons were Catholic, the landed magnates Anglican. The people in the pew had to compensate their priests out of their own pockets and pay the tithe to the Anglican church besides. Since 1809 the Irish people, led by Daniel O'Connell, had risen up against this tyranny. Under the scepter of the condescending George IV (1820-1830) the Tories Wellington and Peel consented at last (1828) to the **revocation of the Test Act** and in 1829 to the **Emancipation Bill**, which granted Catholics equal status. But they were neither relieved of the tithe, nor did they gain "Home Rule" for Ireland; for the poor common folk, nothing was done. The dissatisfaction resulting from this failure was intensified by the economic depression (failure of the potato harvest in 1845), and from 1840 onward many Irish emigrated to America, where anyone could find work in the construction of the Erie Canal.

§260. The Catholic Church in Germany.

a. In **Germany**, in accordance with the Peace of Vienna, the secularization of the spiritual principalities continued as before, despite the wishes of the Jesuits. Prominent Catholics pursued interests other than those of the orders and allied themselves with the princes, who had been compromised by the secularizations. The primate Karl von Dalberg (d. 1817) and the diocesan vicar of Konstanz Heinrich von Wessenberg as well as Metternich favored a German national church. These people, for all their Romantic inclinations, had not yet won out against the Enlightenment. Consequently, their efforts were bound to prove fruitless. The Curia likewise failed to reach agreement with the German confederacy. That is why it signed **concordats** with individual states, beginning with **Bavaria**, where Maximilian von Montgelas was the minister of Max Joseph

(a national church with two archbishops, Munich and Bamberg; nomination of bishops and of some parish priests, and the assent to ecclesiastical edicts reserved for the king; restitution of seminaries and monasteries). When the 1818 Concordat was published, the so-called Religious Edict was published at the same time, granting Protestants complete equality of rights.

b. In other states all they received were **circumscription bulls** (redelineation of dicocesan boundaries). Prussia acquired two archbishoprics, Cologne and Gnesen in Posen. For episcopal election the cathedral chapters received the instruction to elect no one unacceptable to the crown. After seven years of negotiation Hannover received two bishoprics with the Irish electoral procedure (party list system, in which the Catholic governments proposed and the evangelical governments might annul, first employed in Ireland). For Württemberg, Baden, Hessen-Darmstadt, Hessen-Kassel, and Nassau in 1821 and 1827 there were reserved two uncompromising bulls. Frictions ensued on that account. The Archbishopric of Freiburg. Switzerland constituted six minor bishoprics subordinate to the pope in 1828. In the Netherlands there was an unsatisfactory concordat with nomination of bishops. In Saxony and Austria, there was no new settlement.

c. In **Germany** at first a **liberal state of mind** prevailed (Dalberg and Wessenberg). A learned theology had evolved which, through its organ, the *Tübingen Theological Quarterly*, participated impartially in the work of Protestant theology in Germany, and especially in exegesis (Hirscher, Hug, Staudenmeyer in Freiburg; Hermes and Hilgers in Bonn; Günther in Vienna; Balzer in Breslau; Baader, influenced by Schelling, in Munich; Schmid in Giessen). Sailer was still living, but in 1832 died as bishop of Regensburg. Under the leadership of the brothers Augustin and Johann Anton Theiner, clerical societies sprang up everywhere advocating the abolition of celibacy. But then the Romantic tendency turned to **Ultramontanism**. Secularization had allowed Rome increasing influence on bishops, and the political situation promoted it. Even many Protestants turned Catholic: Fr. Schlegel, Fr. Stolberg, Zach. Werner, Adam Müller, the national economics opponent of Adam Smith, and the Prussian lawyers Jarcke and Philipps. When many Protestant academicians such as Niebuhr, Bunsen, and Ranke vindicated this revival of Catholicism from the perspective of human rights, although factually they judged correctly, it only helped to scramble the alliances, because their judgment proceeded more from Romantic impulses than from evangelical understanding and was harnessed to wrong principles concerning the amalgamation of church and state.

d. The new trend toward Ultramontanism soon became apparent in the popularization of **miracle piety** as fostered by the Jesuits. Miraculous cures (Prince Alexander von Hohenlohe; d. 1849, whose cures in 1821 however were not corroborated by Rome; exhibition of the sacred robe at Trier in 1844), stigmatizations (phenomenon of the Lord's wounds appearing in the sick: A. Kath. Emmerich (d. 1824) in Westphalia, and the confirmation of the occurrence by Brentano, Sailer, Overberg, Stolberg; after 1824 there were many more incidents).

e. The recent trend toward Ultramontanism became apparent in the **persecution of the Sailer circle**. The upshot of this persecution was that Sailer's beloved disciple, the amiable Melchior von Diepenbrock, turned Ultramontanist and became bishop of Breslau and cardinal before his death in 1853. The parish priest [Martin] Boos in Bavaria (d. 1825) was hunted down to Prussia but remained in the Roman church. Ignaz Lindl (d. 1834) and Joh. Gossner (d. 1858) were driven out and in 1824 and 1826 respectively converted to the Evangelical confession. Aloys Henhöfer in Baden in fact converted to the Evangelical church along with his patron Baron von Gemmingen and a part of his congregation. Also the evangelical-minded Zillertaler were crowded out of the Catholic church in 1826 and in 1837 out of Tirol. They acquired right of residence in Silesia.

f. After the July Revolution of 1830 the **Ultramontanist struggle** proceeded **systematically**. The Catholic faculty in Marburg, organized in 1831 for Electoral Hesse and Nassau, was dissolved in 1833. Archbishop

Droste-Vischering of Cologne initiated proceedings against the school of the Kantian [Georg] Hermes (d. 1831) represented in Bonn and Breslau, beginning in 1835 with the denunciation of his writings, in 1837 by violent suppression in Bonn. A **Romantic neo-Catholicism** arose in **Munich** under the government of the Romantic Louis I (1825-1848). There resided Johann Adam Möhler (1796-1838), the "Catholic Schleiermacher." Trained in Protestant schooling, he represented Catholic doctrine with a mild temperament in his *Symbolics*. With him stood Ignatius von Döllinger (1799-1890), who was appointed professor of church history in 1826. He spoke sarcastically and contemptuously about the Reformation; in 1837 he also attacked mixed marriages, came out in favor of genuflection in 1845, and by 1848 had attained to a seat in the Frankfurt parliament. The unstable Joseph Görres (1776-1848) became the central figure, who originally in Koblenz had attacked church and nobility in his *Rhenish Mercury*, but then had to flee. When he came to Munich in the mid-Thirties he turned to Catholicism and in his *Historische Politsche Blätter* he founded an organ for Munich Catholicism. From 1838 to 1845 the Genuflection Controversy was raging. The Romanist side imposed genuflection on Protestant soldiers on Corpus Christi Day. In 1845, this order was rescinded. Conditions within the government drove the reaction and Catholicism together so that from Abel's ministry starting in 1837, owing to the senseless suppression of Protestantism, everything conspired toward revolution.

g. An unmistakable sign of the proliferation of the Catholic idea was the **Cologne Church Controversy** about mixed marriages. After the Peace of Westphalia, the Roman curia tolerated these marriages. The Prussian civil code of 1794 gave parents a free hand in bringing up their children. As a rule, sons would adopt their father's persuasion, daughters their mother's. In 1803 Friedrich Wilhelm III changed this provision to the effect that in contested cases all of the children must follow their father in order to prevent disharmony in the family. After 1815 priests required the pledge to bring up the children Catholic. An order of the council inveighed against this innovation in the year 1825, and in 1830 the Prussian ambassador in Rome procured a brief from Pius VIII responding to this question, addressed to the Prussian bishops which, however, did not satisfy the king. So the government made a secret agreement with the archbishop of Cologne, Count Spiegel, requiring priests to interpret the brief in the interest of the government. But when the hierarchically-minded Klemens von Droste-Vischering was named archbishop, he set aside in 1837 his pledge regarding the secret agreement made before his election. He was imprisoned in the Fortress Minden, and many Prussians sided with the pope against the government. The government proceeded the same way on the same question in 1838 against Archbishop Dunin of Posen.

h. But when the Romantic **Friedrich Wilhelm IV** (1840-1858) came to the throne, the archbishops were released from their confinement, a Catholic department was set up in the ministry of culture, consigning the opposition itself to the administration of public instruction, and the government relinquished sanctions, allowing bishops free exchange with the pope. Johannes Geissel (1845-1865), one of the chief promoters of Ultramontanism, was named coadjutor and successor in Cologne. Such an **upsurge of Catholicism** rose among the populace in the wake of the Cologne Controversy that in 1844 the clergy could risk displaying the "sacred robe" in Trier under the pretense that it could work miracles. Against this of course a protest arose, instigated by Johannes Ronge, a suspended chaplain from Silesia, and the vicar Czerski. From the movement precipitated by these men the German Catholic congregations originated, which ultimately deteriorated into radicalism and in 1859 merged with the Protestant rationalists.

§261. The Protestant Church in Germany. Union.

a. When the Napoleonic wars were over, and people in Germany had become accustomed to the new conditions, three lines of thought prevailed in the Protestant church: the original Rationalism, the original Supranaturalism, and the Awakening. All three movements were affected by Romanticism and claimed for

themselves the new potentialities which for the moment lay in the philosophical and historical impulses of Romanticism. Then when the political aspirations of state and church took hold, these as well set the tone in the various circles until a keen partisanship developed, whose limits however were pushed this way and that, at the whim of circumstances.

b. Accompanying the constitutional changes and the founding of the Holy Alliance was the promulgation of the **Prussian Union**. The Union at first enjoyed a virtually unanimous, friendly reception; but when the Reformation Jubilee, celebrated in 1817 by German students in conjunction with the *Wartburgfest* on October 18 with Romantic patriotic fervor, recalling the ideas of the Reformation, though nebulous as yet, Pastor Claus Harms felt moved by the union endeavors on October 31, 1817, to publish his 95 Theses along with Luther's Theses. That started the fight on all fronts. Rationalism at length joined the radical elements of the revolution half-way and liberalism half-way. The Awakening grew into Confessionalism. Many nevertheless remained associated with the Union in a median position, in which they utlimately found themselves theologically allied also with Rationalism and Supranaturalism, a combination called Conciliation Theology (*Vermittlungstheologie*).

c. The chief spokesmen for **Rationalism** were in Heidelberg, Halle, and Gotha. There were no geniuses to evaluate and elaborate the lodestars of the time, but these men nonetheless laid some of the groundwork for the exegesis of the modern era. The eldest among them was the exegete H.E.G. Paulus (d. 1851), called in 1811 to Heidelberg, a holdover from the previous period. Their dogmatician was J.A.L. Wegscheider (d. 1849) in Halle. Neither was able to handle the new intellectual resources. A third was the pastor J. Fr. Röhr (d. 1848), who in vain opposed the historian Hase. Others merit more serious notice: Chr. Fr. V. Ammon (d. 1850), the most versatile representative of vulgar Rationalism and chaplain in ordinary in Dresden; Gustav F. Dinter (d. 1831), parson and school councilor in Königsberg, noted for his teachers' Bible which contributed much to the unbelief and the antagonism of German school masters toward the office of the ministry; Wilh. Gesenius (d. 1842) in Halle, the founder of modern Hebrew linguistics with his grammar and lexicon; Georg B. Winer (d. 1858) in Leipzig, who laid the foundation for New Testament linguistics with his *Grammar of the New Testament Idiom.* Then too, K.S. Bretschneider (d. 1848) is significant at least as a critic of the Gospel of John and as founder of the *Corpus Reformatorum*. Additionally, many pastors and teachers were Rationalistically inclined. In popular literature Rationalism found voice in Zschokke's *Hours of Devotion*, in Tiedge's *Urania,* and in Witschel's *Morning and Evening Sacrifice*, and in these publications is preserved the familiar Philistine accent, contemptuous of any new ideas. The **Supra-naturalism** of the "Earlier Tübingen School" lived on in J.F. Flatt (d. 1821), G. Chr. Knapp (d. 1828), J.F. Kleuker (d. 1827), J.J. Hess (d. 1828). But these circles for the most part drifted into the Awakening.

d. Along with the impulses radiating from Schleiermacher, the **Awakening** was the lodestone in this period. Its centers lay in Württemberg on the lower Rhine, in Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin, and in Bavaria. In Württemberg an eschatological species of Pietism promoted a type of conventicle religion, some of whose adherents emigrated to southern Russia. In 1818 the lord mayor Gottl. W. Hoffmann founded the independent congregation in Korntal. As a result of the prayer-healing activity and the curacy of the parson I. Chr. Blumhardt, who urged earnest repentance, the "Bad Boll" [Report] at Göppingen came about. The most noteworthy preacher was Ludw. Hofacker (d. 1828). Along the Rhine the three Krummachers were active: Fried., Adolf, Gottfr. Daniel, and Fr. Wilhelm, son of the former. There in Düsseltal in 1816 Count v.d. Recke-Volmarstein established his asylum. In Beuggen, where Zeller worked, in 1820 the Institute for Impoverished School Teachers and the Children's Rescue Mission were set up. Th. Fliedner instituted the Deaconess House in Kaiserswert in 1836. G. Menken was still alive in Bremen. In **Hamburg** there lived Amalia Sieveking, who at the time of the French occupation inspired women to nurse the sick and wounded. Besides her there was the

stationer Fr. Perthes, a son-in-law of Claudius, located later in Gotha, active as an ideal publisher of theological and other scholarly works (*Theological Studies and Critiques* and Neander's church history). In 1833 in Horn near Hamburg the theological candidate Joh. H. Wichern (d. 1881) founded *das Rauhe Haus*, a school for morally endangered children. In **Berlin**, the wealthy Silesian, Baron Ernst v. Kottwitz, who donated his vast fortune to charitable institutions and surrounded himself with people from every social rank, particularly officers, with the object of dedicating himself to the kingdom of God, and who also wrought a telling influence on the court: Jänicke, Theremin, Strauss, Gossner, Neander, Tholuck, Rothe; Mission School founded in 1806, the Bible Society in 1824. In 1829, there began the "Rhenish Mission Society" with its seminary in Barmen, in association in 1832 with the "Langenberg society for mission work among the Germans in North America." Later, the theological leader was Hengstenberg, writing in his *Evangelical Church News*. In **Dresden**, what later became the "Leipzig Lutheran Mission," already suggested in 1809 and promoted by Rudelbach and Scheibel, was founded in 1836 by Werner, and in the same year, a "North German Mission Society," all of these upholding the Lutheran confession. In **Hannover**, the Awakening immediately assumed a more ecclesiastical stamp because it took hold a little later. At the head of the movement was the legation councilor Aug. von Arnswaldt, who influenced Philipp Spitta, the poet of "Psalter and Harp," and Pastor Ludw. Adolf Petri. In **Weimar** in 1823, Joh. Falk (d. 1826), the Danzig poet who wrote "*O du fröhliche*" established his "Luther Court" for abandoned boys. In **Bavaria**, the seminary director Karl Fr. Roth (in Nürnberg), the naturalist Gotthelf H. Schubert (in Erlangen and Munich), and the Reformed professor J.C. Krafft (d. 1845) stood out as people who helped to spread the Awakening. In **Basel**, C. F. Spittler (d. 1867) founded the Mission House (1816) and the "Krischona" (1848), and the Orphanage for Boys in Jerusalem (1860), and provided colportage of evangelical literature among Catholic inhabitants of the continent. The Society for Jewish Missions was founded in 1822 in Berlin (prompted by the London Society of 1809).

e. The main and most incisive occurrence for the life of the church was the **Struggle for Union**. At issue were problems of ecclesiastical constitution. These had been stirred up by the reshuffling of circumstances brought on by the transformation of the Regensburg Imperial Deputation Resolution and the Vienna Congress. Added to these were the popular preferences conceived by the Enlightenment and incited by Stein's reforms. Previously, exclusive territorialism had obtained on the principle of *cuius regio, ejus religio*. Frederick the Great had ignored this idea. Now, federally ensured religious equality was the order of the day, granting churches equal rights. Nassau, Darmhessen, Electoral Hesse, Baden, Waldeck, Bernburg, Dessau, and the Bavarian Rhine Palatinate in the years 1817–1827 received **union constitutions**. In Electoral Hesse the church situation was unclear following the 1821 Re-organization Edict. Cöthen and Bavaria on the Rhine right were not unionized. In 1818 Bavaria received clerical synods; after 1823 there was also lay participation in these.

f. In **Prussia**, even before 1814, Friedrich Wilhem III (1797-1840) had already initiated his church reorganization, but the turmoil of war had interrupted the work. Now after the Congress of Vienna this effort was resumed. It extended to issues of constitution and liturgy. The king, chafing under the previous conditions which obliged him to forego partaking of communion with his consort Louise, desired, also for reasons of state, a union of Protestant confessions. The devout monarch's mind, however, was set exclusively toward liturgical considerations, and if but few came to weigh the issues freely from the fulcrum of the Gospel, this was least of all to be expected of the reluctant king who lived entirely by confessionless views.

g. Even before 1814, changes in the liturgy were initiated. In 1816, attempts at constitutional reorientation were undertaken. Because the king was less interested in this aspect of union, and the pastors of the eastern Lutheran provinces had scruples (owing to their high church views) regarding the doctrine of the pastoral office, the result was that only the western, mainly Reformed, provinces received a synodical constitution in the **Rhenish-Westphalian Church Order** of 1835, one reflecting the king's mind (presbyteries, circuit

synods, provincial synods; lay participation everywhere; sovereign policy wherein the king, not as head of state but as ranking member of a class to whom accrues the inherited office of *summus episcopus*, presides over the church government; superintendent general, consistories). The episcopal constitution the king had in mind did not come to pass. But from 1826 to 1840 all superintendents-general bore the title of bishop; in fact Borowski in Königsberg was an archbishop.

h. Meanwhile liturgical developments moved forward on their own. While the ecclesiastical commission was occupied with the constitution in 1815, the king himself composed a liturgy which was introduced in the Berlin cathedral and in the garrison churches in Berlin and Potsdam in 1816. Schleiermacher and other theologians opposed it for dogmatic, liturgical, and church polity reasons. The **union** was proclaimed on September 17, 1817 as a prelude to the proper celebration of the Reformation jubilee. Schleiermacher presided at the meeting which decided to celebrate a combined Lord's Supper in Berlin with breaking of bread, to be held (appropriately) on 31 October. All the provinces consented, but there was breaking of bread almost nowhere but the Rhineland and Westphalia.

i. But thereupon followed the **opposition of Claus Harms** in Kiel, von Ammon, chaplain in ordinary in Dresden, and Professor Tittmann in Leipzig, who invited a discussion to which 200 essays were contributed. Nobody was clear on what the union meant, least of all whether it applied only to worship and not to doctrine and constitution. In 1821 the king anonymously published a church agenda for the royal Prussian army and the next year introduced it in the Berlin cathedral and in the army. That ignited the **Agenda Controversy**. The king hoped that the "voluntary" acceptance of the agenda would bring the union along. But opposition rose from all sides. Schleiermacher, in particular, under the pseudonym of *Pacificus sincerus* ["a sincere peace maker"] disputed the right of the local prince to have the say in liturgical matters. When a survey showed that only six-tenths of the pastorate felt disposed to introduce the agenda, the king was ready to break the opposition by harsh measures. When Schleiermacher and a number of other Berlin pastors spoke out against this resolution (1825-1827), he almost lost his position. In an anonymous essay Schleiermacher criticized a defense of the king entitled "Luther in the Light of the Prussian Agenda of 1822." Eventually (1827-1835), the Compromise took effect, introducing agendas with parallel formulas for various sections of the country.

k. In 1830, however, a new phase of the Union Controversy set in. The government took occasion, at the Augustana jubilee, to renew its effort to enforce the union. This time the attempt led to separation. The Lutheran pastor and professor of theology in Breslau, **Joh. Gottfr. Scheibel** (1783-1843), who had already previously indefatigably opposed caesaropapism and the Reformed ("servants of Isis") after he had re-studied the theology of the 17th century, left the established church with his congregation in 1830 when he was suspended. Among the members of that congregation were the professors **Ph. E. Huschke** (1801-1886, lawyer) and Heinr. Steffens (1773-1845, Norwegian naturalist). The state sought to prohibit forcibly the cultivation of Old Lutheran congregations (dismissal of Scheibel 1832, suspension of Güricke in Halle 1835, breaking into Kellner's church by military force in 1834 in Höningern, imprisonment), but in vain. Even the pacific cabinet directive of 18 February, 1834 (requiring not the surrender of the confessional writings, but only an attitude of moderation and clemency) did not work.

l. Friedrich Wilhem IV (1840-1861) at last rescinded (1841) the coercive measures. In 1845 the "Evangelical Lutheran Church in Prussia" was established with royal endorsement. At the head of the hierarchy stood the High Consistory at Breslau, with Huschke its first president. Many Lutherans emigrated to Australia and North America. -What is conspicuous is the difference between Luther's transparent position regarding the Gospel's operation in all external contingencies and the position of the antagonists fighting the union. As splendid as was their testimony against doctrinal alloy, their high church propensity along with the kindred propensity for

legalistic behavior prevented the union war in every instance from arriving at a conclusive issue. Church relations in Germany suffer from this debility to this day.

§262. The Protestant Church in Germany. The Fight against Rationalism.

a. At the same time as the Union Controversy was in progress, the **struggle against Rationalism** was running its course. When Harms had published his theses in 1817, it was mainly the Rationalists who could not comprehend this "step back into the 16th century." In 1827 Prof. Aug. Hahn in Leipzig, who was called there from Königsberg to counterbalance Rationalism, posited Rationalism in his **inaugural thesis** as the death of Christianity and aroused much opposition in the largely Rationalist Saxon pastoral community. What created an even greater sensation was the **"Denunciation of Wegscheider and Gesenius"** as published in 1830 by the orthodox Chief Justice of the supreme court, Ludwig von Gerlach in Hengstenberg's "Evangelical Church Paper." The chief opposition to Rationalism centered in the Berlin circuit of the Revivalists, with Neander, Tholuck, and Rothe in the lead. The interest this circle took in Jänicke's Bohemian Bible Society and the Prussian Bible Society sprung from it (1824), and in the Rescue Institute of Count von der Recke-Volmarstein in Düsseltal (1825), was part of the general censure of the Rationalists. It was on account of this state of affairs that the anti-Rationalist "Church Paper" was founded, which Hengstenberg then edited. In an anonymous article in this paper, on evidence gained from student notebooks, Gerlach now accused the Professors Gesenius and Wegscheider of deriding the faith. This made the king cautious about filling professorships and broke the influence of Rationalism. When Prof. Karl Hase (1800-1890), a professor in Leipzig (1828) and in Jena (1830-1883), somewhat infected by Romanticism, Schelling, and Schleiermacher, but who was himself actually a Rationalist and as an historian amenable to the new ideas, published his *Hutterus redivivus* in 1828, the rationalists raised a storm of opposition, especially the Weimar Superintendent General J. F. Röhr. But Hase's rebuttal ***Antiröhr*** in 1834 brought the matter swiftly to an end.

b. The **Königsberger Make-Believers' Trial (**1835-1841) was one more final flicker of Rationalist influences. In this Prussian city a congregation had gathered around the theosophist Joh. H. Schönherr (d. 1826) and his understudy, Pastor Joh. Wilh. Ebel. Among them were Count Kanitz and his family, Count Finkenstein, his brother-in-law and his family, von Tippelskirch, Kanitz's foster son, Professor of Theology H. Olshausen, Pastor Diestel, the medical doctor Sachs, and others. But dissension developed in this circle, and the provincial Lord Lieutenant von Schön instructed the ecclesiastical commissioner Kähler, an opponent of Ebel's, to investigate Finkenstein's and Olshausen's intimations concerning Ebel's activities because the situation was threatening to develop into a public scandal, and the community dubbed the congregation with the epithet *Mucker* ["Make-believers"]. Ebel and Diestel were dismissed, but were defended against the charges of immorality.

c. Around this time in central Germany the society of the **Friends of Light** was organized. The impulse came from the ecclesiastical disciplinary action taken against the Magdeburg Pastor Sintenis, who in 1840 had disputed the resurrection of Christ. His friends rallied to his defense under the leadership of Pastors Uhlich and Wislicenus, who since 1842 had been holding public meetings in Cöthen where the question of "Scripture or Spirit" was decided against the validity of Scripture in 1844. The "Evangelical Church Paper" stood opposed, the liberal laity in favor. Free congregations began to form in Königsberg, Halle, and Magdeburg, and the royal Edict of Toleration smoothed the path for them through the office of registry to cleanse the Church of these elements. They disappeared in the Revolution of 1848 and joined the German Catholics Ronges and Czerskis.

d. Of greater scholarly importance was the rise of the **"Tübingen School"** of Ferd. Christian Baur and its developmental–historical perspective on Christianity and the collapse of Romanticism and of Hegel's philosophy. Hegelian philosophy had prevailed in Prussia as the "higher expression of Christianity" by means

of the Hegelian concept that religion in the lower form of conceptions possesses the same object as philosophy in the higher form of the idea. The Hegelian concept of history, that an idea evolves in the succession of thesis, antithesis, synthesis, had spread the idea that a speculative theology is the higher type of theology, which in the 19th century signified the evolution of Protestantism progressing beyond the theology of the 16th and 17th centuries. Schleiermacher's students had, consistent with their training, consistently propagated this idea, not that all of them were Hegelians. In both circles of thought Romanticism exhausted itself.

e. Schleiermacher's students, however, were for the most part more Christian than their philosophically critical master: August Twesten (1789-1876) in Kiel, and later as Schleiermacher's successor in Berlin, congenial to the confessional writings as well as to the Union; the New Testament exegetes Friedr. Lücke (1791-1867) in Göttingen, and Friedr. Bleek (1793-1859) in Bonn; the dogmaticians Karl Immanuel Nitzsch (1787-1868) in Bonn and Berlin, and Richard Rothe (1799-1867) in Heidelberg and Bonn. These men formed the **"Schleiermacher Right."** Alex Schweizer in Zurich (1808-1888) and Ad. Sydow (1810-1882), preachers in Potsdam and Berlin, represented the **"Schleiermacher Left."** The latter four, when the critical "Tübingen School" and the confessional school later went into action, developed **Conciliation Theology** which sought to reconcile with the faith of the fathers many of the elements of the modern world-view which contradicted faith. This of course could not be achieved by historical work in exegesis and history and so dogmatic speculation had to enter in at this juncture, and thereby Schleiermacher's conception of dogmatics as a historical discipline was dislodged. The doctrine of salvation was developed from Christian consciousness in a speculatively philosophical manner. Then they came to terms with the theology of the Reformation and showed how, congruent with then existing conditions, it rested as yet on a lower level of development, but ultimately led up to the contemporary conception. Lastly they adduced Scripture in order to prove that present-day speculation was contained in it. Clearly, exegesis and history never developed correctly this way, but wherever in this sphere of thought these two disciplines were professionally pursued, at all events they led necessarily to apostasy away from the faith of the fathers. Besides these theologians, two more joined them, Jul. Müller (1801-1878) in Marburg and Halle, and Isaak A. Dorner (1809-1884) in Berlin. The Prussian theologians of this persuasion were also ardent champions of the Union.

f. Working with these men were the theologians of **Revivalist Pietism**: Aug. Neander (1789-1850), church historian in Berlin, of Jewish descent, spokesman for pectoral theology [emphasis on emotions], and Aug. Tholuck (1799-1877) in Halle, who exerted a strong influence on students, especially through his work as a curate, and through his booklet published in 1823, "The Doctrine of Sin and of the Mediator, the True Dedication of the Skeptic." In addition, he wrote Old and New Testament commentaries, and essays on the history of Protestantism. These theologians too were men of the Union.

g. Still another direction was represented by W.M.L. de Wette (1780-1849) in Berlin and Basel. Theologically he was close to Schleiermacher, stressed a **theology of emotion**, oriented in the philosophy of J. F. Fries, but was preoccupied with work on biblical criticism. There were additionally two dogmaticians who advocated a **speculative theology**, but did not follow Schleiermacher's paths; rather in conjunction with Schelling and Hegel, they ran in a purely philosophical, intellectual vein. One was Karl Daub (1795-1836) in Heidelberg, the other, Phil. Marheinecke (1780-1846) in Berlin. They proceeded from Schelling's philosophy of the absolute without acknowledging its pantheistic character. Dogmatic formulations seemed to them altogether reasonable, and they combined with their speculative method a highly conservative propensity, as Hegel himself had "succeeded" in doing.

h. From the mid-1830s onward the **collapse of Romanticism and of Hegel's school** allowed unbelief to assert itself boldly. This ensured orthodoxy pre-eminence among the theological schools. During the time of **Romanticism** a renewed exertion for freedom, stemming from the earlier struggle for freedom, was ignited by

the July Revolution of 1830 in France, and thanks to a counter-movement, intervening meantime, against piety, connected with the Holy Alliance, it had degenerated into insolent, often libertine unbelief (*Jung Deutschland* ["Young Germany"]). Jewish and women's emancipation, as portrayed especially in novels, baldly contradicted Christianity, and the national assembly took occasion to impose a censorship on that kind of writing, often tactlessly enforced (it could hardly have been otherwise). One of the **chief combatants against this mischief** (*Jung Deutschland*, the encroachment of the Holy Alliance, and the July Revolution) was the editor Wolfgang Menzel, the *Franzosenfresser* ["cannibal of the French"] in Stuttgart.

i. Into this development **Hegel's philosophy** was drawn by his students, the Young Hegelians. They elaborated the radical ideas dormant in Hegel's doctrine and sundered the master's school into a right wing and a left. On the **left** there was David Fr. Strauss (1808-1874), who was dismissed in 1835 as a private tutor in Tübingen and rejected in 1839 in Zurich. As an independent author he shattered the ecclesiastical aureole of Hegel's system in his *Life of Jesus* in 1834 and 1840, declaring it unthinkable to accept the idea that God incarnate should have an individual personality. The narratives in the Gospels bearing on this topic he called myths, instinctive figments of the imagination of the congregation. Bruno Bauer (1809-1882) and Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872), two other castaway skeptics in Berlin, the latter turned down in Erlangen and Bern, declared religion to be a mere illusion, the former in biblical criticism, the latter in dogmatic writings. This notion resulted in 1835 in the **Immortality Controversy** between Feuerbach and the lawyer Karl Fr. Göschel (1784-1861; served finally in the ministry of justice in Berlin). Heine's poetry and Gutzkow's novel-writing took nourishment from these precedents, as did the aspirations of the "Friends of Light," and all together helped to give the Revolution of 1848 in Germany its pronounced unchristian character.

k. The **Hegelian right wing,** insofar as it remained within the pale of theological studies, was the "Tübingen School" of Ferd. Chr. Baur (1792-1860). This church historian for the first time applied Hegel's developmental concept to the history of the church, and tried to construe its origin as a purely human process resulting from the antitheses existing between Paul, Peter, and John. But this mode misled into constructions deduced more from the applied "developmental idea" than from factual associations. In the same way the Hegelian concept of religion misled many to adopt a biased view of development of doctrine and to relegate to the background the actual relationship between life and doctrine. Baur had many students: Ed. Zeller, Albr. Schwegler, Reinh. Köstlin, Gust. Volkmar, Ad. Hilgenfeld, Karl Holsten, and for a time even Albr. Ritschl. Although Baur's approach does address the necessity of understanding the coming-to-be, it nevertheless allows younger people in particular to forget that in everything, above all in the study of history, one must have personal experience, empirical knowledge, if one wants to penetrate into issues and to arrive at actual understanding. Here the understanding which comes from faith was lacking. Principal works of this time include: Baur, *Paulus* (1845), and *Christianity and the Christian Church of the First Three Centuries* (1853); Schwegler, *The Post-Apostolic Era* (1846); Ritschl, *The Origin of the Ancient Catholic Church* (1850).

l. Meantime, originating in the Revival, there was a **return to the pre-Rationalist doctrine of the Lutheran church**. As early as 1810 Martin Stephan, the pastor of the Bohemian congregation in Dresden, had spoken up for strict Lutheran practice and had launched a far-reaching movement. The idolatry his adherents paid him bred hierarchical notions in him. When in 1837 the police began to get after him on account of numerous allegations of immorality, he emigrated to America with his followers in 1838, and here the Missouri Synod later originated.

m. Independent of this movement was E.W.Chr. Sartorius (1797-1859), who as early as 1823, when a professor in Marburg, stressed Luther's position on free will to counteract Schleiermacher's doctrine of election, then (in 1824) was active in Dorpat as founder and promoter of the Evangelical church of Russia, and through the influence of Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, was called as superintendent general to Königsberg

(1835). The work of Scheibel and Huschke of Breslau was the second step in this direction. Further productive work followed in Bavaria and Saxony. First there was Andr. Gottl. Rudelbach (1792-1862) from Denmark, a pastor in Saxony (1829-1845). He took part in the Lutheran conference in Leipzig, spoke up against the Stephan separation, strove against the Prussian Union in "Reformation, Lutheranism, Union," and then returned to Denmark.

n. Since the 1830s, as a result of Krafft's work in Erlangen, there was a brisk **exchange of ideas** between **Erlangen, Leipzig, Dorpat,** and **Rostock**. Ad. Harless (1806-1878), a student of Roth's in Nürnberg and of Tholuck in Halle, came in 1829 to Erlangen and in 1832, succeeding Winer, to Leipzig. His splendid classical training begun in Nürnberg, combined with his understanding of the Gospel, becomes evident in his writings: *Commentary on Ephesians, Encyclopedia, Ethics*, and in shorter essays on general topics. His chief importance lay in his personal influence. In 1845, in the Bavarian Commons Chamber, he withstood Abel and Döllinger, thereafter served as professor in Leipzig, as chaplain in ordinary in Dresden, and lastly as president of the Consistory in Munich. In 1838 he founded the *Journal for Protestantism and Church*, and advocated the revision of the hymnbook, agenda, and liturgy.

o. His fellow-student at the *Gymnasium* was **Joh. Christ. Konr. v. Hofmann** (1810-1877), a student of Roth, Raumer, Krafft. In Berlin he worked with Leopold v. Ranke, whereas Schleiermacher and Hegel influenced him not at all. He taught in 1835 in Erlangen, in 1842 in Rostock, and in 1845 he was back in Erlangen, and he also served in the Bavarian Chamber. Already in 1841 Hofmann had published his opus, *Prophecy and Fulfillment*, offering a deep exegetical study of a kind his colleague Harless had previously begun with his *Commentary on Ephesians*, but in a grander style. Later, in 1852, he published *Scriptural Evidence*, in 1862 *Holy Scripture of the New Testament Contextually Examined*. Besides these leading lights there were the dogmaticians Gottfr. Thomasius (1802-1875), who taught in Erlangen beginning in 1842 (*Christ's person and work*, 1853, with its peculiar take on the *kenosis* [the emptying of the divine in the human Christ]), Friedr. Ad. Philippi (1809-1882) in Berlin, a Jew who converted to Christianity in 1829, became a professor in Berlin in 1837, succeeded Sartorius in Dorpat in 1841, and in 1851 became professor in Rostock (*Ecclesiastical Doctrine of Faith*, 1854, and *Epistle to the Romans*), and the exegete Franz Delitzsch (1813-1890), early friend of Walther, 1842 in Leipzig, in 1846 Hofmann's successor in Rostock, 1850 in Erlangen, 1867 in Leipzig (*Biblical–Prophetic Theology*, 1845; *Four Books on the Church*, 1847; *On the House of God, or the Church*, 1849; *Commentary on the Old Testament*, co-authored with Keil); particularly active in Jewish missions. Chr. E. Luthardt (d. 1902), was in Erlangen, Marburg, and Leipzig, K.F.A. Kahnis (d. 1888) was in Leipzig, and J. F. Ahlfeldt (d. 1884) was pastor in Leipzig.

p. Associated with the Romantic-historical trend of this time in the 1840s was the research into the early texts of German **hymns** and their **melodies**. This work was done mainly in southern Germany. Thus it happened that the Supreme Court Councilor Karl von Winterfeld in 1843 published his work, *Evangelical Hymnody*. In Bavaria, Pastor Friedr. Layritz followed in 1844 with his *Pith of German Hymnody*, and the Supreme Appellate Court Councilor in Munich, Baron v. Tucher with his *Treasury of Evangelical Hymody* (1848). As a result of these labors, Württemberg acquired its own chorale book, compiled by Grüneisen, in 1843, Saxony the *Eisenach Chorale Book* by Faisst in 1854, and Bavaria the *Chorale Book* by Joh. Zahn in 1855.

§263. Protestantism beyond Germany.

a. Great Britain. Here too mission work gained momentum, an indication of the effect of the Revival. The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804; in 1825-1827 this led to a controversy over the publication and dissemination of the Apocrypha, ending in the victory of the Calvinist position. It resulted in the secession of 50 societies on the European continent. The English mission societies labored in Madagascar in 1818 (King Radama was converted; after 1835 Christians were persecuted by his successor, Ranavalona);

David Livingston worked (1840-1873) in South and Central Africa. In 1809, the London Society for Jewish Missions was begun (in 1818 in Poland, in 1822 joined by the Berlin Society). Mission work took place in oriental countries, beginning in 1815 in the Ionian Islands, in Constantinople, and in Greece; since 1826 among the Copts with the Basel missionaries. In 1824 Americans began to work in Syria, in 1831 among the Armenians, in 1834 among the Nestorians in Persia. Slave trade on the world's oceans was terminated, as was slavery in British colonies (1834), the fruition of long-standing agitation by **W. Wilberforce** (1759-1834).

b. The **Established Church** in England. Already at the close of the 18th century the Evangelical or Low-Church Party was organized under the influence of Methodism which, in opposition to doctrinal coercion and hierarchy, stood for freedom and universal priesthood, and together with the Dissenters promoted the mission impulse. The High-Church Party, supported by the high nobility and the high clergy, stood opposed to this position. But the latter, since the resurgence of the Low-Church Party, down to the 1830s, had become atrophied in the indulgence of wealth. At this juncture an Anglo-Catholic movement emerged which, on the one hand, breathed a little life into the High Church, and on the other, gave rise to a third party, the Broad Church.

c. This development took place under the spell of Romantic Idealism issuing from the poet and philosopher Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the English Schleiermacher. The other English Romantics, especially Wordsworth, like the German Romantics of this period, had become simpler and more natural and had occupied themselves with national history, particularly with early poetry. Coleridge had come to Germany and there had acquired the metaphysic of German Idealism and by this means had gained a sense for things pertaining to the church, even though his theology was not ecclesiastical. Another influence played decisively into this development. The political liberal party in 1828 had achieved the revocation of the Test Act [Anglican membership for members of Parliament] and in 1829 the Emancipation Bill for Irish Catholics. Under the constraint of the French July Revolution, they had carried into effect a number of measures adverse to the Anglican bishops. This seemed to imperil the established church. Its adherents were mostly Tories, primarily interested in maintaining the external forms of the established church. It was about to experience a little life as well.

d. These multifarious influences expressed themselves next in Oxford when a movement began which unfolded in three phases: Tractarianism, Puseyism, Ritualism, all of them increasingly striving after the Catholic ideal. Its place of origin gave the movement the name the "Oxford Movement."

e. 1. Tractarianism, 1833–1841. Even previously at the University of Oxford, Rich. Hurrel Froude (1803-1836) had expressed hatred for the Reformation and striven toward a reconstitution of the English state church, whereas in Cambridge it was the Evangelical Party that was at home. But then in Oxford a simultaneous trend toward erudition became dominant which acquired pervasive significance in the English educational system (Bishop Whately of Dublin, the publisher of an excellent work on logic, Hampden of Herford, and Thomas Arnold of Rugby). This impulse gave Oxford a decided advantage over Cambridge. Now the Romantics, especially in Oriel College, brought the High-Church Movement into prominence: John Keble (d. 1866), Edward Pusey (d. 1882), Henry Newman (d. 1890), Richard Froude, and Arthur Perceval, chaplain to the king. The latter complained that the apostolic succession had not been conscientiously maintained. The Catholic church, he held, despite her errors, was the real church, whereas the Protestant church nurtured a worse error, the *Decretum absolutum.* Froude prescribed apostolic succession, the Eucharist, celibacy, fasting, escape from the world, and the worship of saints as desirable practices. Figuring in the subsequent controversy was *Tracts of the Times*, 1833-1841, the organ of the High-Church partisans; the *Christian Observer* was the organ of the Evangelicals. The most flat-out declaration for the Catholic interpretation of the 39 Articles was Newman's Tract Number Ninety. When this was released Bishop Bagot of Oxford forbade the continuation of the publications (1841).

f. 2. Puseyism, 1841-1860. At this point the second stage of the development toward Romanism commenced. Edward Pusey became the leader of the movement. To be sure, the High-Church party lost out in Gorham's Baptism Controversy in 1847-1850 (Gorham discounted baptism as a means of grace, and the bishop denied him installation in his office; but he won his case at the Court of Appeal); and to some extent in Denison's Lord's Supper Controversy, 1851-1858 (the Puseyist Denison taught, contrary to the 39 Articles, that unbelievers as well as believers receive the Lord's body and blood; the Court of Appeal at length retained him in the priesthood because of a technical error). But many, notably among the younger clerics, left the Anglican Communion: H. Newman in 1845 and Deacon H.E. Manning in 1851 (later appointed Catholic Archbishop of Westminster). In 1850 the Catholic hierarchy in England was reinstituted. On the other side, the laity rose up with the outcry of "No Popery," and in 1846 the Scotsman Thomas Chalmers initiated the **Evangelical Alliance** in London, a league dedicated to the prevention of the advancement of Catholicism.

g. At the same time, beginning in the 1830s, the **Broad Church**, a liberal Protestant trend, gained strength, intending to make erudition again paramount in theology and engaged in social activity. Its founders were Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby (d. 1842). Allied with them were the preachers Charles Kingsley (d. 1875) and F.W. Robertson (d. 1853), the former remembered for his tendentious theological novels *Alton Locke* and *Hypatia* among others, and the latter as a noted pulpit orator (individualistic-psychological analysis).

h. In **Scotland** since 1752 there had continued to exist three churches: the Scottish Established Church, the Secession Church*,* and the Relief Church*.* Here too Rationalism had paralyzed the mind, and the Awakening had given it a new impulse. Thom. Chalmers (1780-1847), a pastor in Glasgow, after 1823 a professor at St. Andrew's, and after 1828 in Edinburgh, in particular, achieved much. Consistent with English Calvinistic habit, however, constitutional considerations again came to the fore. In 1843 the Free Church of the Nonintrusionists separated from the established church because the General Assembly had denied the congregations the right of veto over the unqualified franchise of advowson [the right in English law of presenting a nominee to an ecclesiastical benefice]. In 1847 the Secession Church and the Relief Church joined the United Presbyterian Church, which declined every form of state supervision and endowment.

i. There were signs of life also among the English **Dissenters**, and in fact perhaps more so than in the established church, in part because originally they were less concerned about external forms of worship and polity than about considerations of temperament, and in part because in the course of time many of the established church privileges had been discontinued and the Dissenters attained to complete civic equality. But now among them too there were regroupings: the **Plymouth Brethren** and the **Irvingites**. The Plymouth Brethren are also designated Darbyites because of the mistaken supposition that Darby was their founder. They themselves called themselves **Brethren**. Since the close of the 1820s these Separatists turned up in Ireland and mainly in Plymouth. They had no intention of starting a new church, but ruled out all forms of churchianity. They awaited the return of the Lord and celebrated the Lord's Supper. But then again they ruled out all distinctive forms such as doctrinal system, confession, office, liturgy, since the Spirit alone should constitute the bond. John Nelson Darby (d. 1882), first a lawyer, then an Anglican preacher, would become a principal advocate of this trend. In time these Plymouth Brethren or Darbyites did assemble in separate fellowships. They engaged in eager study of the Bible and for the most part retained the traditional creedal formulas, often with a fine evangelical understanding.

k. A sect of an entirely different sort were the **Irvingites**. Their founder, a Scotsman Edw. Irving (d. 1834), formerly curate to Chalmers, in 1823 at the Scottish church in London, happened on the idea that the spiritual gifts of the Apostolic age must be revived. On that account in 1832 he was dismissed and died in 1834, quite a broken man. But Henry Drummond (d. 1859), a wealthy banker, and a lawyer by the name of Cardale (d.

1877), began to elaborate Irving's ideas in 1832. What came of it was a peculiar hierarchy of angels, apostles, prophets, elders, helpers, deacons, with a form of worship marked by involved, solemn ceremonies. Their dominant ideas were the expectation of Christ's return, coupled with chiliastic notions. In 1836 they went public and in 1840 a Romanization set in, eventuating in the Apostolic-Catholic Congregation, which adopted the entire pomp of the external worship service of the Roman church as well as tithing the total income of the membership. A particular ceremony was the sealing whereby an applicant was officially received into the number of the 144,000. In Germany Prof. Heinr. Thiersch in Marburg resigned from his professorship in 1850 in order to become an Irvingite preacher.

l.   Life in Protestant circles of Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia was much like that in Germany. In Holland and Switzerland, true to the Reformed gene, liberalism was deemed more important than in the Lutheran countries of Scandinavia, chiefly Sweden. In Denmark a revived confessionalism bore a political, liberal cast and after 1848 was swept along in the anti-German current.

m.   In Switzerland Rationalism prevailed at the beginning of the 19th century. There Barbara Juliane von Krüdener (1764-1824) of Riga found a circle to support her efforts. Introduced by her husband to Rousseau's ideas, after his death she returned home, having traveled widely, and, in the middle of her secular life, was suddenly converted and educated herself in the company of Jung Stilling and by reading the writings of Frau von Guyon. She met with Alexander of Russia, with Baron von Stein, and with Spittler and everywhere exerted her influence. In 1814 she was in Geneva. There she won over the pastors Louis Empaytaz and Cesar Malan and the wealthy Englishman Halden. Her adherents were dubbed Mômiers, mummers [mask-wearers] until, meeting with much persecution, they left the established church and founded the *Église libre*. Events followed the same pattern in Vaud where Alexandre Vinet (1797-1847), professor of theology in Lausanne, the French Schleiermacher, was the leader of the Awakened. By 1816 Frau von Krüdener's movement had also established itself in Basel, but it had shed its vaunted manner after the atrocious Wildenspucher Crucifixion (a hysterical farm girl in 1823 had had herself crucified by her own sister). Thereafter, in 1822 De Wette, and in 1823 K.R. Hagenbach, continued in the spirit of a less frenzied Awakening. After the Cantonal Revolutions, 1830-1831, when the aristocracy and the original church establishment had to yield, three parties took shape in the Thirties, the Pietist-Orthodox Right, the Central Party under the leadership of Hagenbach and Schweizer, and the Radicals under the leadership of A. E. Biedermann, Lang, Langhans, and Bitzius.

n.   In the **Netherlands** in 1816, the equal status of all persuasions was decreed. The Reformed church remained the established church. Partly on that account the Revolution broke out (1830), which led to the separation of Catholic Belgium. In Holland the Awakening stirred within the poet Wilh. Bilderdijk, as well as two Jewish converts, the poet Isaak da Costa and the physician Cappadose, who led the way back to Dordtrecht orthodoxy. The preacher Heinr. De Cock positioned himself at the head of the movement, and since 1839 there has existed the separated Christian-Reformed church. In 1816 the Lutheran church acquired a theological seminary with a neological trend.

o.   In **Denmark**, even though unheralded in the rationalistic established church, considerable evidence of genuine Lutheranism persisted. From such a family of preachers descended **Nicolai F.S. Grundtvig** (1783-1872). If Romanticism had directed him to early Nordic studies, he nevertheless arrived at theology, and then immediately (1810) entered the Awakening Movement which in Denmark carried a pronounced confessional Lutheran accent. The Rationalists decried him as a fanatic. When in 1825 Prof. H.N. Clausen identified Protestantism with Rationalism and wanted to impute Romanism to the Awakening, Grundtvig stood forth with his spirited protest and won many hearts, the more so as he struck the national key with his early Nordic linguistic and historical investigations. Yet at the same time he developed a peculiar unhistorical idea in that he did not regard Scripture (which he relegated to Rationalistic isagogics) but the oral word of Christ, transmitted

to us through the baptismal command and the Apostolic creed, as the basis of Christianity and thereby ran astray into antinomian errors. His friend **Rudelbach** (d. 1862) took issue with him, and Grundtvig could not advance in the established church, but in private circles attracted a wide following which, toward 1848, joined the anti-German Danish clamor. Another friend of Grundtvig's was **Sören Kierkegaard** (1813-1855), an impassioned Romantic temperament who, as a follower of Schelling, with his recluse's graphorrhea created a peculiar philosophy of Christianity instead of returning to the objective fundaments. But what he really wanted was a living personal piety and to spearhead a reckless war against the systematized officialdom in the church life of his time. For all that, he was largely misunderstood.

p.   In **Norway** at the beginning of the 19th century the farmer **Hans Nielsen Hauge** (1771-1824) won acclaim as a lay preacher. Awakened by Luther's writings, he preached against unbelief among his people until 1814. The alliance of church and state, the high church notions of the pastors on the one hand, and on the other, some of Hauge's singularities and errors made him seem a sectarian, despite his wish to be nothing but a Lutheran Christian putting to use his right to testify to the Gospel. It was not until 1842 that a dissenter law and in 1851 also a Jewish law were enacted. In 1848 C.P. Caspari, a baptized Jew and a student of Hengstenberg, became professor of Lutheran orthodoxy in Christiania.

q.   In **Sweden,** orthodoxy had held out the longest. After 1803 however the Pietistic laymen's movement known as the **Läsare** (readers of the Bible and Luther's writings) was active there, and they were much persecuted.

r.   In **France** since the time of Napoleon, Protestantism held its own undiminished. Since 1815, the liberal and orthodox trends co-existed there as well. In **Hungary**, following the 1781 Toleration Edict of Joseph II, Protestants enjoyed sufferance, and after 1833, legal equality with Catholics.

§264. The American Church.

a.   After the United States had weathered the Reconstruction Period of 1790-1810 and had returned internally to tranquility, a literature evolved among them which assumed a national American character even though at first it clung to external European forms. Externally, American culture extended westward, but at heart the pioneers remained closely tied to the East. The cultural center in the first third of the 19th century was New York. American literature lived, as did the contemporary English, on the influences of German philosophy and Romanticism, for the most part probably by way of England. The fiction writers are Irving (d. 1859), Cooper (d. 1851), Bryant (d. 1878), Halleck (d. 1867), Drake (d. 1820), Poe (d. 1849); the historians Bancroft (d. 1891) and Prescott (d. 1859); and the statesman Webster (d. 1852). An air of fresh realistic sobriety, reflecting the youth of the new country, permeates this literature with Poe exhibiting more than the others the style of contemporary European Romanticism.

b.   During the years 1790 to 1810 many settlers migrated westward from the eastern states, Baptists and Scots-Irish Presbyterians from the Carolinas to Tennessee, Episcopalians from Virginia to Kentucky, Congregationalists from the New England states to western New York and Ohio. At the borders many **union congregations** arose, combining particularly Congregationalists and Presbyterians who had merged because of their scant numbers. Following the flurry of the first Awakening, however, a period of lassitude set in. Wartime living conditions, the political wrangling of that time, the Rationalism of Franklin, the Deism of Jefferson, and the mockery of Thomas Paine had brought on a spiritual drought. There arose then in Kentucky along the Cumberland among the Presbyterians an **Awakening movement,** like the *Methodist revivals* accompanied with convulsions. In 1800 the first Camp Meeting was held. The movement spread eastward as well. Yale College President Timothy Dwight's work induced awakenings among the students after Christian consciousness at this school had fairly died out. Under these influences two new fellowships evolved in the

West, the Cumberland Presbyterians and the Campbellite Baptists (Christians, Disciples). The former, owing to hard times, wanted to have preachers without professional training, and in 1810 branched off from the General Assembly because the Assembly would not go in on that plan. The latter were formed in 1811 in western Pennsylvania by the Presbyterian Irishman Alexander Campbell, and expanded southward and westward. They disavowed all confessions and recognized only the Bible as a doctrinal norm.

c.   The Awakening caught on in the established communities, mainly with the Baptists and Methodists, who proliferated in these circumstances, but then split up all the more readily. The first founders of **Methodism** in America (Ph. Embury, Barbara Heck) moved to Canada and filled the region from New England up to Nova Scotia with their work of conversion. At the same time the Methodist preachers ("Circuit Riders") got as far as the Mississippi and thence southward. There they persuaded many **Negroes** in particular to convert. When the German immigration began in the first third of the 19th century, it was directly channeled westward and southward to pioneer areas. It was chiefly Wilhelm Nast, a Württemberg theologian in America since 1828, who happened into Methodism and then began mission work among the **Germans** in 1835 in Cincinnati, against the opposition of the German press. In 1839 he published the *Christian Apologete* and thus laid the foundation for the sizable German contingent of the Methodist Church. In Cincinnati at the time, the "**German Evangelical-Protestant Church**" had long been represented (since the beginning of the century) in individual congregations still adhering to early Rationalism, and in the course of time it had expanded to the states of the eastern Mississippi riparian, but without signal success (humanists).

d.   Now associated with the Awakening, **mission work** gained impetus as did attention to the training of **indigenous pastors**. The two impulses were interdependent. In 1798 the Missionary Society of Connecticut for Indians was founded. David Bacon worked among the wild natives west of Lake Erie. From colonial times until 1810, there were something like two dozen colleges, largely founded by Congregationalists. Since 1791, only one theological seminary existed, that of the Sulpicians in Baltimore. Each of the universities listed one theological professor. In the year 1805 the young Henry Ware, a Unitarian, occupied the theological chair at Harvard. The controversy over this issue resulted in the founding in 1808 of Andover Seminary for Congregationalists. From then on until 1830 theological seminaries of all confessions were founded in every state. From Andover a mission to India was begun, thanks to the activity of the students Mills, Judson, Nott, Jewell, and Hall. In 1810 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission was organized. When the missionaries Rice and Judson joined the Baptists, the Baptists accommodated them, and they, too, instituted a board of missions (1814). Down through the years the Presbyterians, the Dutch and German Reformed, the Methodists, and the Episcopalians each received their own mission society. In 1817 the Presbyterians founded the American Colonization Society with the plan to return the Negroes to Africa and there to colonize them formally. Mills of Andover in 1812-1815 betook himself to New Orleans and observed the spiritual destitution in the pioneer regions. This led to the founding of **Bible Societies** and **Home Mission Societies**. Joining these groups up to the 1830s were societies of all descriptions: American Education Society, 1815; American Sunday School Union, 1824; American Tract Society, 1825; Seamen's Friends Society, 1826; American Home Mission Society, 1826. Out of harmony with this instinct for missions was President Monroe's recommendation in 1825 to settle all **Indians** west of the Mississippi. That is how even the highly cultured tribe of the Cherokees, despite protests of friends of the Indians, were hounded out of their carefully cultivated territories in Georgia, and settled in the present state of Oklahoma, and the Oneidas and Stockbridge came to Wisconsin from New York.

e.   For America, owing to the Reformed character of the majority of the population, there are two movements particularly characteristic, the one bearing on the slave issue, the other aiming at prohibition. The Reformed conception of Christianity soon leads as easily to constitutional questions as to social questions and is always

active in political life. While we might understand both in European circumstances where church and state are so closely allied, the fact is that these movements are more powerful in America and in England than on the European continent, and this approach is congenital with the English character and with Calvinism, and engages in it with the creditable intention not only of improving external conditions, but also of setting other people straight. Even though at first it was Germans who in this country systematically opposed **slavery**, as also they were the first to declare independence from England, the slavery problem was finally drawn into politics in Boston in English church circles in order to settle it by violent means (the Unitarian Wm. Lloyd Garrison). Because these abolitionists often carried out their ideas in opposition to the Bible and Christianity, it happened that, especially in the South, many Christian communities spoke up against the haphazard proposals to emancipate the slaves. And then when the war came (1861-1865) it was only the Lutherans, Episcopalians, and Catholics who did not split up over this question.

f.   Among the first colonists, intemperance prevailed everywhere. The Revolutionary War had aggravated this mischief. Already in 1811 the Presbyterians at the General Assembly had appointed a committee intending to get **prohibition** started on its way. Before long this led to the founding of State Temperance Societies. In 1826 for the first time *"Teetotalism"* was advocated; in 1840 the Washingtonian Movement took wing so that *en route* to revivalism demon rum was taken care of. As sincere most likely as these undertakings were meant to be, they naturally shot wide of the mark because they never attacked the mischief at the root, not even when they were fighting against it in their conversion campaigns. But then too, besides all this, the Americans of that time still had a strong aversion to federal interference in this problem.

g.   The years 1835-1845 saw all kinds of separations in church communities because everywhere new ideas were trying to cross old established lines. This was the case with the **Presbyterians**. They clung to their old Calvinism. But in the western synods, thanks to their union with the Congregationalists, the progressive ideas of the Congregationalists had taken over. For that reason in 1837 the General Assembly set about segregating three synods in western New York and Ohio. These synods in turn reconstituted themselves as Presbyterian but as *"New School"* while the others took the name *"Old School."* The **Unitarians** stayed situated in Boston and Harvard and did not expand very much. They nevertheless figured as the spiritual elite of the land. Their members included the poet Emerson and the historian Bancroft. The theological leader was William Ellery Channing (who at the same time introduced Swedenborgianism). In 1832 the pastor and poet Ralph Waldo Emerson left the Unitarians because he was a Pantheist. In 1831 Theodore Parker had succeeded him. Emerson's fame as a poet contributed largely to the fact that his shallow theology, awash in generalities, carried weight at the universities in the following decades. The **Methodist Church** too experienced fragmentation. In 1830 the Methodist Protestant Church seceded because they rejected the episcopal constitution. In 1844 the Methodist Episcopal Church South was organized upon the slavery issue. Among the **Quakers** Elias Hicks advanced ideas in 1822 which denied the divinity of Christ and the authority of Scripture. The Evangelical Friends stood against this position. In the year 1845 the Wilburites too split up. Within the **Episcopal Church** people went separate ways in 1843 on account of high churchism. When Bishop Hobart of New York promoted high church ideas imported from England in opposition to Bishop Griswold of Massachusetts, many seceded. It took until 1873 before there was a new church organization in the form of the Reformed (Evangelical) Episcopal Church.

h.   The **Catholics** as well had a fight on their hands. The new American circumstances generated "Trusteeism," which allowed congregational delegates to administer church property. Against this the bishops took arms. In 1831 a congregation in Philadelphia was excommunicated, in 1847 another in Buffalo. In 1837 Bishop Hughes of New York brought his congregation to terms. In 1834 and 1836 popular will in Boston and New York rose up against the alleged rape of nuns until the state militia had to intervene. A Protestant Society

was organized, and an Irish mob revolted against it in Philadelphia. Since the 1840s the Irish had been immigrating in multitudes. What attracted them here was the construction of the Erie Canal. Farmers they were not, but politicians by all means. This turned the Catholic church into a megalopolitan church, and given her customary propensity, fired her blood for political activity.

i. In the 1820s the expectation of the early approach of the Last Day spread in America as in England. William Miller set April 23, 1840 as the appointed Day. From this came the founding of the six **Adventist communities**. The most important is that of the Seventh Day Adventists.

k. The **communistic** Harmonites settled in Pennsylvania. They were adherents of Georg Rapp, a farmer, who in 1803 emigrated from Württemberg to Pittsburgh. Another similar sect was the Bible Communists or the Perfectionists of the Oneida congregation in New York, founded by John H. Noyes. Their peculiarity ("Complex Marriages," theoretical antinomianism, basically free love) was all of a piece with their chiliastic messianic hopes. Of a purely **economic** nature were the communistic societies of Owen [Robert; Welsh social reformer] who in 1823-1826 moved to Harmony, Ind. and there proved a complete failure, and of Etienne Cabot, who in 1848 founded an Icarian colony (taken from the name he used romantically in his novel of a country where natural habits determine the life style) in Texas; in 1851 he founded another in Nauvoo, Illinois.

l. A peculiar sect are the **Mormons** or Latter Day Saints. Joe Smith (1805-1844), an artisan, published a novel in 1830 purporting to contain the revelations of the prophet Mormon. A communistic theocratic sect took shape like many springing up in the religious ferment of the times; in order to evade the embittered opposition of the populace this group relocated in Illinois, and in 1840 founded the city of Nauvoo. From there however, under the leadership of Brigham Young in 1845, the Mormons moved on to Utah where they founded Salt Lake City and the state of Deseret and introduced polygamy. Their doctrine is a kind of gnosticism.

m. The **Lutheran church** has a unique significance in America because, like none other, not even in the old fatherland, she compelled herself to adopt entirely clear views regarding every conceivable idea. The church of Mühlenberg no less than others felt the influence of Rationalism. This was owing in part to the current of the time, and in part was the result of her alliance with the Arminian Episcopalians. In 1702 the rationalist influence was already evident in the fact that the New York Ministerium altered its constitution in such a way as to omit the doctrinal paragraph. In the year 1814 the president of the synod, John Quitman, published an unabashedly rationalist catechism.

n. But now followed the period of the **revival**. Here too at first this movement showed but little doctrinal character because it was intent upon opposing unbelief. But soon circumstances brought about a move towards the Symbolical Books with stronger conviction than in Germany. When the migration from the eastern to the Midwestern states began, the German Lutherans encountered the German *Albrechtsbrüder* whose activity had preceded them. If they did not want to be swallowed up by them, they needed to formulate a clear confession to rally around. The Lutheran hymn most likely helped in this effort, more than is generally supposed. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Synod of North Carolina, founded in 1803, took the lead in this movement because they were the most directly affected by the westward migration. The Reformation Jubilee gave additional impetus to these ideas. A considerable number of separations occurred resulting from the confrontations regarding association with Reformed bodies and the founding of a general synod. In 1818 the Lutherans in Ohio and those hailing from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania founded their general synod (Paul Henkel). In 1820 the Synod of Maryland and Virginia withdrew from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. In 1821 the Tennessee Synod withdrew from its connection with the North Carolina Synod. That same year the **General Synod** was formed from the other synods, except those of Ohio and of New York. But in 1823 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania withdrew, and in its place the Hartwick Synod entered, an offspring of the New

York Ministerium, and in 1837 the latter itself followed suit. Now because the General Synod failed in response to this mutation to clearly define her confessional character with respect to the looming questions, she has ever since retained this character, while the other synods advanced to a decisive position. In 1826 the theological seminary of the General Synod was founded in Gettysburg. The principal teacher Samuel S. Schmucker declared against some doctrines of the Confession (sacraments, original sin, the person of Christ). From 1833 onward, his colleague Benjamin Kurz supported him in the *Lutheran Observer*. In the Wittenberg Theological Seminary, Springfield, Ohio, Samuel Sprecher, one of Schmucker's students, advocated a distinctive "American Lutheranism*."* In opposition to this periodical the "Evangelical Review" was founded by W.M. Reynolds and C.P. Krauth, Sr.

o.   Meanwhile other forces had emerged which were destined to make their mark in history. Since 1847 the fledglings of the mission houses of Barmen and Basel were arriving, sent by the Langenberger Society in the Rhineland. In 1839 two large expeditions came over from **Saxony** under [Martin] Stephan and from **Prussia** under Johannes Grabau (d. 1879) and Heinrich von Rohr. The Stephanites settled in Missouri, the Prussians in the environs of Buffalo and in Wisconsin. A controversy ignited between Grabau and von Rohr over the question of "Church and Ministry." Grabau had expressed extreme high church opinions in his *Hirtenbrief*. **Carl F. W. Walther** (1811-1887) who had advocated Lutheran doctrine against Stephan's hierarchical proclivities and held the Saxons together, spoke up against Grabau. In 1844 he founded *Der Lutheraner* in St. Louis. In 1845 Grabau founded the **Buffalo Synod**. In 1847 the **Missouri Synod** would follow. Beginning in 1846 [Joh. Konr. Wilhelm] Löhe, responding to an appeal from [Friedrich Conrad Dietrich] Wyneken had been helping Walther, and in fact with his resources had founded a seminary in Fort Wayne. But with Löhe too, Walther found himself at odds over the doctrine of the pastoral office. And when he was unable to resolve this divergence in 1851 on a journey to Europe which he made with Wyneken as commissioned by his synod, he founded in 1855 *Lehre und Wehre* in order to advocate the correct position of the Lutheran church on a scholarly basis.

2. The Time of Conservative Trends and their Countercurrents, 1848-1870.
§265. General Summary.

Romanticism and Hegelian philosophy had allowed conservative trends to gain dominance. Their growth was not entirely genuine. To be genuine it would have had to have happened purely by an unfeigned return to the Gospel of Scripture as in its day in the Reformation. Now the detriment showed up. The Hegel craze and Romanticism collapsed into unbelief. This of course encouraged the development of a more cautious **conservative theology** among the Protestants, whereas ultramontanism in the Roman church and the Anglo-Catholic movement among the Episcopalians still remained under the same old spell. But at the same time intense activity set in to unchurch the educated and the world of workers. Among the former this took place by a training principally nourished on the still misunderstood advances in natural science. The **unchurching of the grassroots** came about by **socialism** which grew dominant with the upsurge of industry. All of this while the national spores dormant in Romanticism came to fruition. As Germany at this time was striding toward her summit, so the founding of the German empire actually constituted the crowning of all of these developments. (But along with her founding, the foundations of the subsequent struggles were laid again as well.)

§266. The Political Connections.

a.   The Paris February Revolution (1848) set off the great **European revolutionary crisis** of 1848-1852. When the extension of the franchise beyond the propertied classes in **France** was denied by the bourgeoisie and the *juste milieu* ["golden mean"] government, a revolution broke out in February of 1848 which made

Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the first Napoleon, president. By his coup d'état in December 1851 he eliminated his opponents and had himself elected hereditary emperor by "plebiscite." From that moment Napoleon played a telling role in the great political arena where he did not belong, but his failure just went to show that neither he nor most of his associates could read the signs of the times. In **Italy** the romantic union movement found patronage in the papal election of Pius IX. But that proved illusory. Even the attempt of Karl Albert (of Sardinia) to expel the Austrians at the tip of Italy foundered. Pius fled before Garibaldi's radicals. A French army conducted him back to Rome in 1849 and then stayed on. In **Switzerland** too, the Separate League War (1845-1847) of the Radicals broke out against the Separate League of the Jesuits, terminating with a new national constitution in 1848.

b. In **Austria**, the outcome of a revolution in 1848 placed Franz Joseph I on the throne; there was also a joint constitution. A Hungarian uprising in 1849 was subdued with Russian help, and when they disagreed on a joint constitution they returned in 1851 to absolutism. In **Schleswig-Holstein** a revolution against the Danes also broke out and, with the help of Prussia, was successful. The March Revolution in Berlin in 1850 ultimately produced at the king's initiative a liberal constitution for **Prussia**. The **Frankfurt National Assembly** in 1848, which dissolved the German League and wanted to place in its stead a unified kingdom with the hereditary empire of the Hohenzollern, was merely an episode of professorial politics, especially in the south German and Rhenish regions, but it glorified the Prussian idea. Eventually in 1849 Prussia crushed the Revolution in Baden too. Within the German League however the public temperament was opposed to Prussia, and consequently in 1850 at Olmütz she sustained a diplomatic defeat. The old League was restored, and the unification of the nation again became a dead issue. Liberalism to be sure had made progress, but the efforts at nationalism had miscarried.

c.   Now began the era of **Napoleon III**. In confederation with England and Austria he prevented Russia in the **Crimean War** (1853-1856) from gaining control of Turkey. In 1857 England took possession of India after a war ruthlessly prosecuted. In 1859, with assistance from France, the Italian war against Austria began, which terminated in 1861 with the **unification of Italy** (except for Rome) under Victor Emanuel [II 1820-1878]. Herewith Austria again acquired a joint constitution which the emperor, however, in 1865-1867, again annulled. In Russia the liberal-minded Alexander II granted freedom to the serfs in 1863 but violently suppressed an insurrection of the Poles. The **war of the Secession**, 1861-1865, in America won emancipation for the Negroes and preserved the Union. This war Napoleon exploited in 1864 to lure Archduke Maximilian to Mexico, so that in the name of the solidarity of Latin interests he should assume imperial dignity. But the reluctance of the United States, under Grant, to go along with this plan, delivered the first blow to Napoleon in 1867, simultaneously shattering Maximilian's empire and bringing about his own death.

d.   Meanwhile under Wilhelm I (1861-1888) and his prime minister **Bismarck,** Prussia rose to her meridian. Prince Wilhelm, as regent for his incapacitated brother, immediately called for a liberal ministry to replace the former reactionary ministry of the romantic Friedrich Wilhelm IV. The organization of the Prussian army of 1860 brought on the constitutional conflict (1860-1866), further exacerbated by the appointment of Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen (the diet denied funding, and Bismarck governed without a budget). Intervening was the war which Prussia and Austria jointly waged against Denmark, disputing Schleswig-Holstein, and the war of 1866 matching Prussia against Austria, which as a result was forced out of the German League. This established Prussia's military and diplomatic primacy. Prussia thereupon founded the North German League (1867). When France suffered her reverse in Mexico, circumstances conspired to a point where she had to pit her strength against the ambitions of Prussia to preserve her prestige. In Spain the immoral Isabella had been expelled. The throne fell to Leopold von Hohenzollern. It was this event that generated France's war against Prussia, which, to the astonishment of the world, found all of Germany on Prussia's side, and thus she subdued

not only France (1870-1871), but also, on the battlefield, established the **German empire** under Prussia's hegemony. The result was that people the world over began to esteem the Germans more highly at a time when England and France had undeservedly long enjoyed the reputation of marching at the head of civilization.

e.   But in Germany, too, liberalism had taken a severe jolt in Prussia's victory of 1866, and when all Germany joined ranks, the conservatives were in the lead. **Liberalism** had been a force since 1830, and for the most part it was unbelieving. In itself this was not inevitable, as witness the examples of Cromwell and America. But revolution and reaction had driven liberalism to unbelief. There existed a peculiar professorial liberalism, engendered by romanticism (Gervinus, the German literary historian; F.C. Dahlmann, professor of political science in Göttingen, in 1837 dismissed from his chair; Karl von Rotteck, professor of natural law and of political science in Freiburg; seven Göttingen professors who protested against the Hannoverian political constitution and were discharged from office in 1837, Guizot and others). Otherwise, it was the middle class who were the supporters of this trend, who had rescued the fatherland in the Wars of Liberation, and to whom constitutional promises had been made. Church and state resisted the fulfillment of these promises, the state because the governments represented the interests of the dynasties [ruling families] and thought they had to contest everything derived from the Revolution; the church, because the Holy Alliance had won her over to the dynasties because, in those circumstances, she thought she must rely upon the government, and because she regarded everything deriving from the Revolution to be unchristian, all the more since many of the advocates of liberal ideas were agnostic (Görres at first). That is why the radical elements got the upper hand and drove all the rest out of the liberal ranks. Because of the opposition to dynastic interests the imperial idea was fostered in liberalism. The alliance of "throne and altar" continued to ferment in the **conservative parties**, and to this as well the rise of orthodoxy can probably be attributed to some extent, because everywhere for the most part the conservatives were the winners (the Lutheran lawyers Stahl and Huschke).

§267. Intellectual Life.

a.   Modern **historical inquiry**, directly related to romanticism, preoccupied literary life. Not born of romanticism, its beginnings lay in the time of the Enlightenment. But unlike natural science, it made no headway in the work of the 18th century because Voltaire, Hume, and Gibbon were pragmatists who produced valuable work in terms of the sources, to be sure, particularly the latter, but they did this throughout from their Enlightenment instinct and interests; romanticism did, however, promote history. Yet history now surpassed romanticism. Following B.G. Niebuhr (d. 1831) and Leopold von Ranke (d. 1886) historical research strove methodically to achieve objectivity, and thus it shed romantic subjectivism. Political liberalism, however, was still awash in romanticism, smitten with church and kingdom without mastering the real conditions. In France, Guizot (d. 1874), Thiers (d. 1877), Michelet (d. 1874), and Mignet (d. 1884) still maintained their preeminent influence. To this group belong Blanc and Renan, the former in the radical-political sense, the latter in the radical-theological. The philosophy of Auguste Comte (French mathematician and philosopher 1798-1857; distinction of three stages of human history: theological, metaphysical, positive, i.e. scientific age) influenced modern historical research; with the determination of fulfilling an assignment to ascertain the laws of the life of nations, Comte introduced natural scientific methodology into historical science. The English were the first to follow up on this idea. Among the many trenchant successors to Macaulay, H.Th. Buckle (d. 1862) stood forth preeminent in his *History of Civilization in England*. For all that, his critics have accused him of a doctrinaire bias and a materialistic world view.

b.   **Natural science** played into all of these conditions and developments. Romanticism had taken insufficient account of the progress of natural science. Schelling's philosophy, which, like all of post-Kantian idealism, had allowed no room in its system for empiricism, the very mother of natural science, and had created a

separation between romanticism and natural science. And yet none but the romantics have achieved so much for modern natural science (Alexander von Humboldt, Baader, Steffens, Oken, and others).

c.   With all of this, natural science had taken tremendous strides forward. W. Bessel (d. 1846), Adams (d. 1892), Leverrier (d. 1877), independent of each other, had discovered Neptune. K.F. Gaus (d. 1855), the most notable mathematician of modern times and W. Weber (d. 1891) invented the electro-magnetic telegraph (Göttingen, 1833), which the Englishman Wheatstone soon, and the American Morse later, made practicable. J. Liebig (d. 1873) began the analysis of organic elements, following in the footsteps of the Swede Berzelius (d. 1848), who had researched inorganic elements, to the benefit of industry, agriculture, and public hygiene. Robert Mayer (d. 1878) established the theory of mechanical heat equivalency and of the conservation of energy and Ch. Darwin, the theory of the origin of species in 1858 and of sexual natural selection. These discoveries in the most profound way stimulated research in the areas of botany, zoology, anatomy, and physiology. Morphology acquired its scientific confirmation; biology came into being. In 1859 R. Bunsen (d. 1899) discovered spectral analysis, H. Helmholtz invented the ophthalmoscope, and Bessemer cast steel; L. Pasteur initiated the research of microorganisms, disproving the theory of spontaneous generation in the process of fermentation and found a preventive treatment against hydrophobia. **Geographical research** advanced along Humboldt's lines. The course of the River Niger was explored in 1826, and in 1827 pioneers began exploration of the Nile. The Englishman Parry in the same year pushed nearer to the north pole, while his countryman Ross made headway to the south pole; MacLure, in search for the vanished Franklin [British Arctic explorer] in 1850, discovered the Northwest Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. Karl Ritter (d. 1859) raised geography to the status of a scientific discipline.

d.   All this work had an impact on practical life. It brought people into closer contact with each other and gave them common interests so that they all interacted directly with the development of scientific life and consequently also with the development of politics and science. In 1826 George Stephenson built the first railroad in England; in 1835 the first railroad appeared in Germany shortly after the first steamship had crossed the ocean. The general ideas inherent in these developments were then exploited in the interest of liberalism, wholly lost as it was in unbelief.

e.   The economic boom tended in the same direction. This benefited capitalism first of all. By capitalism's exploitation of manpower socialism was bred, whose rudiments had appeared already at the beginning of the century. In this period it was particularly Karl Marx (1818-1883; resident mostly in London) who scientifically defined socialism. His principal work *Das Kapital* embraced the outlines of the new historical and social philosophy. According to his materialistic conception of history, historical progress is evoked by economic precedents while the political and literary currents form only the superstructure. Religion, he held, merely reflects economic class struggles. Another socialist was Ferdinand Lasalle (d. 1864). More than a writer, he was also an agitator and a delegate who was the first to bring socialist ideas in high style into parliamentary politics. With industry burgeoning, socialism proliferated everywhere. In Germany W. Liebknecht and August Bebel in 1869 organized the Social Democratic Labor Party, which, contradicting their program (religion is a private matter), systematically sought to do away with all religion at the grass roots. The church was at fault in this insofar as she caught on too late to the idea that political paternalism need not necessarily be related to the Gospel.

f.   **Philosophy** further encouraged the unbelief of liberalism. Here too the change from romanticism to **realism** took place. J.F. Herbart (d. 1841) had taught at Göttingen as a colleague of Hegel's. He rejected the monism of post-Kantian idealism, posited a plurality of real facts (monads), from whose mechanical connection both the form as well as the external nature and the life of imagination must be shunted. In the practical part of his representation he approached the Jacobean idea of a philosophy of emotion. Herbart

developed, particularly in the field of psychology, a fruitful career and in connection with it, and thanks to his association with [Johann Heinrich] Pestalozzi [Swiss educational theorist] devoted himself to teaching. Because of the precise development of his psychological hypothesis and because of his conciliatory approach to the empirical sciences, this school came to be called the "exact" school, and because of its opposition to transcendental idealism, the school of realism. Compared with Hegel, this school never really went far. The Young Hegelians had first to carry out the radical idea of the master's system up to the **anarchism** of Max Stirner (d. 1856) (Strauss, Feuerbach). To begin with, from the 1840s onward, a hollow, desolate materialism asserted itself in Vogt (d. 1895), Büchner (d. 1899), and Moleschott (d. 1893), who ultimately came up with the theory of the descent of man from apes. This was passed off as natural science to the people, already wrought up by socialism.

g.   At the same time Arthur von Schopenhauer (d. 1860) in Germany and Maximilian Littré (d. 1881) in France carried on with their explicit anti-ecclesiastical, **pessimistic philosophy**. Schopenhauer's chief work *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, declared all life to be suffering, on the basis of a romantic, visionary metaphysic. An absolute salvation could be achieved only by a complete negation of the will to live by entrance into the Buddhist nirvana. But since this condition is unattainable, all that is left is relative salvation by total absorption in art and science. Schopenhauer's disciple Ed. von Hartmann (d. 1906) had earlier (1869) elaborated Schopenhauer's ideas in his *Philosophie des Unbewussten*. He criticized Christianity pitilessly and considered liberal Protestantism to be the "grave digger of Christianity" and the speculative philosophy of religion of Biedermann, Lipsius, and Pfleiderer to be the embryo of a new pantheistic religion. In the latter idea history has borne him out, in the former not.

h.   In France at this time **positivism** was all the rage, which considered scientific assertions valid only in the realm of possible experience, considering the existence of God, however, to be unknowable, or opposing it. Auguste Comte advocated this philosophy **(267 a.)**. Subsequently he established an atheistic cult. Modern sociology builds on the foundation of his historical ideas. In England Buckle had advocated the same ideas. They were presently comprehended in a philosophical system (called positivism) by J.S. Mill (d. 1873) and Herbert Spencer (d. 1903). Spencer introduced the **concept of evolution** into this system; but it only came into its own with Darwin's theory of the descent of man in 1871 (*Origin of Species* 1859; the *Descent of Man* 1871, positing the idea that in the struggle for existence, complex forms of life evolved from very simple ones by natural selection, by heredity, and adaptation, and that apes and humans evolved from a common ancestor).

i.   Along with these destructive tendencies there appeared in addition an idealistic philosophy, but it was not of enduring importance, except that it gave opportunity to those who fancy that they cannot get along without philosophy to show that one can be a Christian and at the same time be preoccupied with philosophy. In Germany such were Hermann Lotze (d 1881) in Göttingen and Th. Fechtner in Leipzig; in England Victor Cousin (d. 1867) and Thomas Carlyle (d. 1881). Carlyle strove to help Englishmen get to know Goethe and Frederick the Great and thus become acquainted as far as possible with at least something of the German way of being.

k. Art and **poetry** naturally express the same ideas as the rest of the life of the people. **England** was still in the midst of her long (1837-1901) Victorian epoch. This period did not produce particularly great minds, nor did it actually function creatively and extend an influence on wider circles. In the field of poetry Alfred Lord Tennyson (d. 1892) and Robert Browning (d. 1889) distinguished themselves. Tennyson, a Romantic, was hardly a creative star of the first magnitude, but he was an affable voice of his time with its scientific questions, its mental unrest, its world-weariness. Browning was a creative mind, an advocate of psychological poetry, which came into vogue on the continent through Ibsen [Nowegian dramatist] in England with

pronounced realism. But while at this time, and also in this school of poetry doubt was fundamentally in control, Browning did not allow himself to be overcome by it.

l. Besides Dickens (1812-1870), there were the novelists William Makepeace Thackeray (d. 1863) and George Eliot (d. 1880, Mary Anne Evans). Dickens may be compared with Fritz Reuter [Low German poet and novelist, 1810-1874], but whereas the German writer possesses a harmless humor, the Englishman draws on sarcastic caricature (the Frenchman on facetious cleverness) as the mental undercurrent of his perception and portrayal. Thackeray is less macabre than Dickens, but like him enjoys exposing the foibles of mankind satirically. Dickens however reveals a compassion for others, whereas Thackeray does not do so well in this regard. Eliot's novels are devoted to the analytical psychology of a later time. Besides Macaulay and Carlyle, the essayists were John Ruskin (d. 1900) and Matthew Arnold (d. 1888). The historian Macaulay was a master of style; Carlyle, together with Coleridge and De Quincy, made German literature and philosophy at home in England. Carlyle had a melancholic temperament, and was a keen critic of the superficialities of his time, the reverse of Macaulay when it came to perception and style, a man of inward orientation. Ruskin, who with the painter Rosetti, founded the "Pre-Raphaelite School" on the model of the German Nazarenes, stressed simplicity, truth, and inwardness, and in this endeavor had something in common with French Impressionism. But because reason outweighs emotion in the Englishman, the return to seriousness easily turns into pedantry, whereas in the Frenchman sensuous impressions are the first impulse. The German inwardness of the Nazarenes, the English and the French never approached, whereas the Germans later characteristically imitated foreigners and even surpassed them. But this is rather anticipating the next period.

m. In **France** under the second empire, censorship controlled public expression. Hugo and Blanc were in exile. Others sided with the empire. Lamartine's melancholy poetry of emotion and nature poetry continued to appeal as did that of Hugo and Gautier. The stage boasted of E. Augiers, Alexandre Dumas Jr., and Victorien Sardou, who produced dramas realistically featuring adultery (Sardou with humor). This realism dominated the novel as well. The works of Sand, Dumas, and Erckmann-Chatrian, were more mass-production than artistry. Jules Verne combined an interest in nature with a surrealistic imagination for entertainment. In historiography, Blanc and Renan, from the previous period, joined them. In architecture everyone was competing, in sculpture Auguste Rodin transferred impressionistic realism to hard material. In painting the School of Fontainebleau (Corot, Rosa Bonheur, Millet) declared against traditional bland painting. They pursued coloristic effect and rustic subject matter, without detail. Impressionism often comes down to truth at the expense of beauty. The artist paints what he himself sees, not how it is, but rather how it appears under the influence of light, *pleinair* or open air painting or shadow-less painting after the model of the Japanese Hokusai. The molasses-colored tones of former times were avoided and bluish and violet tones preferred instead, not to mention the other garish colors. The historical painter Jean Meissonier distinguished himself in particular.

n. In **music**, the Italians (Spontini, Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi) commanded the stage in their moving and melodious way. In Germany H. Marschner and A. Lortzing, as successors to Weber, challenged their supremacy. Karl Löwe modeled his ballads on the *Lieder* of Schubert and Schumann. But it was also the era of virtuosos filling the world with their artistry and earning much money. In **poetry**, following after Uhland and Rückert in Germany, there came Nik. Lenau with his melancholic lyrics and Ferd. Freiligrat with his exuberant ones. As dramatists, F. Grillparzer and F. Hebbel entered the scene with their psychologically refined portrayal of the psyche, but of the Gospel they understood nothing, and consequently their analysis remained one-sided, and like the current philosophy could only head toward pessimism and sensuality. ''Young Germany" was still making a racket, but E. Geibel (d. 1884), the herald of the German empire, was already striking a new tone, anticipating the conservative religious resurgence. In **architecture** a new art was blossoming with the rebirth of the Gothic style (Baron Fr. von Schmidt in Vienna and K. W. Hase in Hannover; the construction of the

cathedrals in Cologne and Ulm). In sculpture the masters of the previous period still held the field (Luther Memorial in Worms, completed in 1868). In painting, W. von Kaulbach and Friedrich Preller were rising, but Alfred Rethel 1816-1859, Moritz von Schwind, and L. Richter kept alive a sense for romanticism with their devotional conception of art.

§268. The Catholic Church.

a.   Pius IX (1846-1878), theologically uneducated, tremulously pious, and brought up on Ultramontanism, at first aligned himself with the national reform party and remitted a liberal encyclical which made him popular and from which no doubt, romantically inclined as he was, he expected greater things for the pontifical state. But the Revolution of 1848 put him and the Jesuits to flight. In 1850 French and Austrian troops brought him back, and forthwith he flung himself into the arms of the Jesuits (the Jesuit general Phil. Roothan, 1829-1853, earned the sobriquet *papa nero*) and Peter Beckx (1853-1883). His secretary Antonelli (d. 1876) did a poor job of administering the pontifical state, and the nationalist ideas were now represented by Sardinia-Piedmont (Victor Emanuel II, 1849-1878). The Jesuits in 1850 founded their periodical *Civilta cattolica*, edited by P. Curci (1880), and from then onward Jesuit influence spread from Rome throughout the world.

b.   To begin with, on December 8, 1854 came the announcement of the *Immaculata conceptio*, the immaculate conception of Mary as a divine revelation. This settled the old controversy between Franciscans and Dominicans. In the 1860s there followed canonizations (of the Jesuit-Japanese martyrs in 1862, and of Peter Arbues in 1867) and a resumption of the somewhat withered miracle piety (stigmatizations: the dubious case of Louise Lateau in Belgium, and many others notoriously fraudulent; the mother-of-God-appearances in Lourdes in 1858, La Salette, Gereuth, Marpingen, Dittrichswalde). The Heart-of-Jesus-Cult, zealously propagated by ex-Jesuits, now sprouted its mystic blossoms (later employed in France to preach vengeance against Germany), and the amulet racket (especially the doctrine of the scapular) was re-introduced.

c.   Above all now in **theology**, the Jesuits were moving toward a definite goal. They reverted to the medieval scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas even though they should have been more closely aligned to the Pelagianism of Scotism. Their principal advocates were the dogmatician Giovanni Peronne (d. 1876) and the moral theologian Jean Pierre Gury (d. 1866), both at the *Collegium Romanum*. This change initiated the disavowal of previous German theology because it did not accord with this step backward. In 1857 the speculative dogmatician Anton Günther in Vienna had to submit. In 1863 at the Congress of Scholars in the Benedictine abbey in Munich, the liberal views of Döllinger and of Karl Jos. von Hefele surfaced (1809-1893; Tübingen, *History of the Councils*).

d.   Everywhere the Revolution of 1848 had given voice to the wrath of the people against the Jesuits. The reaction, however, brought the **Jesuits** back, and with the idea now generally being believed that the Revolution had been suppressed, they exploited the situation to ultramontanize the masses in the manner described above. Also, most significantly, Pius societies were founded, especially in Germany, and a zealous ultramontane press was set up. Monasteries and order houses proliferated. Cecilian societies played a singular role; everywhere they cultivated church music and folk poetry following the founding of the Cecilian Order in 1847 by Pius, from whose activity many a pearl of popular evangelical poesy and music sprang forth amongst the glut of sickly Marian poetry.

e.   When in **France** Napoleon III ascended the throne (1852), the Jesuits enjoyed the patronage of the Empress Eugenie's influence. They knew how to accommodate themselves to **liberalism** and **demagogic journalism**. Educational freedom (1850) and the sanction of the orders assured them influence over the people. Lourdes became a much frequented shrine. Lacordaire in 1860 became a member of the Academy, but Montalembert alone of the romantics remained in the opposition. Victor Hugo, now at his height as a poet, and

the historian Louis Blanc, converted to **democracy** and **skepticism** and had to flee. Among the educated, skepticism in ecclesiastical forms was the general rule. In these circles Ernst Renan wrote his *Vie de Jésus* (1863), a critical but novelistic depiction of the life of Jesus.

f.   In **Germany** the Frankfurt parliament had granted unqualified religious freedom in 1848. Of this the Würzburger episcopal conference made immediate use and demanded complete educational freedom. The **Catholic faculties** were ultramontanized. In Würzburg there were Dunzinger, Hergenröther, and Senestrey; in Hesse-Darmstadt the new bishop Baron von Ketteler of Mainz destroyed the faculty in Giessen, set up his own seminary for priests in Mainz, and by secret agreement gained complete freedom from government interference. In 1866 the agreement was again invalidated by the grand duke. In **Prussia** the Catholic church attained full autonomy in the constitution of 1850, thanks to the romantic disposition of the king. The monastery in Maria-Laach in 1863 became the Jesuit headquarters. In **Baden,** after a prolonged controversy between the government and the archbishop of Freiburg von Vicari, the church obtained such an ultramontane concordat (1859) that both the Catholic and Protestant populace resisted and in 1860 enforced a liberal set of fundamental laws. Similarly, in **Württemberg**, the concordat of 1857 was disallowed in 1861, and the relations between state and church were regulated by law. In **Bavaria** after the abdication of the romantic Ludwig I the administration of Maximilian (1848-1864) was far more restrained, and Döllinger, Friedrich, and Hohenlohe, together with Hefele in Württemberg and Reinkens in Breslau, were able to oppose the efforts of the pope. Döllinger's "Odeon Lectures" began in 1861.

g.   In **Austria**, events in 1855 conspired to a concordat so advantageous to ultramontanism (surrender by the government to the Jesuits of lay and clerical education, of church trusteeship, and of a part of the administration of justice) that the liberals and in fact even the lower clergy rose up in protest against it, and the government in 1868 had to cut back the concordat, and in 1870 to rescind it. In **Spain**, Isabella, immoral but foolishly decorated by the pope with the "rose of virtue" award, nursed ultramontanism (concordat of 1851 and 1859), and thereby ironically, the revolution, contrary to her intention, and in 1868 was expelled. In 1869, there was a liberal constitution, the crown election of Leopold of Hohenzollern, and in 1870 the German-French war. In **Portugal**, liberalism was dominant, yet in 1859 a concordat was brought about. In **South America** the pope ruled supreme. In Mexico in 1867, the Emperor Maximilian, in league with Napoleon and the ultramontanists, was shot to death. After that there was liberalism with its anti-clerical legislation (expulsion of the Jesuits, secular elementary schools since 1873). The church nonetheless was still lording it over the people. In Poland in 1863 the pope joined the revolution. Of great significance was the agitation caused by propaganda; the Pikpus Confederation was established in 1817; and in 1822, the Lyonnaise Society.

h.   In **Holland** in 1853, and in **England**, hierarchical organizations were reinstated. Archbishopric of Westminster in 1850, Archbishops Cardinal Wiseman (1850-1865), Manning (1865-1892). In Algiers (French since 1830), there was Archbishop Lavigerie (1867-1892) and the mission of the "White Fathers." In **North America**, besides Baltimore, there were **six additional** archbishoprics (1846-1853), and in 1852 the first North American National Council.

i.   Thus Ultramontanism largely prevailed in Protestant countries as a result of the incompetence of the reaction and liberalism. Everywhere, the problem of the interfusion of church and state obtained. Owing to the lack of understanding of the Gospel (the idea that the church cannot survive without help from the government), neither reaction nor liberalism succeeded in untangling the interfusion. Either the reaction helped Ultramontanism to the detriment of its own religion, or liberalism flew at it so brutally that sooner or later it had to take revenge. Ultramontanism made the same mistake in its own backyard, in Spain, Austria, and Italy.

k.   In **Italy** Ultramontanism had such an effect that people's hearts turned to the small country farms even though liberalism here was led by secret societies in order to pave the way to national liberation. Mazzini and

the carbonari had their revolutionary locus in England. In Piedmont in 1848 the Jesuits were expelled under Victor Emanuel. The prince's objective was a liberal kingdom which, with help from France, was to drive out the Austrians. In 1850 the minister of justice Siccardi brought laws to bear against spiritual jurisdiction and ecclesiastical institutions. In 1855 the monastery law followed, dissolving all orders except those devoted to preaching, instruction, and care of the sick. The Waldensians were able to make progress under these conditions. In 1859 Napoleon helped to force Austria to withdraw from Lombardy. On the question of Rome (pontifical state) there was an impassioned exchange of pamphlets (1859-60). Döllinger and others disputed the necessity of the pontifical state. By 1861 Tuscany, Modena, Parma, Sicily, Sardinia, and Naples had joined forces with Piedmont, and the **union of Italy** was proclaimed. Rome was to be the capital, and the king was to be *papa-re*. To the proposal of the prime minister Cavour advocating a *Chiesa libera in libero stato* ["a free church in a free state"] Pius replied *Non possumus* ["we cannot do it"]. Rome received the protection of France, and Florence became the capital.

l.   Now in the course of the developments described above, Pius (1864) proceeded to condemn all modern errors in the encyclical *Quanta cura*. The "Syllabus" listed 80 errors in religion, science, politics, and economic life, encompassing all of the leading ideas of modern culture. In the coming years the Piedmont Laws were adopted for the new Italy in the face of the vehement opposition of the curia and the clergy. Prussia joined Italy in 1866 against Austria, and Italy gained Venice. Now even as major political forces were driving events forward to the German-French War, and with it the end of the pontifical state, the Catholic church achieved the **doctrinal culmination of the Council of Trent** in the promulgation of the **infallibility** of the pope at the **Vatican Council** (1869-1870)**.**

m.   The council was convoked in 1868. There was a tense general mood that awaited the interpretation of the syllabus and the definition of "infallibility." Montalbert in France counselled against it. Likewise, Döllinger in his anonymous treatise, "The Pope and the Council." The Conference of German Bishops in 1869 in Fulda expostulated with the pope to demonstrate moderation. The Bavarian council president Chlodwig von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, later German imperial chancellor, proposed preventive measures to the governments, but Austria vetoed these. Russia alone forbade the bishops to journey to Rome. The council opened on December 8, 1869. Of 764 bishops, 150 were dead set against the infallibility clause. The composition of the council and standing orders contrived by the **Jesuits** guaranteed victory for the doctrine, despite the fact that the minority had placed the most consequential men on the council. The pope let himself be talked into the promulgation of the doctrine thanks to the "Address of the Infallibilists." The minority released a "Counter Address." Hefele wrote his *De causa Honorii* to prove the fallibility of the pope from history. Strossmayer of Croatia censured the pope's politics in his essay "On the Improved Proemium." The *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* ran 68 letters of Prof Joh. Friedrich, the theologian representing the Bavarian cardinal Hohenlohe at the council, and of the English Lord Acton, edited by Döllinger and in 1870 published in book form under the name Quirinus. The upshot was that a new *Constitutio de ecclesia* was proposed to which the pope adopted a partisan position. When it was put to a vote, out of 601, 451 voted *placet* ["yea"], 62 *placet juxta modum* ["yea, with reservations"], 88 *non placet* ["nay"]. Many minority bishops left with the pope's approval. In the final vote on July 18, 1870, there were still 533 present, all of whom, with the exception of two (Riccio of Cajazzo and the American Fitzgerald of Little Rock, Ark.) accepted the *Constitutio*. The next day, unconnected with this event, there followed the French declaration of war against Germany, which terminated the Pontifical State when the French troops vacated Rome allowing the Italians to occupy the city. By an overwhelming majority (133,000 to 1,500 votes) **Romans** voted for annexation to the kingdom of Italy. A law was passed (1871) guaranteeing the pope the rank of a sovereign in the Vatican with an annual stipend of 3,225,000 lira. The pope thereafter played the role of a prisoner in the Vatican.

§269. German Protestantism.

a.   The revolution of 1848 strengthened the **conservative elements** to such an extent that they amalgamated. This helped the Lutheran tendency because they represented confessionalism within the Union. Here it would be incorrect to speak of reaction in a pejorative sense as in the time after 1817, even though admittedly the right, evangelically free ideas did not entirely, still less generally, prevail in the external structure of the church. In **Prussia** in 1849 all kinds of Lutheran societies were organized. In 1850, instead of a synod elected by the laity, the High Consistory was instituted, intended to function as the organ of the *summus episcopus* [head bishop]. It comprised members of both Protestant confessions who were commissioned to serve the interests of their confession by the *itio in partes* (division into parties, a term inherited from the Peace of Westphalia). To them belonged the pre-eminent lawyer Fr. J. Stahl, a Jew who converted to the Lutheran confession, who had led the high-church aristocratic party in the Prussian chambers since 1849. In 1853 the societies demanded Lutheran faculties and the restitution of Lutheran church properties. They were rudely refused. But under the minister of public worship von Raumer (1850-1858), church and school affairs were administered in a way that acknowledged faith (the much-maligned school regulations). In particular, the High Consistory also assumed supervision of the overseas work of the mission societies, for example, that of the Wisconsin Synod in North America.

b.   In **Bavaria, Saxony, and Mecklenburg** labors of faith, issuing from the universities, proceeded with vigor. In **Hannover** Dorner's Mediating Theology was dominant in Göttingen. Through the influence of the Lutheran pastoral conference the liturgiologist Ludwig Schöberlein was called to Göttingen, and [Karl, 1801-1859] Spitta was promoted to doctor of theology. In **Electoral Hesse** the minister Hassenpflug headed affairs through his consistory councilor [August, 1800-1868] Vilmar. Because he did so with the rigors of the administrative apparatus and in addition exhibited a tinge of high-churchianity his regime provoked considerable hatred in the country. In 1855 his ministry was toppled, but confessionalism had enjoyed a resurgence. In **Mecklenburg** the liturgiologist [Theodor, 1810-1895] Kliefoth presided over church government, and [August Wilhelm, 1823-1894] Dieckhoff was the leading theologian. In 1858 the dismissal of Prof. Michael Baumgarten, who was charged with heretical departure from the Lutheran confessions, provoked attention. Here too disciplinary punishment excited the censure even of Lutherans like von Hofmann, Scheurl, and Luthhardt without their recognizing that the mistake inhered in the amalgam of church and state and not in the disciplinary action itself. In **Bavaria** the Lutheran church was reorganized under [Gottlieb Christoph Adolf von, 1806-1879] Harless with a good hymnal, agenda, chorale book, and other provisions. In the unified **Bavarian Rhenish Palatinate** a special consistory had been in place since 1848, from 1853 under the leadership of Ebrard [Johannes Heinrich August, 1818-1888]. But even the *Augustana variata* and a new projected hymnal proved too much for the local liberals to stomach. In the Saxon duchies rationalism prevailed further. In **Baden**, Lutheran consciousness roused itself, and after bitter conflict those concerned were able to join the Breslauer. But even in the united establishment church confessional practice began to waken. Yet when in 1854 Ullmann from Heidelberg, now chairing the Ministry, insisted on clearer and firmer forms, he had to yield to the opposition of Schenkel [Daniel, 1813-1885] and the Heidelberg faculty. In Hesse-Darmstadt too the Lutheran confession shook off its torpor.

c.   This confessional resurgence was mirrored on the other side by sundry **free-evangelical amalgamations**. In Saxony in 1832 the Gustav Adolf Society was formed for the support of indigent Protestant congregations. Since 1842 its agency extended throughout Germany. It was, however, Union-inspired. In all Protestant countries after 1848 less pretentious societies proliferated, among them the Lutheran treasuries for the poor. These societies stressed the Confessions.

d.   In 1846 the Protestant governments in Germany had arranged an evangelical conference for the purpose of nurturing the idea of a confederate union. Since 1852 it has convened biennially in Eisenach. In 1848 evangelical theologians and congregation members met in Wittenberg to form an evangelical church federation for Germany. From this there ensued the Evangelical Church Diet which convened annually in the capitals of Germany. The federation too was a union organization, and after 1870 it lost its significance. Germans also participated in the Evangelical Alliance, founded in 1846 by the Scot Thomas Chalmers. The fourth convention met in 1857 in Berlin. Then German participation was weakened by the growing strength of the established church. Working simultaneously with these alliances were the societies and institutes founded earlier in the field of domestic and foreign missions. In Hermannsburg in 1849 the Lutheran Hermannsburg Mission was established by Ludwig Harms, and in Leipzig Franz Delitzsch was active in the Jewish mission. **Wilhelm Löhe** (d. 1872) founded a Deaconess Institute in Neuendettelsau in conjunction with an infirmary, a female seminary, and an asylum for retarded children. In addition to these efforts he conducted a mission school for training pastors and teachers for America.

e.   When in **Prussia** Prince Wilhelm in 1858 took over the government for his ailing brother, and then in 1861 acceded to the throne as King Wilhelm I, the New (liberal) Era dawned. [Friedrich 1802-1861] Stahl retired from the High Consistory, and stringent confessional church practice was relaxed. But then when the time of conflict set in, the influence of the conservatives increased again. Still, the vacillating if conservative ecclesiastical bearing of the cabinet of von Mühler altered conditions but little.

f.   During this time many, especially among the elementary school teachers, stifled their anger at the amalgam of politics and religion in hatred against the church. In 1865 the first **Protestant diet** convened at Eisenach under the chairmanship of the lawyer Bluntschli of Heidelberg and the first chaplain in ordinary [Karl; 1812-1885] Schwarz of Gotha, positing as its principle the freedom of all Protestants in matters of science and religion. Baumgarten and Rotha too were present. In subsequent years a zealous propaganda for Protestant unification was carried on. When in 1866 the new provinces of Hannover and Hesse were joined, a relentless **agitation against the Prussian Union** struck up in Lutheran circles in these territories. But because of the unhappy amalgam of church and state this agitation did not steer clear of unevangelical interference insomuch that the position taken on the doctrine of the pastoral office of the ministry turned out to be virtually high-church, particularly in Hesse among the intractables while the Welfs prejudiced the concern for the Gospel with their political agitation. On the other side, liberalism stood with the Union. The issue of these conflicts, beginning in 1868, was the **General Lutheran Conference** and the *Allgemeine Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*.

g.   Actual **doctrinal controversies** could occur only among Lutherans. In the first years after 1848 a controversy arose concerning the doctrine of **church and ministry**. Kliefoth, Vilmar, Münchmeyer, and Löhe entertained high-church notions of the pastoral office and of the church similar to Grabau's position in America. Ranged against them stood probably most Lutherans of other circles, including especially the Erlanger. Altogether free and correct according to Scripture, Höfling stood alone with only a few associates. This controversy was carried on also in the **Free Church**. [Georg 1801-1886] Huschke contended that the ministry is *juris divini* [exists by divine law]; only its external profile is *juris humani* [by human law]. His chief opponent was Pastor Dietrich who seceded in 1861 and founded the Immanuel Synod. In 1853 [Karl; 1814-1888] Kahnis had attacked [Karl Immanuel; 1787-1868] Nitzsch at the Lutheran conference on the **modern doctrine of union**. On this topic a number of treatises were exchanged. A further controversy see-sawed between [Friedrich Adolf; 1809- 1882] Philippi and [Johann Christian; 1810-1877] von Hofmann when Philippi in 1856 attacked the Erlanger regarding his doctrine of reconciliation. Hofmann, like Ritschl later, taught that the passion and death of Christ signified not atonement for sins but a model for Christians, and in

1856-1859 defended this way of teaching in his "Essays Suggesting a New Way of Teaching Old Truths." By 1862 Kahnis had drifted into an Arianizing direction, and was attacked for it by Hengstenberg. He defended his position in his "Evidence of the Basic Truths of Protestantism against Hengstenberg."

§270. Protestantism outside of Germany.

a. The struggle for religious freedom began immediately after 1848 in the Scandinavian kingdoms. In 1849 it was proclaimed in **Denmark**. [Hans Lassen] Martensen (1808-1884) had been able to make but little headway against liberalism with his mystical, speculative Lutheranism, the less so because the influences of Grundtvigianism and Kierkegaard (§263 o.) supported liberalism. In **Norway**, as early as 1845, the way was opened to the formation of Christian sects, and in 1851 to the admission of Jews to civic equality. Since then the Catholic church made strides as well. Here in Norway C.P. Caspari was professor of theology in Christiania since 1847, thanks to Hengstenberg's influence, and kept awake the sensorium for old Lutheran ways against the influence of the two poets Björnson and Ibsen. In **Sweden** it was not until 1858 that the imperial law defining the Lutheran confession of the citizens that had obtained since 1686 was abrogated. Yet it took until 1870 for full religious freedom to be proclaimed.

b. In **Switzerland** a conflict arose between an ultra-liberal party of the Young Hegelians (A. E. Biedermann, 1850-1885 in Zurich) and the orthodox party of [Johann Heinrich 1818-1888] Ebrard. The median position was held by Hagenbach [Karl Rudolf; 1801-1874], along with the liberal reformers Langhans and Bitzius Jr., who since 1870 had been attracting notice as they advanced the principle of severance of church from state. In **Holland** mostly everybody fell for the rationalism of Scholten and Kuenen [Abraham; 1828-1891]. Mediating theology was espoused by the Groningen faculty or the Evangelicals (Hoffstede de Groot; d. 1886), and by ethical theologians associated with Chantepie de la Saussaye [Pierre Daniel; 1848-1920] and van Oosterzee [Jan Jacob; 1817-1882]. Shortly before 1870 confessionalism quickened in Kuyper [Abraham 1837-1920, opposed modernism and liberalism, founded Free Reformed Union of Amsterdam 1880, prime minister 1901-1905].

c. In **Great Britain** the third phase of the high church development, known as ritualism, was at play in the Anglican church. Catholicizing Anglicans, against the will of the people, arbitrarily introduced ever more Catholic ritual into public worship (images, crucifixes, flags, candles, incense, holy water, priestly vestments, prayers to the saints, elevation of the host, auricular confession, prayers for the dead, fasting, monasticism, celibacy). They won the clergy over to such observance. It came to litigation, but the ritualists, since 1860 members of the English Church Union, prevailed. Their opponents in the Church Association (since 1865), were obliged to come up short with their unqualified negative opposition. Meanwhile **German scientific enquiry** entered England. The patristics scholar J.B. Lightfoot (d. 1889), the textual critics F.J.A. Hort (d. 1892) and B.F. Westcott (d. 1890) took part in international scholarly work. Only now did Baur's biblical criticism take hold. Best known as a believing pulpit orator was the Baptist Charles H. Spurgeon (in London). German mediating theology made deep inroads in **Scotland**. In **Ireland** the Protestant Episcopal Church was separated from the Church of England in 1869 by the Church-Bill.

d. In **America** during this period everyone was politically preoccupied with the question of slavery, which became clearly defined by the War of Secession. The time between 1848 till around 1870 marks the era of American classical literature. The hub of activity moved to Boston, also the crucible of the abolition movement. The notable authors are Ralph Waldo Emerson (d. 1882), Nathaniel Hawthorne (d. 1864), Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (d. 1882), John Greenleaf Whittier (d. 1892), and Oliver Wendell Holmes (d. 1894). Add to these the historian John Lothrop Motley (d. 1877). The dominating philosophy was still German romanticism and German idealism. What is more, writers like Motley, Bancroft, and Longfellow picked up

this turn of mind straight from German universities. Naturally, like the English, they imbibed their liberalism, chiefly from Heidelberg, which then proved destructive in American theology.

e.   After 1848 many educated **Germans** from **southern** and **western Germany** immigrated. They at once took the lead in public life since they came here fresh from the Revolution: Franz Lieber, who had come beforehand, as a lawyer, and Karl Schurz, as a statesman. In the Civil War Germans had contributed decisively to the northern Federal victory, though this was but grudgingly acknowledged. The temper of the English-speaking populace was generally down on the Germans. Americans could not really size up the culture of the "Forty-eighters," and their nonchalant and unchurchly ways which must often have grated on the puritanical Americans could never win their esteem. The immigrants from **northern Germany** were for the most part estate laborers, and got busy making the Midwest arable. They supplanted the "Yankees" by working harder. In the previous period they had frequently fallen in with the Methodists who in mission work outpaced the other Protestants. Now mostly they joined Lutheran congregations. In these congregations they were somewhat shut off from the rest of the Americans through the establishment of parish schools and by their lack of political training. All of this fed the presumption in the English-speaking American that he was superior to the German, even though in individual instances he could not help but acknowledge the German's proficiency.

f.   The English American had little cause to plume himself, above all in matters relating to the church. **English churchianity** was washing out. It was too much taken up with externals, and now this was all the more conspicuous in that you could observe English and German churchianity at close quarters. There were still occasional confrontations with rationalism in English churches, but these were of little consequential influence. Among the **Presbyterians** there appeared three alignments: the austere Scottish Calvinism, the American theology of Jonathan Edwards, and *"Consistent Calvinism"* or *"Hopkinsianism."* To the latter alignment belonged Nathaniel W. Taylor in New Haven, Lyman Beecher (d. 1863) at Lane Seminary, and others. For their modern ideas they were charged with false doctrine, but the allegation never carried in the General Assembly. Among the **Congregationalists**, Horace Bushnell (d. 1876) stood out. He had drawn stimulation mainly from Coleridge, and knew German theology as far as translation allowed. He encountered the New England theology with ideas recalling Hofmann's doctrines. He sought to understand God's mercy from the perspective of human psychology with the result that the concept of satisfaction in Christ's work of atonement was lost. Nevertheless, his doctrine did not ring so rationalistically as it did later in Ritschl; in fact, Bushnell wanted to be a Scriptural and confessional theologian. But he was severely attacked.

g.   Opposed to these later theologians stood the Princeton Seminary professor **Charles Hodge** (d. 1878). In the conflicts of the "Old School" and the "New School" (1834-1869) he belonged to the "Old," which aimed to maintain the confessional status. It is interesting to note that John W. Nevin (d. 1876) at the German Reformed seminary in Mercersburg [Pennsylvania] pointed out to his community that in their teaching of the Lord's Supper doctrine their position was not Calvinistic ("mystical presence") but Zwinglian. His colleague, on the recommendation of [Johann August Wilhelm 1789-1850] Neander in Berlin, had, since 1844, been the Swiss Philipp Schaff (d. 1893), from 1869 at Union Seminary in New York, who was active mainly in his historical work and served as a bridge between the old and new world. He was also engaged in the translation and publication of exegetical works (Lange's commentary), and as president of the commission for the revision of the English Bible translation.

h.   In America in this period of 1848-1870, actually only the **Lutheran church** produced anything of quality because the German Lutherans, unlike the English American Christians, did not squander their energy in politics and in external constitutional questions. So while in the English churches, indeed in the Lutheran General Synod no less, the slavery issue dominated everything, the issue which the War of Secession 1861-

1865 ostensibly settled but not without prolonged after-pains, the Lutherans experienced profoundly definitive doctrinal confrontations resulting in distinct groupings of the synods.

i. The significance of **Walther's** influence in America is that he pointed out what Lutheran doctrine actually is. His conflict with Grabau had already signified as much. This conflict was now perpetuated with Löhe and his students. Beginning in 1846 Löhe had subsidized Walther's work with his means and had founded the seminary in Fort Wayne. On the doctrine of the ministry Walther found himself at odds with him as well, and when on a trip which Walther and Wyneken took to Europe this difference failed of resolution, Walther founded *Lehre und Wehre* in 1855 in order to advocate his position in a scholarly way.

k. Meanwhile three other groups of Lutherans had entered the field, the Scandinavians, the Wisconsinites, and the Iowans. The latter were the first to enter the controversy. Löhe's emissaries, who had settled in the Franconian colony in Michigan, sided with the Missouri Synod in the controversy, and one segment in 1854 founded the **Iowa Synod** in Iowa under the leadership of Grossmann [Georg Martin; 1823-1897], the director of the teacher training seminary in Saginaw founded by Löhe, Pastor Deindörfer [Johannes A.; 1828-1907], and the brothers Gottfried (d. 1889) and Sigmund (d. 1900) Fritschel. At first they stood shoulder to shoulder with their teacher Löhe on the question of the office of the ministry. Though they did not espouse Grabau's extreme position, the Missourian doctrine of transmission seemed to them too democratic (the office of the ministry is given to the church, the congregation; the church transmits it to the pastor so that he can administer it in the name of the congregation). So they stuck to their contention that the pastor receives his office directly through Christ (without more exact designation), and assigned more importance to ordination than the Missourians. They came from the more fixed circumstances (since Walther's 1839 emigration) of the established church and therefore were free, as Walther was not, from the particularism of the persecuted, and because some of them advocated chiliastic ideas without synodical discipline, there ensued, upon the initial difficulties with Missouri, the intense conflict concerning "open questions" and the importance of the Confessions. The Fritschels discussed them in *Probsts Monatsheften.* F. A. Schmidt, a professor in St. Louis, attacked them in *Lehre und Wehre* at the beginning of the 1870s.

l.   In Wisconsin, Johannes Mühlhäuser, the first emissary of the "Langenberger Society" sent in 1837, had founded the Wisconsin Synod (1850). These Langenberger came from the Union but were trained as Lutheran in Barmen. Since 1862 these emissaries came by the instrumentality of the "Berlin Society," and were predominantly university theologians, among them Adolf Hönecke (1835-1908). In 1853 the Norwegians, who since 1825 had been settling in Wisconsin, had founded the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, and in 1860 the Swedes, who since 1850 had been arriving in Illinois, combined to form the Augustana Synod. After 1866 many from the Hermannsburg mission entered the German synods. These German synods established parish schools, colleges, and seminaries for training teachers and preachers within their domain.

m.   The ideas Walther advanced made the old church in the East, grown English, pay attention, and they began to take seriously problems in German theology. While the Germans in the Midwestern states had conducted their confrontations among themselves, the discussion now became general when Dr. Schmucker [Samuel Simon 1799-1873] of Gettysburg in his document entitled "Definite Platform" in 1855 altered the Augsburg Confession in line with mediating theology. Free Lutheran conferences composed of members of the synods of Missouri, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania were held. The doctrinal discussions led in 1866 to the formation of the General Council, a segment of the eastern synods joining ranks against the General Synod. They met under the leadership of Charles Porterfield Krauth (1823-1883). The Council's position, constituting a protest against the unLutheran bearing of the General Synod, was set forth in 1875 in the Galesburg Rule

with four practical questions which, however, failed to solve the questions of pulpit and altar fellowship with dissenting believers, of chiliasm, and of lodge practice.

n.   Because of these questions Missouri, Ohio, Iowa, and Wisconsin had already in 1866 stood apart. These groups were approaching consensus. A colloquy between Missouri and Iowa in 1867 miscarried, another in 1868 between Wisconsin and Missouri ascertained agreement, and in 1872 the Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Minnesota Synods affiliated with Wisconsin, and the Norwegian Ev. Lutheran Church of America joined to form the Synodical Conference, which accordingly followed a settled practice in doctrine and discipline on the basis of the Lutheran confessions. Those who understood little of the Lutheran genius remained in the General Synod.

o.   Since 1840 alliances with the Union confession had been made in Missouri, Ohio, and the eastern states. In 1872 the Synod of the Northwest affiliated with them as well, thus founding the German Evangelical Synod. Their confession is that of the Prussian Union. A. Irion (d. 1870) was the most consequent theologian in this circle.

3. The Most Recent Times, 1870-1917.
§271. General Summary.

a. Over the past fifty years all of the developments of the foregoing century have been reaching maturity. The current World War, one may say already now, is bringing about the following result: the collapse of individualism. Two lines of ideas dominate the history of this period. The first has to do with the mind governing national life, the other with external circumstances determining the interrelationship of nations.

b.   For the mind which inspirits all human activity to utterance, hardly a concept in the last fifty years has weighed so heavily as that of socialism. Whereas individualism, originating in the Enlightenment via subjectivism in opposition to authority, was still much astir in the liberalism of the 19th century, it was precisely liberalism which led to socialism. This new concept influenced every area of human life, the external and internal policy of nations, philosophy, art, and science, business and trade, and lastly also religion. The conservative elements to which liberalism now was largely attracted sought to hinder the rise of socialism by trying to ameliorate the detriments to national life brought on by socialism. From this conflict of opinions and interests a whole culture evolved which in contrast to the foregoing period, again is characterized predominantly by temporality, and as never before promises heaven on earth, now in fact in so many words. In the current war this culture has gone to pieces. After a while the question is going to be: Which are the cultural elements which have proven themselves capable of survival and which must form the foundation of the construction of a new world enterprise?

c.   The external circumstances in this period are altogether different from those formerly obtaining. Nations are engaged in livelier mutual exchange: trans-Atlantic cable 1866, regularly scheduled steamship connections, railroads, in 1875 the international Postal Union. Germans have emerged from their former isolation to take first seat in every respect among the nations. The preliminary work done in previous years without fanfare in art, science, and industry, has now proved its worth. Germans outstripped every nation, mainly also the English, in trade and business. As in all financial enterprises, everyone was out for blood. But Germany also gave the whole world a theology which could easily accommodate itself to the prevailing temporal ideas. Both advances are implicated in bringing the whole world down on Germany so that now she must fight for her very existence. Americans have entered a more vigorous commerce with Europeans, and the Japanese have been exporting an entirely alien element westward from the orient. Moreover, the cultured powers have divided up the world among themselves, and thus have pulled the entire globe into the sphere of history. Hence particularly the Americans and Japanese have played a very influential role in the present war and the new

world political situation will have more to reckon with these two nations than they have done previously. In fact, owing to the colonies of the cultured powers, the entire globe is involved in the world war and what it will mean to the future.

d. As touching the Gospel and its pertinence in this era, this remains apart from these earthly concerns. Self-contained, it stands immutable. The Gospel has nevertheless proven its power in the evolution of this history in that all nations, having glutted themselves in materialism, have now sought their ultimate refuge in the Gospel. Here too the future will enquire which elements of Christian culture of this era have proven capable of survival and will have to set the standard for resumed labor, and which are the communities that have understood the Gospel and the signs of the time to prepare them to exploit, in the service of the Gospel, the great opportunity presenting itself through the coming revolutionary changes.

§ 272. The Great International Politics.

a. Replacing the European political system whose network determined the political history of Europe far into the present period, a world-wide political system at length supervened. Under Bismarck's hand Germany had, through her victory over France [1871], attained to the suzerainty of Europe. She now initiated a policy of peace, but because France nurtured ideas of revenge, she had to remain under arms. This compelled all major European powers except England to resign themselves to universal compulsory military service. Russia had covered Germany's back in the French war. But after the Russian-Turkish War when Russia sought a port on the Black Sea (in 1877-1878), which had been closed to her by the Crimean War, a peace was concluded at the Berlin Congress in 1878 which preserved Turkey from fragmentation in the interest of England and Austria, and confined Russia to the Black Sea. Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, and lastly also Bulgaria (1887) became states independent of Turkey. Since that time Russia tried to subjugate these Balkan countries to her influence. Russian policy since then divorced itself from its traditional alliance with Prussia and turned to France, which also wanted to secure its dominance in the Levant by conquests in Africa. To countervail this move, in 1887 Germany concluded the Triple Alliance with Austria and Italy. England fortified her position in the Mediterranean and in 1882 acquired Egypt as well, plus the Suez Canal, built by the French.

b. Meanwhile the European nations applied themselves to dividing up the world. England expanded her colonial power: Canada, islands in the West Indies, Australia, South America, India, Egypt, New Zealand, and since the Boer War (1899-1902), the expanse between Egypt and the Cape, unbroken save for German East Africa. Russia enlarged her borders in Central and East Asia. Beginning in 1870, Japan opened her ports to European culture, established her predominance in East Asia in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), and affirmed and expanded it in the Russia-Japanese War (1904-1905). Germany secured domains in West and East Africa and a number of islands in Australasia [the East Indian Archipelago] and Polynesia. Lastly, the United States brought Spanish influence in the West Indies to an end in 1898, and gained control of the Philippines. In 1900 she incorporated the Hawaiian Islands.

c. Germany, however, especially in her competitive dealings with England, ventured so far that she overtook the island kingdom. After Bismarck, who had maintained his independence against England, had been dismissed [1890] because of the Socialist Laws, Wilhelm II, emperor since 1888, grew very conciliatory to the English. But when Edward VII (1901-1910) took the reins in England, he concluded the Triple Entente with France and Russia which ignited the present World War (since August 1914) against Austria and Germany. Because of the manifest, unabashed, systematic lying on the part of England, any truth-loving person will have to adjudge the issue thus for the time being. The Triple Entente subsequently drew Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, Japan, Portugal, Italy, and Rumania into their spheres. These nations have emblazoned on their ensigns the political and economic destruction of Germany. Because of the long-dominant navalism of the

English and the militarism vaunting itself not only in England but also in the United States, strongly influenced by England as it is, the abolition of German militarism, among England's goals, evidently is to be explained as merely a means to the end, much as the ostensible concern for small countries is also rendered questionable by England's previous treatment of India, Boer country, and Greece. Germany and Austria have withstood half of the world in defense of their existence and expect to enjoy, as a result of their hoped for victory, the freedom of the seas and the unhampered economic cooperation of the nations in the subsequent peace. The neutrals could arrive at no common position because the United States wanted to operate independently. That was because this administration could hardly find a consistent course in the emerging neutrality problems and thus, in its own country, ran up against the opposition of two parties, the pro-British, who expressly wanted America on England's side, and the German Americans, with whom many Irish were allied, who demanded equal treatment of England and Germany.

d.   In Petrograd, the capital of Russia, hunger riots broke out on March 8, 1917, which by March 12 had developed into revolution. On March 15 Czar Nicholas abdicated the throne, since when a permanent head of a ministerial department, instated by the duma [legislative assembly in czarist Russia], is carrying on the business of state. While this turn of events heralds the approach of peace, President Wilson in his speech before Congress on April 2, in response to Germany's U-boat campaign, adopted England's point of view which amounts to this determination, that the so-called democratic governments have the obligation to suppress Prussian autocracy, and thus to bring peace and the related blessings of humanity to the world (Calvinistic-Free Masonic ideas remarkably consonant with the Free Masonic cosmopolitanism prevailing at the end of the 18th century). On April 5 the Congress ratified the President's declaration, though we may well assume that an overwhelming majority of the population opposed the war. But this majority was unable to win out against the jingoistic powers (another sign of the collapse of contemporary culture). Now we are in the war as well, and the end is nowhere in sight.

§ 273. Socialism.

a.   In this period Socialism played a major role. This tendency is the inevitable continuation of liberalism. If previously liberalism represented politically the third estate, that is the citizenry versus the nobility and clergy, socialism now extended this to the fourth estate, that is the working class, and in fact not only in reference to political but also to economic despotism, the despotism of capitalism. At the same time Socialism weighs against the individualism that sprang from the Enlightenment. It assigns the individual to the service of the group by stressing the cooperative organization of laborers and service providers. Yet it does not intend to do away with the freedom of the individual, but on the contrary, to guarantee it, because blind individualism reduces the masses to dependence upon the few.

b.   If liberalism was driven to materialism, then socialism raised materialism to a principle, if not theoretically, then certainly in practice. If liberalism was national, socialism was international. All these ideas were elaborated theoretically and practically in the previous period, and, with the founding of the Social-Democratic Party, were raised to a power the state had to reckon with. The conditions which generated socialism-industry, urban congestion of masses of laborers, the consequent emergencies, the progress of technology, the boom of business and commerce especially after the German-French War the financial bonanza in the wake of the war in Germany, all increased proportionately after the war precisely because of the success of that war.

c.   Preceding this affluence, moreover, you find an increase in the materialist way of thinking. Darwin's ideas were advocated in Germany by Ernst Häckel, in Jena. Most naturalists and physicians acquiesced. Even though E. DuBois-Reymond (d. 1896; "On the Limits of Knowing Nature") had ascertained human ignorance (not

only *ignoramus* ["we are ignorant"], but *ignorabimus* ["we will keep on being ignorant"]), he himself, like his colleague Rudolf Virchow (d. 1902) avowed materialism. And even though the great physiologist Hermann Helmholtz (d. 1894) set his face against materialism, still most of the half-educated and most of the organized labor force were materialists.

d.   In spite of their negligible number the Social Democratic Party were no sooner seated in the German parliament than they rose up with such recklessness that in 1878, as a result of Hödel's and Nobiling's attempt on the life of the aged emperor, the law against socialists was enacted. This made socialism an anti-national movement, the more so because the parallel *Kulturkampf* ["cultural struggle"] had a similar effect on the Catholic populace. (Deeply connected in many cases with this movement were the anarchist internationals, Michael Bakunin in Russia (d. 1876), the propaganda of action of Netschajew (d. 1869) and Joh. Most [in Germany until 1878, in London until 1883, then in America] and Russian nihilism, as well as the outrages in America [e.g., the Haymarket assassination attempt in 1886 in Chicago], the murder in 1901 of McKinley, and the numerous labor unions and labor disturbances up until the Congressional election in 1912 of Victor Berger, and the organization of his party in the administration of Milwaukee.) In 1887 the German government looked into the matter at the same time as a change was setting in within the *Kulturkampf*, and when the Triple Alliance was formed. It tried at first to play socialism off against Rome, and thus various social-political bills (sickness and accident insurance bill, disability and old age pension bill) were passed. Socialism nevertheless grew in popularity, and so after Bismarck's departure in 1890, the law against socialists was not renewed.

e.   The same development took place in socialism as in the rise of the Enlightenment and in its continuation in liberalism after the great revolution: the conservative elements in state and church could not distinguish between the truths which socialism upheld and the way it sponsored them. In this way socialism gained the victory despite the resistance of its opponents and in spite of the mistakes of its adherents. The nationalization of so many enterprises, as for instance that of mass communication media, follows socialist planning. In England and America, the labor unions have adopted the socialist ideas and in so doing have prevented an actual social democratic party from playing the role it played in Germany. In both republican countries class interests have outweighed the common national interests. But the war has had the effect in both countries of significantly strengthening the socialist idea, the more so as socialism in Germany and America, and to some extent also in France and England, has really represented the patriotic idea and the weal of the whole nation. The nationalization of mass communication media just mentioned will for that reason no doubt win out anyway, either from economic considerations as in Germany, or in order to control graft, as in republican countries. Under socialist influence, Bismarck talked about healthy egoism. Since then, egoism, always practically standard in politics, has been raised to the status of a scientific theory. Depending on how one interprets the expression, it states a truth, but only the Gospel can teach one to recognize it.

f.   Socialism has taken hold also in the social-moral-educational sphere. In Europe, although socialism did not initiate the feminist issue, it did raise the cause to vital importance. Problems bearing on the position of women in civil rights and public rights, political, economic, and of a social nature emerged from the transformation of society and its forms of life in the 18th and 19th century. Hence, the French Revolution thrust women in a grotesque way into the foreground. In Germany at the time von Hippel, in England in Mary Wollstoncraft (1792) pled the demands of the feminist position with learned elaboration. In France the Saint Simonists interceded for them after the July Revolution in 1830, in England, Jeremy Bentham, Herbert Spencer, and especially J. Stuart Mill. Since 1870, French communism and Russian nihilism have worked in the same direction. From this time onward, women have not only taken center stage in all areas of life in their competition with men, but they have, thanks to the influence of legislation especially in America, brought about much that is beneficial to the position of woman and child, and hence also to the commonweal. In

Germany, where legislation has achieved the most telling results, one hears hardly a word about agitation on the part of women, but there, women operate with the gifts God has bestowed on their gender (compassionate concern and help of others). Significantly, this approach appears to be more effectual than agitation. It is equally significant that agitation is native to English circles, and the question is whether that is to be attributed to Calvinism or the national propensity. At all events this kind of agitation has generated repulsive excesses (suffragettes, sex hygiene [abortion]). The feminist cause has been most beautifully represented by Amalie Sieveking, Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Jane Addams, and after these by many others in all countries, and the current war has demonstrated that a woman exemplifies the best and noblest ideals when she abides within the domain appointed by Holy Scripture. It remains true nonetheless that human vicissitudes keep posing new problems. In all civilized countries women enjoy a more or less limited suffrage. In America the church, save for Lutherans and Catholics, has bothered little about the education of the young. Socialism has all the more occupied itself with it, in external matters often with common sense, otherwise antagonistic to the church. The sectarian church sought by means of burdensome Sunday-schools (juvenile courts) to ward off the influence of socialism and that of all other forms of unbelief in the public schools.

g.   Science as well had to acquiesce in the influences of socialism. National economy everywhere passed from the individualistic conception to constitutional socialism (in Germany, G. Schmoller, A. Wagner). In historical inquiry, closely associated as it is of necessity with the national economy, this change-over took precedence. The idea that economic interests required closer attention, at first exaggerated of course, had been gaining notice since the time of St. Simon. The Englishman Henry Buckle carried this idea so far that he all but ruled out the unimpeded activity of the mind, whether in individual great men or even in the nation at large. Also the Marxist idea of capital had to be ventilated. Sociology has thus far not been sufficiently elaborated. But it is now universally acknowledged that socialist ideas deserve attention.

h.   In philosophy the influence of socialism appears in the Englishman Herbert Spencer (d. 1903). He championed altruism (Latin *alter*, "the other"), living for others. The greatest happiness for the greatest number must be our goal. So one should protect one's own interest, because living one's own life to the full in conjunction with others constitutes the ultimate bliss. Thus ancient eudemonism, always to be found in the company of materialism, came to be defined in a socialist form. Today these ideas dominate all politics. The materialism of Vogt, Büchner, and Moleschott, who popularized Darwinism, was disseminated at this time among the workers. Ultimately in 1906 a monist association was in fact founded in half-churched circles in Germany under the honorary chairmanship of Ernst Häckel. His three principles, that the universe exists in legal, constitutional uniformity under the law of causality, that everything real evolves, and that it is therefore relative, add up to the Darwinian concept of evolution.

i.   Even art had to work its way through these ideas. Portraying the poverty-stricken in art must be mentioned here insofar as it accompanies the notion that, from a consciousness of truth and nature, one must depart from the classic ideal of beauty, and portray social misery in addition to other unlovely subjects. In fact even external technique was influenced in this way since Impressionism, which most recently ventured as far as cubism and futurism and pleinairism, is related intellectually to socialism, which subjects the individual to the universal. In Christian art, Fritz von Uhde and Max Gebhardt were at the beginning of this tendency, whereas K.G. Pfannschmidt (d. 1887) bore the banner of the old school. In Arnold Böcklin (d. 1901) painting, like philosophy, retreated from realism back to symbolism. Plastic art followed these mutations too. The French sculptor Auguste Rodin chiseled his images exclusively from the whole rough material. And in America this style has been applied particularly to mystical symbolism. Lastly, the French sculptor and painter Constantin Meunier (d. 1905) merits mention as a representative of realism as described above. Architecture brought forth

nothing new. The familiar forms were applied to practical ends, bridges, colossal commercial structures, railroad terminals.

k.   The **art of poetry** too progressed from the realism of Ibsen to portrayal of the poor. Gerhard Hauptmann's earliest poems must be evaluated in this light, discounting the pessimism which declared itself just as it had done in painting as indicated. Here too it is noteworthy that in recent years, in Europe as well as particularly in America, the use of slang is becoming ever more common, not only in the dialogue of the central character of the novel, but in the author's narrative. Recall in this context the extravagant formlessness of the lyrical poetic vein of Walt Whitman and others. Above all, we find here also in general the individual personality retreating behind the environment. In France Emil Zola (d. 1902) wrote his naturalistic novels in the same frame of mind. He looked all human misery truthfully in the eye and showed how it comes from heredity and environment, and with this message took aim principally at Catholic churchianity. The Norwegian dramatist, Henrick Ibsen (1906), alluded to above, took the same aim when he criticized social conditions of modern life in his *Brand* and *Emperor and Galilean*, and also elaborated religious problems from his standpoint. These all went hand in hand with materialism simply because they were burrowing in filth. Sudermann and Wedekind advanced farther along this line, and one pastor, Frenssen by name, made concessions along these lines in his *Jörn Uhl*. Ludwig Ganghofer's *Faith and Homeland* attracted attention. In England Oscar Wilde (d. 1900), who otherwise belonged to Ruskin's "esthetic" movement, wrote the tragedy *Salome* for Sarah Bernhard, widely publicized simply because its performance was prohibited. In America Walt Whitman (d. 1892), far over-estimated by many Americans as a national poet, put his pantheism as he learned it from Emerson into the service of immorality in an uncouth-cynical manner.

l.   The pessimism of Schopenhauer runs through the **music** of Richard Wagner (d. 1883) who since 1874 spell-bound the world with his musical dramas. The pathos of Romanticism still dominates the external form. At the same time, one gets the feeling, as he discards the classically balanced boundaries, that the music is straining to turn singing into talking (the democratic influence of socialism). In *Parzifal* Wagner intended to celebrate Christian redemption, but lost his way in Buddhist mysticism, again with materialistic effect. The external unconfined form since then has been further developed by Richard Strauss who combines mysticism and symbolism with tone painting. Following his lead, many others have developed, or misdeveloped, music into a kind of cubism.

m.   The **reaction to socialism and materialism**, issuing as it did from philosophy, changed conditions not at all, but sprouted from the same ground of enmity against the Gospel. To be sure, there existed a teleological-idealistic philosophy, at pains to ally itself with Christianity, in the thought of H. Lotze in Göttingen (d. 1881) and Th. Fechtner (d. 1887) in Leipzig. "Philosophy cannot provide ultimate truth. It is only supposed to achieve a world view without contradictions, one which sets out valuable goals and teaches how to achieve them." Despite their familiarity with the exact sciences and despite all the criticism they leveled, these philosophers were bound to prove themselves right against the ethical and religious community, and numbered many adherents among educated Christians. For all that, theirs was still only a mediating position.

n.   The actual philosophical opponent of socialism, but also of Christianity, is Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), professor of classical philosophy in Basel, and after 1889, mentally deranged. To begin with, he had been an adherent of Schopenhauer's pessimism. Then he created a philosophy of individualism. Our culture must not placate the masses, but give birth to human genius, the superman. This superman must then proceed to reconstitute morality. This new morality must be built on vigorous will-power, on the will to power. Christianity is a blemish on humanity. Under its influence people shrivel up. In order to conceive a powerful generation, it is necessary to transcend custom. Good is anything that raises the individual above the masses.

"Morality of champions," "Morality of the enslaved," and "Will to power" are his watchwords. His writings: *Also sprach Zarathustra*, 1883; *Toward a Genealogy of Morals*, 1887; *Anti-Christ*, 1888.

o. At the same time a neo-Kantianism was taking shape which set out to assail the natural sciences in particular, as in general all forms of dogmatism; Hermann Cohen in Marburg and others were all, to some degree, amenable to socialism. This neo-Kantianism is related to the positivism of the Frenchman Auguste Comte 1798-1857. Most recently a late attempt at idealistic metaphysics has gained popularity: Rudolf Eucken in Jena, Wilhelm Wundt in Leipzig among others.

§274. The Catholic Church.

a. The papacy proved itself at the apogee of its power by its victory in the culture struggle. Its power resides not in its possession of the pontifical state, although to strive for secular ascendency is inherent in the instinct of the papacy in its quest for such a state. The power of the papacy lies in its control of consciences. Anyone unable to emancipate consciences by the Gospel is going to lose out in combat with the papacy, regardless of the pope and his means. That much Old Catholicism and the Prussian government found out but never understood. The 298 European bishops who voted against the infallibility dogma at the Vatican council might easily have taken some kind of action to annoy the pope, yet they were helpless in preventing the infallibility doctrine from passing, because that is the way the papacy works. Every one of them caved in, even Hefele at last. It looked indecent when the scholarly antagonists of infallibility themselves persecuted their former friends after the episcopal conference in Fulda (1870), but such is the ineluctable consequence of the rigid Catholic stance. Nor can **Old Catholicism** fault them because just as little did it understand the Gospel and what might have availed them.

b. When the bishops quailed in the combat, the **Catholic university professors** took the field: Döllinger and Friedrich (Munich), the canon law professor von Schulte (Prague), Reinkens, Weber, Baltzer (Breslau), Reusch, Langen, Hilgers (Bonn). In 1871 Döllinger was excommunicated. His party responded in 1871 with the Old Catholic Congress in Munich and, disregarding his objection, set up an organization with its own order of service. Their program remains Catholicism and papacy, minus infallibility. If that would not work in the 16th century, in the 19th it could only be a fiasco from the start. The partisans were men of solid training and character, but what they lacked was the perspective of the Gospel; otherwise, they would have stood proof against such scientific and practical anachronisms. At the second congress in 1872 they created their constitution with Reinkens as bishop, consecrated by the Old Roman Catholic bishop of Utrecht. Recognition and permission to use Catholic churches was granted them in 1875 by the governments of Prussia, Baden, and Hesse. But that was during the culture struggle (*Kulturkampf*). Thereafter the privilege was discontinued.

c. Bavaria maintained a hands-off policy toward the Old Catholics and after 1890 recognized them only as private societies. In **Holland** the Old Roman Catholic Church of the Netherlands had been in existence ever since the 18th century. In **Austria** in 1872 (recognized in 1877) the Old Catholic movement struck root under the episcopal administration of M. Czech, especially in Bohemia. Since the end of the 19th century, thanks to the "Free-from-Rome" Movement, it has even gained members. In **Switzerland** the Christ-Catholic Church was organized in 1876 with Bishop Ed. Herzog, consecrated by Reinkens. In **France** there was Pater Hyacinthe Loyson and the *Église catholique Gallicane* (1895), in Italy the *Chiesa cattolica Italiana* founded by Count Enrico Campello in 1882, in Spain and Portugal, *Iglesia Española Reformada* (1880), in Mexico (1869), *Iglesia de Jesus.* These bodies were allied with one another and with the Anglican church. Their significance however is purely sectarian and they did no harm to the the papacy.

d. From the ***Kulturkampf* in Germany** the Catholic church derived signal advantage. While yet on the French battlefield, Ketteler [bishop] of Mainz demanded the inclusion in the imperial constitution of Articles

15, 16, and 18 of the Prussian constitution, guaranteeing the unrestricted collaboration of bishops with the pope, the exclusive right of appointment of the pope, and school instruction. Ledochowski of Gnesen [papal diplomat] demanded of King Wilhelm that he should maintain the ecclesiastical state. The German government should have applied the separation of church and state in denying these unreasonable demands. That might have occasioned considerable effort, and among Protestants aroused much unrest, but, partly on account of this, the Catholic laity would not have grown somewhat antagonistic to the empire at that time.

e. Bismarck (1815-1898) did not want to fight Catholicism, but saw at its center the instrument of a monstrous anti-imperial movement emanating from Rome. And he may have been right about that. But in this dilemma he had no adviser who knew what the papacy signified, according to Scripture, and so he lapsed into the same anachronism as had the Old Catholics, only with a worse result. He resumed the old struggle between emperor and pope. The Catholics formed the "Center" (middle of the house floor) in the sessions of the Prussian diet and the German imperial diet. This party had originated during the post-1866 political developments. That Protestant power had prevailed enraged the south-German ultramontanists. In 1870, they sided with the French and wanted to prevent Bavaria from becoming part of the German empire. Now they joined the Prussian bishops under Ketteler's leadership. Their principal advocate was Ludwig Windhorst, former prime minister of Hannover. The ultramontane newspaper *Germania* was founded in Berlin. Again, as the government still opposed the Old Catholics, Ledochowski took sides with the anti-government Poles, and the *Kulturkampf* (so-called by von Virchow, leader of the liberals, now on Bismarck's side) opened with a series of laws in Prussia and in the empire.

f. In Prussia the following happened: in 1871, the closure of the Catholic division in the ministry of public worship; in 1872 the school supervision law of the minister of public worship and instruction Adalbert Falk; in 1873, the May Laws (preparatory training and appointment of clergy under control of the state, limitation of ecclesiastical disciplinary power, establishment of a royal-ecclesiastical tribunal, secession from the church declared optional); in 1874, obligatory civil marriage, reoccupation of vacated episcopal posts within one year; in 1875 the law enacting the suspension of clerical livings (no federal services to be performed by insubordinates), dissolution of all orders, revocation of the articles in the constitution listed above. In the empire in 1871 there was added the pulpit paragraph (incarceration for inflammatory preaching), in 1872 dissolution of the Jesuit order, in 1874, the law of expatriation, and in 1875, legal status law (civil marriage and immunity from compulsory baptism).

g. In these conflicts the governments stood together, but the people were radicalized, which happened the more readily inasmuch as the laws so often encroached upon the rights of conscience intolerably. There were assassination attempts on the emperor by Hodel and Nobiling, and by Kullmann on Bismarck. Many bishops were deposed. Pope Pius IX did not understand the situation because of his antichristian mindset and indebtedness to medievalism. In 1873 he wrote to the emperor that even though the emperor was not a Catholic, as a baptized soul, he belonged to the pope, and the pope was obliged to hear the demurral that the emperor owned no mediator between himself and God other than our Lord Jesus Christ. When in 1875 the pope rescinded the May Laws with the papal bull *Quod nunquam*, the Battle Laws and many dismissals ensued that same year.

h. The work of the Roman hierarchy in this *Kulturkampf* was undergirded by the radicalization of the masses, especially by the Jesuitic Heart of Jesus and Mary cult, by the fraternities and prayer societies, and by so-called miracles. In 1876 the Virgin Mary allegedly appeared in Marpingen and performed healings. The next year the exorcist Wichsel, renowned for his demon expulsions in Dittrichswalde, organized a pilgrimage to Marpingen. The court declared the appearances to be spurious. Also the amulet business was in full swing. The scapular of the Carmelites and other orders, the medal of the Benedictines, the girdle of the Franciscans, the holy water of

the Jesuits, were all acclaimed as possessing miraculous powers. The Jesuits gained influence in all sectors, even among their inveterate enemies the Dominicans. But mainly they dominated the society craze (associations of apprentices, merchants, teachers, farmers, and lawyers). Even the young were organized: societies of the childhood of Jesus for children, Marian congregations for grammar school students, Catholic student fraternities. Then there were also societies for Christian welfare, the Vincentius and Elisabeth Society for nursing, the Boniface Society for the support of Catholic congregations in Protestant countries, the Picpus Cooperative (named after a certain street in Paris), the Lyonnaise Society for the propagation of the faith, the Francis Xavier Society for foreign mission work. The National Society for Catholic Germany was for the social question. Serving political ends were the farmers' unions, the Catholic Union of Mainz, the Pius Unions in the general assembly of the Catholic diet, and in France the Congress of Catholics. Capital as well was catholicized, albeit in a fraudulent way: the Bank of Dachau in Munich, the Bank of Adele Spitzeder and of the Belgian count Langrand Dumonceau, of Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, and the *Union generale* of the visionary Bontoux in Paris.

i. All this agitation proved to be successful. Even on France the German *Kulturkampf* had an impact. Even under the presidency of the liberal Adolf Thiers (1871-1873) Catholicism could proceed undeterred, and the bishop of Paris could announce the doctrine of infallibility without consulting the government. Under MacMahon [president of France; 1873-1879] ultramontanism attained its zenith and served the designs of retribution. In Italy on the other hand the relationship with the curia remained tense, for a number of years even in Austria. In Italy Francesco Crispi, the secretary of state who helped to create the Triple Alliance, adopted Bismarck's policy. Opposing him chiefly was Carlo Maria Curci, editor of the ultramontanist *Civiltá cattolica*.

k. Notwithstanding Bismarck's declared refusal to go to Canossa, he had to go there anyway. Protestant churches too had to suffer under the laws in this struggle. The conservatives consequently gained against the liberals whom Bismarck had helped. Social democracy strengthened as well. Bismarck believed that he would have to change over to a protective tariff for the sake of imperial finances. He perceived moreover that he could not govern against the consciences of two-fifths of the empire's citizenry. Lastly he was at pains to face down social democracy and to introduce his far-ranging social policies. To achieve this he needed the conservatives and the "Center" party. Pius died in 1878, and Leo XIII (1878-1903), a sagacious diplomat, was ready to relent. For that reason, the conservative *Puttkammer* in 1879 replaced Falk as minister of culture, education, and church affairs. Little by little the *Kulturkampf* laws were rescinded, in 1885 the pope was named arbitrator in the Caroline question and ceded the islands to Spain; Bismarck was awarded the papal Order of Christ. In 1887 the last *Kulturkampf* law was dropped, except for the dissolution of the Jesuit Order. The centrist party has since expanded and along with the socialist party has become the deciding factor in the imperial diet, while the Jesuit law has now in the World War been annulled.

l. Thus in this conflict many energies were squandered. Only the pope and unbelief gained anything by it. For all that, the Protestants, no matter where in the world, still have not learned that a mind-controlling power, and in particular the Anti-Christ, of whom it is written that he will be slain by the spirit of the mouth of Christ [2 Thess. 2:8], cannot be conquered by external means such as the government wields.

m. Under Leo XIII the time-proven methods of manipulating the people continued in operation and were in fact multiplied. Additionally, mainly with the social question in mind, the Charitas League for Catholic Germany and the Catholic Women's League were founded. Leo was an opportunistic politician in the grand style. He has been called the pope of peace. He had the knack of adopting modern ideas and making them pay off for Catholicism. Parliamentary government, the press, corporations, social programs were organized to serve the church. The pope wanted to get the entire Catholic world under his leadership in order to control the whole cultural life of the world. (Just as on the Protestant side the same thoughts were expressed at the time

about Calvinist Anglo-Saxonism with veiled thrusts aimed at Germany). It was only logical for Leo to demand for himself the leadership of the entire Catholic world, even in extra-ecclesiastical issues (his encyclical *Sapientiae christianae,* 1890). He hoped to solve the social question in the same way (*Quod apostolici*, 1878 and *Rerum novarum*, 1891), and lastly to rechannel godless science back under the control of St. Thomas Aquinas (*Aeterni patris,* 1879). Toward the end of Leo's reign, his harsh secretary Mariano Rampolla gained growing influence. After Leo there followed the unsophisticated Pius X (1903-1914). Under his administration the Catholic church experienced a severe set-back, and equally far-reaching internal theological conflicts. His secretary was Merry del Val. Since then, Pope Benedict XV, pre-occupied with world peace, has occupied the see.

n. In France too a *Kulturkampf* ensued when it subsided in Germany. If Leo was able to achieve peace in Germany, he could not persuade the churchmen in France to recognize the republic. In 1880 the Jesuit Order was disbanded under the liberal president Grevy [Jules 1807-1891] and the secretary of state Ferry, compulsory school attendance introduced, and the national public school declared religionless. Still for all that the religious schools flourished. Also the churchmen found a mainstay in the army. But the Dreyfus Scandal, 1898-1899 [French Jewish artillery captain falsely charged with delivering secrets to the Germans], disclosed the machinations of the churchmen. This affair helped the liberals to regain the majority, and under the presidium of Loubet (1899-1906), the ministry of Waldeck-Rousseau could make headway with the school question.

o. In 1901 the Union Law was enacted, subordinating all schools to government control. When the church boards failed to comply with this law and Pius protested against the visit in the Quirinal of the French president and also infringed upon the concordat by filling two episcopal vacancies, the secretary of state, Combes, a former priest turned radical free-thinker, annulled the concordat. The state was segregated from the church; only pensions for clergy active in office were to be paid. Congregations were to become local worship societies and then be allowed to use the church buildings without charge. All assemblies were to be announced to the police. Because Pius refused to give his consent the government sequestered the churches in 1906 but made them over to congregations in order to avoid trouble.

p. Conflicts in Austria, Italy, Belgium, and Spain as well broke out between church and state. In Austria the concordat of 1855 was annulled (1820) and there were wrangles with Rome, but they eschewed confrontation. Here too the proliferation of societies was on the rise. Since the inauguration of universal suffrage Christian parties had enjoyed representation in the diet. Especially in Steiermark and Bohemia after 1898 the Rid-of-Rome movement gained momentum thanks to the slavophile tendencies of the clergy, and many conversions to the Evangelical or Old Catholic Church took place. In Italy tension obtained between Pius IX and the royal government (dissolution of the orders and introduction of civil marriage in 1873). Under Leo XIII and King Humbert (1878-1900) and Victor Emanuel III the tension relaxed somewhat. In 1888 in fact they were thinking of a church-state, counting on help from the young German emperor. But this led to heightened agitation on the part of the anticlericals, notably at the Giordano Bruno celebration (1889). Thereupon a Christian democracy came into being among the young priests led by Romolo Murri and the poet Antonio Fogazzaro, which the pope however disapproved of. Spain too introduced civil marriage. But under Alfonso XII (1875-1885) this innovation was withdrawn for Catholics. Otherwise the clergy were in good standing with the government. Also the regent Maria Christina and her son Alfonso XIII met the pope halfway at first, but in 1910 the non-Catholic communities were allowed broader freedom by the prime minister Canalejas, and tighter restrictions were imposed on the Catholic church in its dealings with the state. Only in Portugal, after the murder of King Carlos and the eviction in 1910 of his son Manuel, was the republic established with the

separation of church and state. Under Alexander II in Russia a conflict arose with the government in Poland which was smoothed over by Leo XIII.

q. In Mexico after the collapse of the empire, President Juarez issued anti-ecclesiastical enactments after religious freedom and civil marriage had been proclaimed already in 1859. In 1873 the Jesuits were banished and religion was removed from elementary schools. It was then that Protestant work began, although the populace as a whole was ill-disposed toward it. *Iglesia de Jesus* which is allied with the Anglican church of North America commanded more recognition. Most people were Catholic. The current disorders in Mexico, economic interests aside, were staged against the dictator Porfirio Diaz on the liberal side, and the Roman church is not on friendly terms with his successors Maderos, Huerta, and Carranza; yet the ties at present are so tangled that it is hardly possible to form a clear judgment.

r. In Ecuador in 1862 a concordat was made with the pope assigning the education of the populace to the Jesuits. Since 1877 this arrangement has been annulled. In Guatemala the Jesuits were expelled in 1872, and in 1874 even more stringent measures were taken against the clergy. In Peru and Bolivia Catholicism still counted as the established religion, whereas at the same time in Chile freedom of worship was introduced. From 1878 onward Chile had conflicts with Rome. But Chile prevailed in the wars with Peru and Bolivia, and since 1884 she has broken with Rome altogether. One finds German-Evangelical congregations down there. In Venezuela the national Catholic church was separated from Rome on account of a refractory archbishop. Rome gave way and deposed the bishop. The national laws were revised again. But since 1893 the Prussian high consistory has been overseeing the Evangelical circles in Venezuela. In 1874 in Argentina the restoration of clerical influence was suppressed by laity and students, and in 1884 the papal nuncio was expelled by the government. Similarly, in Costa Rica monasticism was discontinued and public instruction secularized. Up until 1884 the Catholic church in Brazil was the established church. As early as 1828 there were Protestant churches in the country existing, under customary restrictions, but after 1884 equality of civil rights for all confessions obtained, and since the inauguration of the republic in 1889 the Catholic church has lost its supremacy.

s. In the United States since 1870 the Catholic church has made uncommon progress. Many fugitive Jesuits came here. Here European propaganda found its image mirrored in prevailing local conditions. Catholic societies were founded, Catholic holidays observed. In particular, a society called Knights of Columbus, styled after the Free Masons, took center stage in order to validate Rome's claims. Since then the Roman school system has flourished, still more so when in 1890 the Catholic church intervened along with the Lutherans against the contemplated outrages of the government against parochial schools in the Bennett Fight in Wisconsin and Illinois, and thus initiated the gradual country-wide collapse of the Republican Party. But because characteristically the Roman church was always mixed up with politics and was even further incited to this involvement by the Calvinist propensity dominant in American politics, societies began to organize against her with the motive of blocking her through political channels (A.P.A. = "American Protective Association"; "Guardians of Liberty"; "Knights of Luther"). One newspaper of late, *The Menace,* has developed an editorial policy of making propaganda against the Catholic church in the interest of Free Masonry and the public school. To no lesser degree does the American press talk about ecclesiastical princes and the like, and Archbishop Ireland and more recently Gibbon (cardinal 1886; in the past few years still others) exert wide influence, nor can we expect anything else in politics. Until 1887 when the Catholic University was founded in Washington D.C. the Catholic church supported three universities. In the past decade this number has risen to more than ten. Wherever the Lutheran church is on the right track the struggle against Rome will be engaged only by means of the Gospel. Should it become necessary to intervene in affairs of state, that will occur self-evidently by the exercise of individual suffrage.

t. Theology. During the *Kulturkampf* Catholic academic research distinguished itself in the field of history in applying itself aggressively to Reformation history, using the methodologies for genetic historical narrative as Ranke had taught in order to attack what Protestants treasure most. Joh. Janssen (1829-1891), a professor in Frankfurt am Main, wrote *The History of the German Nation Since the Close of the Middle Ages*, using commendable individualized research to put together a polemic against the Reformation which, for the objective historian, can hardly be called truthful. Ludwig Pastor, born 1854, working in Innsbruck and Rome, continued Janssen's history in his *History of the Popes since the Close of the Middle Ages.* The Dominican Heinrich Denifle (born in 1844), along with his research in medieval mysticism, attacked Luther in 1904 in his *Luther and Lutheranism* and went overboard with such virulent invectives that the consequential Luther scholars of Germany. Kolde, Kawerau, Köstlin, Böhmer, and others energetically objected and proved his patent dishonesty in his use of sources. Since then a third writer of this school has stepped forward, Grisar, who proceeded with greater caution along these lines, declaring that even if unproven Denifle's assertions were still plausible. Earlier, work of a more positive quality had been done by Joseph Hergenröther (a professor in Würzburg, then a cardinal in Rome; *Textbook of General Church History*), Jos. von Hefele (*History of the Church Councils*), Franz X. Krauss in Freiburg (*History of Christian Art*). Similarly, the dogmaticians J. B. Heinrich (Giessen) and Hubert Th. Simar (his last position was archbishop of Cologne) lent their pens to the renewal of Thomism, and Franz Kaulen in Bonn and Bardenhewer in Munich devoted themselves to exegesis.

u. But the mind of the time also developed ultramontanism in a modernist form. Originally, this movement started in America. A German-American Protestant, Isaak Hecker, converted to Catholicism in 1844, became a Redemptorist and in 1858 founded the Mission priests of the holy Apostle Paul. These Paulists were on a mission to win over the Protestants to the Catholic church. To that end they had to accommodate Catholicism to the character of the Americans. Hecker principally stressed a personal faith-life. After his death in 1888, these ideas, which then generally were only a matter of external form, met with approval in France and there were termed "Americanism." It was a further step along this path when earlier in England H.E. Manning, among others, had spoken up against the inadequate training of the Roman clergy, against their shallow polemical preaching, against their neglect of Scripture, and against officialism and Jesuitism. Henry Newman in his *Apologia pro vita sua s*ought to harmonize the concept of evolution with Catholic dogma. George Tyrrell was ultimately excommunicated in 1909 on that account. These precursors led the way to modernism.

v. In Germany when in the climate of Neo-Kantianism men again applied themselves to actual philosophical studies, this spirit of modernism seized Catholic theologians as well. Since 1890 this is what has brought about Reform-Catholicism or modernism. Fr. X. Krauss (1840-1901), writing under the pseudonym "Spectator" in *Die Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung*, had already described his times from this point of view. Then in 1897 when the pope and the church had been made to appear ludicrous by the impostor Leo Taxil, the trend became pronounced. Taxil had posed as a good Catholic and published at length disclosures of a fictitious American woman, a Miss Diana Vaughn, converted from Free Masonry, along with wild stories about demonic appearances in Free Masonic lodges in Rome and America. These were received with effusive benedictions by the pope and his faithful followers. Only the German Catholics had their misgivings, and Taxil himself gave the deception away.

w. At this juncture the Würzburg dogmatician Hermann Schell (d. 1906) in a pamphlet entitled "Catholicism as a Principle of Progress" attacked Jesuitism as promoting superstition. Instantly he ignited the German mind against the Roman. Catholicism, he said, must take its place on the ground of progress. Only thus might it satisfy the demands of the present. Later, still in the same vein, he wrote "The New Era and the Old Faith." More cautious were the church historians F. X. Funk in Tübingen and Albert Ehrhard in Vienna, Freiburg, and

Strassburg. Ehrhard assailed the biased overestimation of the Middle Ages in his book *Catholicism and the 20th Century*. Periodicals such as *Die Renaisssance, Das 20. Jahrhundert, Hochland,* and the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* also resonate to the same tone.

x. This German modernism was far outdone by the French. In France, where Louis Duchesne (in Paris and later in Rome) had promoted studies in church history, Alfred Loisy, a professor at the *Institut catholique de Paris*, later at the Sorbonne, lastly at the *College de France* in Paris, defended the notion of evolution in his *L'Evangile et l'Église*, taking issue with Harnack's *Genius of Christianity*. Immediately a school of philosophers, taking its cue from Kant, with Henri Bergson and Maurice Blondel giving it voice, applied the same idea to dogma as a symbolization of the religious life. The Italian Christian Socialist Romola Murri belongs in the same category.

y. Leo already had condemned the Americanism of Schell and Hecker. Now in 1907 Pius X condemned modernism in his "Syllabus" and the encyclical *Pascendi*, and in 1910 in the Borromeus-Encyclicals, which unnecessarily provoked indignation, because the pope was doing only what must have been expected of him.

§ 275. The Protestant Church of Germany Until 1890.

a. In the course of the *Kulturkampf* and owing to it, liberalism and socialism first came into prominence. As a consequence, the conservatives and the confessionals seemed relegated to the background. That lasted until around 1890. Thereafter the page turned again, until the present war superseded all internal strife to a certain extent and for the time being.

b. During the period 1870-1890, after Germany was unified, people began to think of a Protestant national church. But what stymied this development was the split between liberalism and confessionalism. Bismarck at the time paid little attention to the church, and the *Kulturkampf,* led as it was on the Protestant side by liberals, exacerbated the polarity even more. Liberalism, like socialism, was strengthened by the victory over France and its economic and political aftermaths. Consequently, the "cases" multiplied when individual pastors spoke out against church doctrine in a way that could only spark anger even among non-confessionals: in the Seventies, it was Hanne, Sydow, Lisco, in the Eighties, Lühr, in the Nineties, Schrempf, and in the 20th century, Jatho, Drews, and others. It was the liberals, moreover, who proposed a national church, provided they could realize their objectives in it. The conservatives, however, held the liberals responsible for the consequences of politics: the Jewish press and the *Kulturkampf* which harmed the confessional church in particular through the school appointments Falk had made. It was Falk who was instrumental in entrusting schools to the administration of the state which alone appointed local and regional inspectors and in this way dismissed the ultramontanist inspectors and also prejudiced the confessional Protestants. At the time (1872) the aged David Strauss had published his materialistic work: *The Old and the New Faith,* and Ed. von Hartmann (1874) his *The Self-destruction of Christianity.*

c. The confessionals in fact were in the best condition, as they had emerged a coherent entity from the previous period. But in the course of time dissolution set in. Many made eyes at Rome, among them L. von Gerlach and the Guelf Brühl; the historian Onno Klopp and the Hannover pastor Evers did in fact convert to Rome. When a new confessional constitution was introduced in Saxony, the Saxon Free Church seceded in 1871; in Hesse the intractable Vilmarians rebelled against a synodical ordinance; in Hannover Theodor Harms and his devotees seceded on account of civil matrimony. At the same time in 1875 the Methodist Pearsall Smith made his circuit trip through Germany. Not all of these confessional loyalists understood the Gospel. Accordingly, the implementation of the Prussian synodical constitution (1873-1876) unnecessarily acquired the character of a liberal orientation.

d. Between confessionals and liberals there stood a middle party, friends of the "Positive Union." But these people parted company in a fight over the synodical resolution to include the more emancipated "Evangelical Confederation" under the leadership of Willibald Beyschlag and Julius Köstlin (*German Evangelical Papers*) and the "Positive Union" under the leadership of the court preachers Rud. Kögel (d. 1896) and Ad. Stöcker (d. 1909; *New Evangelical Church Paper*). The unchurched maintained their connection with the church despite the liberty allowed by the civil status law. Among educators the unbelief which had been fostered by the agitations of the otherwise conscientious seminary director Diesterweg (dismissed from office 1847, d. 1866) increased in the wake of Falk's legislation. The number of theologians at universities hit bottom in 1876, and chiefly in Berlin the effect of the unbelieving movement became apparent in many ways in the parish board.

e. About this same time Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1890) emerged with his theology which also adopted a median position. At first a disciple of Baur's school, he turned to dogmatics and in his major work, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, represented practically the same doctrine as von Hofmann.

f. In that era when Luther research was beginning to flourish, thanks to the aged emperor's Luther Foundation, Ritschl attracted numerous adherents because he wanted to be particularly evangelical, even Lutheran, and wanted to preach Christ. He emphasized various specific Lutheran articles of faith opposing not only the dogmatics of the liberals but also the postulates of the confessionalists. He recast them however until it was exactly the Lutheran, biblical, and Christian content that disappeared from them. His point of departure was that the dogmatician must be an evangelical Christian, only thus would he be able to deal with the forgiveness of sins as the operation of Christ experienced by believers and to evaluate Christianity. He steered clear of liberal presuppositionlessness and natural theology. The source of our cognition, he said, is not the Christian, pious consciousness which everyone since Schleiermacher had taught (even the confessionals since von Hofmann), but rather the Bible, chiefly the New Testament. But because he did not believe in inspiration, he replaced the Bible with the Gospel. So his theorem, correct in itself, amounted to the subjective position of the Schleiermacher people after all. Ritschl distinguished, moreover, between secular cognition and religious cognition, and tried to justify this with neo-Kantian dialectic which rejects every form of metaphysics. Secular cognition is concerned with the problem of being, religious cognition is concerned only with value judgments. Above all he emphasized sanctification, otherwise relegated to the background in dogmatics. Sanctification rises to the challenge of victory over the world and stands proof in the consummation for the furtherance of moral human fellowship. With this emphasis he veered toward Calvinist influences. Thus he made of Luther a modern theologian, with his singular historical construction still reminiscent of the Baur school.

g. Here is his agenda in detail: the New Testament shows us the historical Christ exerting his influence on the first congregation. From this we recognize the verities of faith. Religion is faith in exalted spiritual powers which enlarge or elevate the power of man to achieve the good. Christianity is the monotheistic religion which sets forth love as the redeeming and life-creating power in Christ by which we become God's children and receive the impulse to take action, motivated by love, and in both the becoming and receiving we attain to bliss. Only in Christ do we recognize God, and in Christ see him as love. Hence, there is neither the wrath of God, condemnation, Christ's vicarious suffering of punishment, nor original sin. Sin constitutes distrust of God, its punishment being consciousness of guilt, and it is regarded by God as ignorance. The historical Christ, whom we regard as God without the doctrine of pre-existence, is emblematic for us. Under his influence we gain confidence in God. This annuls the consciousness of guilt, and this again constitutes justification. Insofar as the justified enters upon this relationship with God, he is reconciled. From this condition then there issues the new life which consists in faith in providence, faithfulness, prayer, submission, and patience.

h. Ritschl's disciples were the dogmaticians Wilh. Hermann, Marburg; Jul. Kaftan, Berlin; Hermann Schultz, Göttingen; Theo. Häring, Tübingen; Ferd. Kattenbusch and M. Reischle, Halle; Joh. Gottschick, Giessen; Hans

H. Wendt, Jena; and the historians Ad. Harnack, Berlin; Fr. Loofs, Halle; Emil Schürer, Göttingen. Periodicals were *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* and *Theologische Literaturzeitung*. Liberals included Aloys E. Bierdermann (d. 1885), Zurich; Rich, A. Lipsius, Jena; and O. Pfleiderer, Berlin. These were all still trained in the old speculative, particularly monistic way.

i. Posed against these stood the **confessionals**: F.H.R. Frank, Erlangen (d. 1894), *System of Christian Certainty, Theology of the Book of Concord*. Christian certainty, he averred, is a given factor with the new man and is rooted automatically in the certainty of the "I." In the explanation of how doctrines are related Frank does not proceed from Scripture and confession, but from *principium essendi* (God) and *principium cognoscendi* (believing consciousness), but the latter includes the recognition of Scripture and of the confessions. The business of dogmatics, he held, is not simply to produce Scriptural doctrine, and ecclesiastical dogma is not the conclusive formulation of religious matters of fact. The business of dogmatics is an ongoing development of religious cognition above and beyond Bible and church doctrine. Alexander von Öttingen (Dorpat d. 1905), *Lutheran Dogmatics,* 1897-1902, "stood on the old orthodox foundation on which various Hofmann-Frankian ideas with various impulses from Ritschl are based." Ludwig Ihmels, Leipzig, in his work *Christian Certainty of the Truth, Its Ultimate Foundation and Its Origin* proceeds from Frank, his teacher, and only ascertains, somewhat differently, the impressions which generate faith. Also, he pays more attention to the Word of God than does Frank, but here too the result remains the same in that by giving up the forbears' doctrine of inspiration his theology surrenders too much to the subjectivism in the air at his time. Herm. Cremer, Greifswald; Rob. Kübel and Ad. Schlatter, Tübingen; Mart. Kähler, Halle, confessed Christ, the Savior of sinners, but their labor could not quell the surge of liberalism because, when all is said, they stood on the same ground, at least in their exposition. They had Christianity developing from Christian consciousness and right at its mainspring had partly let the doctrine of inspiration fly and in its place supplied subjectivism.

k. Then came the **turning point** in the *Kulturkampf*. Assassination attempts, socialism, and other anxieties took their toll not only in the government but in every situation. Ever since 1879, the Positive Union in Prussia was the party with the deciding vote in synodical life, the party of high officials. During this time in 1876 the **synodical constitution** of the entire Protestant Germany was at length passed and therefore met the opposition of the conservative confessionals. We have to allow that it called out energies, latent till now, and helped the resurgence of theological liberalism. Yet, after its composition, it also worked in the opposite direction. In any case, the constitution comes closer to the external form which in the 19th and 20th century is suited to independent congregational members.

l. The structure [of the Protestant church in Germany] is divided into four levels: congregational council, expanded to congregational representation for important affairs; annual district synod conventions, triennial provincial synod conventions; sexennial general synod conventions. Synodical officials of the upper levels are elected from those of the lower levels, except for a number who are named by the sovereign and others named by the faculties. The first general synod met in 1879. This arrangement holds for old Prussia. The provinces annexed in 1866 received their own organizations; the Lutheran church of Hannover and Schleswig-Holstein, the Reformed congregations of Hannover, the Confederated Lutherans, the Reformed, and United in Hessen-Kassel, the Lutherans and United in Nassau, and the Lutherans and Reformed in Frankfurt am Main. The constitutions of other Protestant churches in Germany too were completed only at this time, except for that of Württemberg which had been completed already in 1867. In Alsace-Lorraine a new constitution is only now in the making. The reforms stimulated and realized through this constitutional work extend to hymnbooks, agendas, chorale books, improved pastoral care for megalopolises, building of churches, and distribution of congregations.

§276. The Protestant Church of Germany until 1917.

a. The period from 1890 to the present. In the time since around 1887 when the turnabout had terminated with the close of the ***Kulturkampf*** we can hardly already make out the general phases of development. It is a time when confessionals and liberals have been bending their entire strength to win out in the new synodical order. Practical life as well as theology mirror this activity. Parallel with this phenomenon, or perhaps in consequence of it, sociality has developed, a symptom revealing a deficiency of inner Christian vitality indicative of conditions foreshadowing the eruption of the present war.

b. Theology. The meridian of attainment in the scientific sphere in the 19th century is **genetic historical research** as first and foremost Leopold von Ranke taught it. One thing we can grant the Enlightenment, that it brought awareness of ideas relevant to basic scientific enquiry. Such was the thrust as well of many historians, chiefly the Germans. But the old temptation inherent in speculation–and practiced principally in natural science after the collapse of Hegelian philosophy, but then made respectable again through neo-Kantianism– touched historical research as well. This proclivity led scholars to adapt the concept of evolution from natural science and with it to materialize history. Mommsen speculated in Roman history, Dunker in Greek, Lamprecht in German, Buckle in English, Janssen in Reformation history, and so long as sociology is still in gestation, it can only speculate and in the process invariably assault history. Speculation in scientific research always proves to be a matter of inserting your own ideas into the objective facts right in front of you, and that is something history can least of all endure.

c. In **theology** too, **historical effort** has really done its best in its treatment of Holy Scripture; but by the same token this work, nearly through and through, is made sick with speculation. The legitimacy of historical criticism in itself is unassailable because Scripture is a book which originated on earth. But over the last fifty years the propositions of pre-eminent critics have become equated with this legitimacy. Julius Wellhausen lectured brilliantly (beginning in 1878) in Göttingen (*History of Israel; Prolegomena to the History of Israel; Israelite and Jewish History)* on the basis of the old idea in Pentateuch criticism advanced by Jean Astruc (and already carried further in the previous period, mainly by Ed. Reuss) that various recensions of the Pentateuch supposedly gave the books of Moses their present structure, especially the last one, that of the priests, which came after the great prophets and which was the one which introduced the messianic prophecies into the Pentateuch. Following Wellhausen came Bernhard Staden in Giessen, Adalb. Marx in Heidelberg, Rudolf Smend in Basel, and others. Even **confessional theologians** like Rud. Kittel in Leipzig, Ed. König, Bonn, Ernst Sellin, Rostock, and others stand only relatively opposed to Wellhausen. Thus a great, vigorous endeavor in the field of exegesis followed upon the old masters Delitzsch and Keil. In the field of the new Testament we must mention K. Weizsäcker, Tübingen; H. Holzmann, Strassburg; Bernh. Weiss, Berlin; Ad. Jülicher, Marburg; Theod. Zahn, Erlangen; and many others. The **Babel-Bible-Controversy,** ignited by a number of lectures by the Berlin Assyriologist Friedr. Delitzsch in the years 1902-1905, brought the fact home to Delitzsch that, even though Israelite culture naturally has reference points in Assyrian-Babylonian culture, even so the ethical monotheism of the Old Testament, its sacrifices, and its prophetic religion, are not derived from Babylon. Writing against Delitzsch were E. König, R. Kittel, A. Jeremias, H. Hilprecht, C. Bezold, S. Öttli, E. Sallin, F. Hommel, and G. Beer.

d. Active in **church history** was H. Reuter in Göttingen (exact historical method and church historical research in connection with general history). Ad. Harnack in Berlin probably exerted the broadest influence. He maintains in his *Textbook of the History of Dogma* that dogma is a conception of the Greek mind constructed on the foundation of the Gospel; it was in opposition to this that the reformers had paved the way to a new conception of religion. He applied these ideas practically in his *Genius of Christianity* and in the

observation expressed to his students that, though the Apostles' Creed is traditionary and has some religious value, its employment in the divine service merely signifies an exigency which must eventually be eliminated. After the so-called "cases" in the 1880s and 1890s proliferated with the denial of principal confessional truths in the presence of the congregation, those of Jatho, Drews, and others were most recently added to them. When even Harnack adopted an opposing position to them, they, as his former students, remonstrated with him that they had taken their views from him. Other historians include: A. Hauck, Leipzig; Friedr. Loofs, Halle; K. Müller, Tübingen; W. Möller and Hans von Schubert, Kiel.

e. The left wing of Ritzschl's adherents spawned the **school of the history of religion**. Their works are founded on Wellhausen's views as they have been transferred to Jewish history by Schürer and applied to the inquiry of the history of religion in general by H. Usener, Bonn, and Paul de Lagarde, Göttingen. Its leading ideas follow. In history as in nature the lower forms of existence are transformed into higher by natural causation. From its inception Christianity constitutes an amalgam of Old Testament, Jewish, and heathen elements and still today awaits further evolution. Revelation is nonsense. Theology is not a positive science. The science of religion must take its place. The most important advocates are: Joh. Weiss, Marburg; Herm. Gunkel, Giessen; Wilh. Bousset, Göttingen; Hugo Gressmann, Berlin; Ernst Tröltsch, Heidelberg.

f. A **modern-positive theology**, or a modern theology of the old faith (General Superintendent Th. Kaftan) is what Reinhold Seeberg, Berlin, professes, but either tacitly or more explicitly he departs from it in that again he actually criticizes or rejects principal articles of the confession. Rich. Grützmacher, Rostock, and Ed. Stange, Greifswald, remain staunchly conservative. They lead back to the recognition, via Hofmann's ideas, that we must get the standards for theology from Scripture. Throughout German theology the note reverberates that the antitheses have lost their edge because the former conception of inspiration has been abandoned–a forging ahead of intellectualism and of Enlightenment ideas. But in practice one can still hear many a ringing witness to the truth of Scripture.

g. The Ritschlian circle published the "Christian World," founded in 1887 by M. Rade, intending to appeal to the educated world of the laity in the sense of their understanding of the Gospel of the reformers. In time this approach drew nearer to that of the history-of-religion circle. The Protestant Union, which in 1876 had lost its single orthodox member, M. Baumgarten, and which otherwise figured only in "cases," was put out of commission in 1903 by the "Friends of the Christian World" and in 1905 by the "Friends of Evangelical Freedom" in Rheinland and in Westphalia. Somewhat more in harmony with the "Christian World" are a number of writers such as Arthur Bonus and Ellen Key, who operate with Nietzschian ideas and modern mysticism. At the far left is Christoph Schrempf who is finished with all historical churchianity and the Bremen Radicals, led by Alb. Kalthoff and Arthur Drews, leaning towards monism and denying the historicity of Jesus. Opposed to these trends, "The Reformation" came into existence from the circle of the modern positives who want to champion the old confession. Here much inner life reveals itself, as manifest in many incidental unofficial publications. The confessionalists have accepted even the Union Lutherans (Lutherans in the Union) into the "General Ev. Lutheran Conference" and in 1907 granted them equality with other members. This action however caused the more resolute in 1908 to form the "Lutheran Alliance" in Leipzig.

h. Because **university life** with its free inquiry is so highly developed while church life in its alliance with the state government is too closely connected with, and too dependent on it, the propositions of the leaders who have the say at any given time, rather than science itself, play a more prominent role than is becoming the dignity of Holy Writ. Unquestionably that is how the unchurching of the masses either came about or because the church circles became unable to withstand the unchurching because evangelization throughout was more lodged in intellectual and partisan interests and was unable to apply salvation to human hearts with the exuberance of a herald.

i. Correlating with this, too, is the further work done in the area of synodical life. The synodical order alluded to above was developed in greater detail by the federation of German evangelical national churches. In 1903 for the first time the German Evangelical Church Advisory Commission convened, concerned mainly with the foreign diaspora. In other areas, too, aggressive work was going forward: legislation, church construction, hymn book publication, agendas, **home missions** (particularly Stöcker's in Berlin, later continued by Jasper Örtzen and Pastor Leseur), and foreign missions in East Africa.

k. The work of the "Gustav Adolf Society" and of the "Lutheran Treasury for the Poor" made significant strides and, with the disunity of the Protestants otherwise, lent cohesion in the face of Rome's progress. In 1887 in fact the "Evangelical Alliance for the Protection of Protestant Interests" was founded by Professors Willibald Beyerschlag in Halle, Friedrich Nippold [Heidelberg] and Richard Lipsius, Jena. Count Paul von Hönsbröch (Honsbroch), who left the Jesuit Order in 1893, became a major opponent of Rome.

l. Pastor Rudolf Todt pointed out many legitimate features of **socialism** that were in the interest of the church. Court Chaplain Stöcker and the political economist Wagner thereupon founded the Christian-Social Movement. In 1878, the first attempt at a Christian-social workers' party foundered. In 1890 the "Evangelical Social Congress" took shape. In 1897 Stöcker seceded and founded the free "Ecclesiastical Social Congress" for ecclesiastical conservatives, which then, when he left the conservative party, became the "Christian Socialist Party." From the beginnings of these movements the pastor Fr. Naumann, along with Göhre and the Leipzig professor of canon law, Rudolf Sohm, founded the "National Socialist Movement," inching a little nearer to political socialism, and in 1903 absorbed in political liberalism. Sohm and Göhre, however, seceded, the latter converting to social democracy. To this point, the movements were undertakings of private circles. After 1890 the Prussian high consistory took an interest in the question as well. But even though these efforts made considerable progress, and above all, too, the social condition of laborers was improved, secessions from the established church multiplied apace.

m. The other **institutions of home missions**, dating from an earlier time, retained their believing character. They continued to flourish and since 1881 had enjoyed a remarkable resurgence. Pastor Friedrich von Bodelschwingh (d. 1910) in Bielefeld performed prodigies (in 1867, Bethel Epileptic Institution; in 1882 the Workers' Colony at Wilhelmsdorf, in 1905 the believing theological school in opposition to the agnostic university faculties).

n. Church practice develops from a jumble of heterogenous elements and is characterized by the things people do. These have an external character and indicate the temporality of spiritual, church-related conceptions. They include such things as these: the individual cup at communion; reform of the confirmation vow; participation of pastors at cremations; church-related enfranchisement of women; religious discussion in the evenings for the recovery of church-alienated laborers. Especially fierce was the conflict kindled over religious instruction where modern theology and church politics coalesce. During the war an attitude has gained and is gaining voice which identifies German genius with Christianity which must help the world recover, an attitude which speaks of a German God, and manifests to other nations a monstrous phariseeism, and from this self-righteousness presumes to be able to claim the victory. Besides crass unbelief and gross absence of taste, this turn of mind in influential circles expresses an appalling want of objective understanding for church-related and secular associations and at the same time indicates a reason why the war had to come about.

o. Wherever the herald's work of the Gospel is missing, the **fellowship movement** has taken it over. From time immemorial, pietistic circles have existed in all parts of Germany; least of all in Saxony. Since 1848, some of these groups had become involved in evangelization. The influence of the Evangelical Alliance, of the American-English Awakening preachers Charles Finney, Dwight L. Moody, and Pearsall Smith, the Salvation Army of General William Booth 1878, and Charles Spurgeon played an active role in this. The Württemberger

Fritz von Schlümbach, won over to Methodism in America, founded the German "Young Men's Christian Association" in Berlin (1883) on the American model. That is how Methodist ways gained entrance. Professor Th. Christlieb in Bonn, the former itinerant missionary Th. Jellinghaus, and Jasper von Örtzen in 1886 founded the first school of evangelization and the German Evangelization Union, inspiring in 1888 the two year **"Gnadauer Conference."** To it belonged Counts Bernstorff and Pückler, the former Barmen Mission Inspector Fabri and Pastor Damann. In 1887 like-minded societies united in the "German Association for the Advancement of Evangelical Fellowship." Their objective was to quicken religious life in the established churches. Their activities encompassed **home mission work** (evangelization, sermons, rescue efforts, training-centers, recuperation-centers, deaconess-centers, student and young men's unions, the White Cross campaign against immorality, the Blue Cross against intoxication), and **foreign missions** (German Oriental Mission among Armenians and Mohammedans). Mainly in Germany they are decried for holding to the old doctrine of inspiration! Joh. Müller and Heinrich Lhotzky occupy a unique position, working among the educated.

p. Another circle within the same movement is the radical **Blankenburg Conference**. Since 1886 the central German branch of the Evangelical Alliance has held its meetings in Blankenburg. After 1902 this association came under the influence of the Darbyite General von Viebahn. Unmasked enmity against learned theology determined behavior there. On that account Pastor Lepsius, who at the Eisenach Conference in 1902 wanted to interest the theologians Häring, Kähler, Lütgert, and Cremer in the movement, had to withdraw, while the Gnadauer immediately fell in with the Blankenburgers. When the great Awakening Movement of Wales crossed over to Germany in 1904, and with it the spread of Methodist peculiarities, such as the tent mission, mental baptism, and lastly glossalalia (begun in 1906 in Los Angels, California under Welsh influence), the Gnadauer remained aloof. Otherwise Baptists, Methodists, Irvingites, Darbyites, and Adventists, too, found ready reception in Germany. This is a circumstance typical of this time: while Germany became the instructress of the whole world in science and theology, insomuch that German theology, and that in fact mostly liberal, was being taught at all universities the world over, Germany herself was being influenced by evangelization from abroad by all churches, also by the Lutheran Missouri Synod, though least of all by her.

§277. Protestantism Outside of Germany.

a. Germany was the theological instructress of the whole world, while England and the United States were the practical leaders so that in both areas of church life a kind of **internationalism** evolved. Notwithstanding, wide differences subsist. Non-German countries have never known the concept of doctrinal freedom as Germany has it; Germany is unacquainted with the concept of confessional freedom as found in the free communities abroad. Doctrinal freedom is an external right, confessional freedom is an internal position and is the greater of the two. Another difference lies in the fact that in non-German countries **freemasonry** plays a major role in church life. In Romance or Catholic countries, France, Italy, Span, and Portugal, it is the agent of unbelief against the church, and carries on the battle in the field of politics. In England and North America, chiefly in English-speaking circles, freemasonry (lodgery in general) is suffused in churchianity, insomuch that even people belonging to stricter ecclesiastical persuasions stay loyal to it. But everywhere freemasonry operates in the sense of a superficial, earthbound worldview and attitude. To this mental inclination we can most likely attribute the fact, observable in America, that English churchianity, with but scant exceptions, is taken up with sensationalism and faddism. English congregations consist mostly of women; sermons treat of news reports enlivened with witticisms; "socials" substitute for gatherings for divine service, Sundays are devoted to all imaginable purposes, which precisely because of this tendency take on the character of fads: "Go to church Sunday; Father and Son Sunday; Motherhood Sunday." This whole business reflects the state of mind and the way English freemasonry operates. In the main, Catholics and Lutherans are relatively free from this trait.

Germany has given the world destructive theology; England has given the world practical-destructive freemasonry. Both have created the conditions which had to produce the World War.

b. In **Switzerland** liberalism has led nearly everywhere to the abandonment of confession and to the separation of church and state. Even the believing professors Schlatter and Barth fell away. As a result, in 1873 another **free church** sprang up, the *Église independante* in Neufchâtel, with the preacher Fr. Godet (d. 1900). Duhm, Wernle, and Marti advocate destructive **criticism**. R. Steck is attracting notice with his radical theology, and H. Kutter with **social democracy**. In Holland in 1876 a new university statute limited theology to history and exegesis, while dogmatics and pastoral theology were to be looked after by the churches themselves. This elevated **extreme criticism** (Loman, van Manen, and others). On this account the strict Calvinists seceded under the leadership of the future prime minister and believing dogmatician **Abraham Kuyper** and founded the free University of Amsterdam and after 1886 formed the Netherlands Reformed *Doleerende* (doleful) Church; then, with the other afflicted congregations, they became affiliate with the Reformed church in the Netherlands.

c. In **England**, ritualism advanced and won over even many who were not high-church-minded, especially with the idea of Christian Union. Thus far, to be sure, they have been able to approach only the Old Catholics and the Greeks, with the result that the Anglicans have received a chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. On the other side, the Dissenters still have not brought about "Disestablishment" (annulment of the alliance of the Anglican church with the state). But they have united in a Free Church Federation, and gained admission to Oxford and Cambridge. From England the Salvation Army of the evangelist William Booth [1829-1912] ventured forth into the world (1878). In **Scotland** the right of patronage [placing a priest in a parish] was again abrogated in the Seventies. Nevertheless, the free churches in 1900 united to form the United Church of Scotland. In this free church a sense for confessional fidelity is dominant. On this account Robertson Smith, who denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, had to leave Aberdeen and transferred to Cambridge. Theological inquiry in Great Britain in most recent times has been carried on by Thomas Cheyne, Samuel Driver, W. Sanday, W. Ramsay, and H. Swete.

d. In **Denmark** the Catholic church and the Baptists have made considerable strides since confessionalism was legalized (1849). Bishop and Professor H.L. Martensen (d. 1884), as a dogmatician, advocated a positive mediating standpoint. In **Sweden** since 1879 emergency civil marriage is allowed, but there are no religionless citizens as yet. At the close of the Seventies at his revival meetings, the senior professor P. Waldenström drew attention by his denial of the church doctrine of reconciliation.

e. Protestantism in **Catholic countries**. In Austria, Italy, Spain (Fritz Fliedner, son of the founder of Kaiserswerth), and Belgium, the Rid-of-Rome Movement is making headway. In France the Reformed maintain a seminary in Montauban. For them and for Lutherans (numerically reduced by one-fourth), a liberal seminary was founded in Paris where the two Sabatiers and Eugene Menegoz were teaching. Menegoz stresses faith without regard to variant views of faith. In 1905 liberal and strict elements of the Reformed united against the danger they thought they saw looming in the separation of church and state.

f. In **America** since 1870 German influence in scientific American literature has not diminished but rather, as in England, seems even to have increased. This circumstance may be attributed, at least partly, to the utilitarian instinct. In artistic concerns the prevailing taste, as expressed in poetry and the plastic arts, derives from France, and what American are achieving, increasingly in the last decades, for the most part looks to England and France. Additionally, of course, the influence of German culture still obtains, especially in the middle west. And now, owing to the war, it has become apparent that our country is divided into two great camps, insomuch that we cannot talk about a homogeneous nation with one homogeneous culture.

g. The circumstances in detail are as follows. Neither New York nor Boston is any longer the culture center for the whole country. The midwest, the west, and the northwest stand independent in this regard. Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul, San Francisco are intellectual hubs of this country. Nearly all these names immediately recall German intellectual work. Since 1870, however, the world climate has changed. People have learned to take note of, but not always to love the German genius. Germans have stood forth as conquerors, not always with restraint (Bismarck); even when this occurs in the sphere of intellectual life, it is perceived as particularly annoying (as with some German Americans and German exchange professors). As touching the English-American sense of civilization, it is not generally, even as yet in these last decades, a full-grown original. What there is of it often seems a thing acquired, resulting from experiment (fads). Add to this the whole prudent style of the Anglo-Saxon in whom first volition, then understanding takes hold while temperament must stand back. This will not allow the Anglo-Saxon to penetrate the German way but makes room for the brusque German way to get on everybody's nerves. The light French manner, essentially in external form, even when it tries to get inside, is more congenial to such character and is easier to assimilate. That is why the English, the French, and English-Americans, despite irreconcilable differences existing among them, were instinctively drawn to one another, and beginning in England as far back as forty years ago, this mutuality was systematically nurtured, while at the same time, beginning in England as well as in America, the intellectual exchange with Germany was further cultivated.

h. In **poetry** at this time we count Henry David Thoreau (d. 1862), James Russell Lowell (d. 1891), and Walt Whitman (d. 1892), still of the prior school of poets. Hereafter there follow William Dean Howells (1837-1920), Henry James (1843-1916), and Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain, 1835-1910). James, already during the war declared himself a citizen of England, shortly before his death in that country. In **historiography**, Francis Parkman (1823-1893) and George and Edward Eggleston belong to the foregoing, as does a long line of scientists, writers, and artists. In **architecture** it was not until after 1870 that Americans began to create anything original. In **painting** they took their first impulses from Germans, but fell for the French and English in impressionism and symbolism, similarly in **sculpture**. James Whistler and Augustus Saint-Gaudens are the most prominent names.

i. Along with these developments a **German-American literature** has evolved since 1848 and even before. Christoph Saur opened the first German printing establishment in 1738 and, characteristically, the first American Bible was printed there. In the years before 1848 we find here the poet Follenius and the jurist F. Lieber, and after 1848 Carl Schurz, Münch, Körner, Therese Robinson, Bunsen, Clemen, and Henni, who were active in the fields of law, teaching, history, and social work, and exerted noteworthy influence among the Germans, and to some extent also among the English Americans. A long series of additional poets extends down to the present. Even learned English-speaking Americans have of late taken up this domestic (and European) German literature, and German professorships have been set up at most of the more important universities, while lately this work has been carried on with particular attention by German exchange professors (Münsterberg, Francke, Kühnemann).

k. In this field of literature, **individualism**, reflecting the previous cultural epoch, has gained supremacy, enjoying more play in this great country than in any European country. The great part of extra-ecclesiastical German American literature was alien or hostile to the church, particularly the German-American church (because upon this plain she measured up as a serious rival). This individualism also largely swayed public opinion against the English-American segment of the nation because, while they could feel the aversion, they could not find the right tone to use against it. Glowing exceptions are Schurz and Lieber and others.

l. The larger segment of German Americanism is the **German-American church**. Her contribution to the German-American cultural gift to this country is not eye-catching. It is however the more significant offering,

not only because it constitutes the best that Germany possesses in literature, that is, the German Bible, Luther's works, the confessional writings, and the congregational hymn of the Reformation, but also because the influence which the Gospel asserts on the activity of workaday life is better and deeper than all other cultural elements combined. This influence is an internal one, and the life it generates flows along silently without voluble fanfare. As far as the eye can see, we observe its significance in that the German parish schools have done more for the internal German genius than all the other efforts along that line.

m. In this circle too we find a significant **literature** which need not cower before its European sister. It is naturally of a more theological nature; but also in secular writing many have taken up the pen who, simply inspired by the Christian spirit, will always stay in closer touch with the people in general because they investigate the innermost anxieties of the human soul and discover the ingenuous tone which appeals to the heart of the common folk (Harbaugh). Especially in these last decades this literature, unadvertised, has been much on the increase. It is noteworthy, however, that it has nowhere, not even in Germany, attained to the great objective tone of the hymn of the 16th century. Individualism in this circle, too, generally dominated over the other German circles and also over the English. But the reason for this domination lies in external circumstances. The glowing exceptions in this instance are the two most distinguished German theologians in America, Walther and Schaff. Walther wholeheartedly entered upon the total life of this country even though, owing to circumstances, he did not manage to master the English language or to occupy himself intensively with non-theological literature. By contrast Schaff, remaining out east, came in fact to resemble the English-speaking Americans in external forms. Because Schaff was a Calvinist, the sway of his influence extended farther beyond the narrow compass of his fellowship than did that of Walther. It lies in the nature of the issue that the individualism otherwise dominant in church circles was less assertive than that of anti-clerical German America. Individualism benefited the church to this extent, that in America the genuine Lutheran genius could realize its potential more fully than anywhere else since 1580. But it also proved disadvantageous in that here, more than elsewhere, the church lost its empathy with the world.

n. After 1870, subsequent to the German victory over the French, the German way of life spread its wings farther abroad. The immediate result was that **unbelief** in the gymnastic (*Turner*) circles turned aggressively against the church. In the early Seventies this trend was energetically and successfully set to rights, especially on the Lutheran side in Wisconsin. Thereafter the German American Teachers' Training Institute was called into existence by the anti-clericals in Milwaukee, since then, after Cincinnati, the capital of this segment of German Americans. In the Nineties, the whole German community united in defense against governmental encroachments attempted against German parish schools. By their alliance with state education, which German church circles naturally eschew because among them confessional consciousness is more alive than in the English church, the anti-clerical German circles have asserted an externally more potent influence on the public in general in the German sense than has the church.

o. The **Anti-German phobia** let loose by the world war has helped German Americans to drop some of their antagonistic individualism insofar as it affects external intercourse and to draw closer to one another in the defense of their German way of life. In this process, Germans have revealed a more refined understanding for the actual significance of America in the world than has the overwhelming mass of English Americans influenced by England. This has brought about the phenomenon that the corresponding literature, even that appearing in the English language, has displayed a more profound content of German inwardness and substance than has the other side.

p. This beginning of a **new cultural era**, bound to develop and expand after the war, poses grave dangers and great opportunities and mandates for the church. The danger is that, in the compromise of external antagonisms, the inner genius of the church will be similarly affected until her mental direction is fogbound;

that further, the German confessional church will be digested by "general American Christianity," and thus will lose her actual exalted identity. Whereas if the church will faithfully preserve the heritage of the Reformation in purity, she can even not only deepen her own genius by the spiritual instinct inherent in the new mandates, but also prove a greater blessing to other circles than before.

q. In **America** as in England, German theology has made itself at home, not as in the foregoing period, in that German theologians came here, but in that Americans in great numbers have studied in Germany. It was the destructive influences, however, which made themselves felt, because the confessional German conceptions, even in their modern form, are alien to the Calvinistically attuned English and English Americans. The destructive ideas are better suited to the extravagances of Calvinism. Among the strict **Presbyterians** at Princeton and New York, these influences stirred up opposition insomuch that Briggs in New York and Shields at Princeton felt obliged to turn Episcopalian, and McGiffert went to the Congregationalists, when they were found to be false teachers because of their "higher" criticism. At Princeton W.H. Green supported the aged Hodge and, opposing rationalism and liberalism, advocated the one-time Bible-believing Presbyterian point of view which Hodge proclaimed in his particularly splendid apprehension of the doctrine of justification. When plans were afoot for the revision of the Westminster Confession in the modern sense in the Nineties, it ran aground on the stated position of the General Assembly.

r. A different activity, characteristic of English American church custom, is the evangelism of Dwight Lyman Moody and his associate Ira David Sankey. With marvelous clarity Moody testified to the doctrine of justification in his meetings, officially supported by every Protestant fellowship, except the Lutherans and Episcopalians, and drew a large following. Since that time, at the close of the Eighties, others have followed in Moody's footsteps, chiefly Sam. Jones, who imitated one particular aspect of Moody's approach. That aspect was his free and easy unstructured style which, however, never divested itself of pulpit decorum. The imitators turned it into clowning, provoking the audience to laughter, trying to make a success of their message. The latest of these is a former professional baseball player, Billy Sunday. They drew big crowds, including serious-minded people—a sign of the times.

s. It is all in line with the democratic style of the American people that during the past decade the **Laymen's Movement** has come up, when the congregational membership decided to take in hand the external concerns of the church because the previous method, with pastors having the initiative, was not working. That this was not an uncalled for development, but a sign that the congregational membership was growing conscious of its independence, and now, in accord with the pastoral community was undertaking its task, was evident in the fact that pastors participated in the work. Much of this naturally bore the stamp of English churchianity, that of external bustle. But it also resulted in the publication of *Fundamentals*, an anthology of articles on the fundamental doctrines of Scripture, setting forth the Gospel in a most beautifully simple manner in many instances, often by laymen. In this endeavor too the Lutherans held back because, after all, the work could not altogether represent the Lutheran confession, though nonetheless they lent a good many nods of approval to the cause. Lutherans by and large are still deficient in getting their membership to take part in the whole operation of the congregation, the way the Apostles show us how to do it and as consonant with American conditions.

t. We may ascribe to the union idea, founded as it is in Calvinism, the fact that in English circles a **general Protestant union** has been festering these many years. We must acknowledge that this movement, born of faith, flows in part from the love of Christ and his congregation. At the same time the instinctive Calvinist preoccupation with externals is in play, unaware that doctrinal differences lie in a position fundamentally at odds with the Gospel. Hence this instinct prompts the expectation of achieving an external peace by external negotiation in doctrine and practice (most likely unwittingly). It is significant that Anglicanism, imported from England, is taking the lead in the movement, and most likely, even if again unwittingly, is all of a piece with

the Anglo-Saxon push for world supremacy. Anglo-Saxon too is the **feminism** that marks the American way of life. Unquestionably, women in America have achieved prodigies, but their frantic driving for public action, largely effectual (practically all public education is in the hands of women; the agitation for prohibition was mainly their doing), along with free-masonry, is answerable for the decay of many basic attitudes of utmost consequence in public life (resulting in false ideas about humanity, a decided sentimentalism, a false, often puerile flag-waving patriotism, a lack of discipline among children and of respect for elders, necessitating special juvenile courts in all metropolises, and other portents). With feminism, and faddism allied to it, several other movements are inter-connected, grown downright epidemic: Christian Science, spiritism, and occultism. **Spiritism** was founded in 1845 in Poughkeepsie, N. Y. by A.J. Davis, who presumed to communicate with departed spirits. The movement spread, and once the chemists Mapes and Hare took to it, it has penetrated even the educated circles of Europe (since 1870). The physicist Crookes (four physical conditions of material: solid, fluid, gaseous, radiant), the astrophysicist Zöllner (four dimensions), performed experiments. But since then several mediums have been unmasked as charlatans, and this has checked the movement. An 1875 variant of spiritist hoaxes is the **theosophism** or occultism of Captain H. Olcott and the Russian general's widow Helene Blavatzky. Distantly related to these movements we find the **agnosticism** of Underwood and Ingersoll, and the **Society for Ethical Culture**, founded in 1876 by Felix Adler, a Jew. These people sought to teach morality without religion, like Spence in England, and thereby expressed their esteem for Buddhism as opposed to Christianity. **Christian Science** is an amalgam of religion and medicine, founded in 1870 by Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy through her book *Science and Health*. She taught that sin and sickness are unreal, and that therefore sickness can be eliminated by prayer, by becoming one with God (undigested Neoplatonism concerning $\mu\eta\ ov$ [non-being]). It is interesting to observe the **popularization of modern theology** and its practical conversion into sociological pursuits by the journalistic activity of the University of Chicago (*Biblical World* and *American Journal of Theology*) and the manifestation of this mind in Winston Churchill's *The Inside of the Cup* and Hamilton Bell Wright's much-read novel *The Calling of Dan Matthews*, and in other portents.

u. The most significant gift, not only in America but in Christendom as a whole, was given to the **German Lutheran church** in the United States because she addressed the most exalted and efficacious idea of Scripture, the doctrine of election by grace, as such pre-occupation always marks the high-point of theological work (Augustine, Luther, Calvin), whereas all Reformed modifications, as well as the *intuitu fidei* of Lutheran theology of the 17th century, must be judged to be a watering down of theological energy in the entirety of history.

v. In 1878 Walther came forward with the **doctrine of election**, learned from Luther, which with all due respect to the Lutheran dogmaticians, even though he himself had first brought this to the attention of the whole world, rejected the *intuitu fidei* as a twisted term. He maintained that faith springs from election. In context his position reads somewhat like this: Scripture at the critical moment in the proclamation of Law and Gospel, brings to bear the idea, certified from beginning to end, of the sole efficacy of God (יהוה) in that, on the one hand, it directs the afflicted believer to election by grace to comfort him, his confidence in it never misplaced, and on the other hand, pronounces the judgment of hardening on the hardened unbeliever, which he cannot escape. Both proclamations must be accounted separately as Law and Gospel; nor have they been delivered to be pondered out intellectually because the doctrine concerns not theory but the facts of law and Gospel, neither of which, by their very nature, requires of man his intellectual approval. Election by grace embraces exactly this idea, that faith, and with it the entire Christian life, springs from election, the quintessence of Paul's message, intended for comfort.

w. Augustine recognized the nerve of the issue, but because of his Neoplatonic disposition to grasp things first by the intellect, which habitually wants to understand things on principle, defined it with this twist and thus happened upon the idea of *gemina praedestinatio* (double predestination). With his theological vigor Luther confronted the *De libero arbitrio* of Erasmus with his own *De servo arbitri*o, all in his unbiased attitude of faith. He not only recognized the nerve of the issue like Augustine, but because, alien as he was to any notion of contriving a system, he hit upon Paul's actual idea even if here and there a little awkwardly. *De servo arbitrio* is really Luther's "greatest theological achievement." Calvin as well tackled the problem, touched the nerve too, but his intellectual legalistic constitution set out the *decretum absolutum* in the sense of Augustine, and from thence drew his conclusion with logical consistency, and in his adamant energy retreated before no alternative conception. It is not the concept of "election" but the way they employ it that marks the difference between Luther and Calvin. Because election by grace never emerged as a point of contention while Luther lived, it was not until after Luther's death that this idea again gained prominence when Calvin drove it to an extreme. And Lutheran theology, as fixed by Melanchthon, lacking Luther's incomparable sense of freedom, fussing about the subject with all manner of pedantic minutiae, and in the end unable to get past the *intuitu fidei* and the "foreknowledge" (a pathetic diminution of **prognosis**) of God, had to shoot clean past Paul's great central thought.

x. Walther adopted the ideas of Luther again, at first, as was natural, also a bit awkwardly and cautiously, with reference to the Lutheran dogmaticians, and on the face of it at least, following their intellectually oriented method. For that he was assailed as a crypto-Calvinist by his former colleague Prof. F.A. Schmidt at the Norwegian seminary in Madison, Wisconsin, writing in his journal *Altes und Neues*. Coming to Schmidt's defense from the Missouri Synod were Prof. F.W. Stellhorn of Fort Wayne, and others. This too seemed natural because all of Walther's opponents had been his students and had inherited from him his high esteem for the Lutheran dogmaticians. That is a trait anybody can pick up, whereas Luther's sense of freedom one can never learn. In their defense of the proposition *intuitu fidei* Walther's opponents arrived at putting into words the idea that the final decision in the issue of man's salvation also "depends on man's behavior." They emphatically rejected the idea of synergism, but the controversy for all that assumed the forms, the sphere of thought, and the arguments employed between Melanchthon and Pfeffinger on the one side and the Gnesio-Lutherans on the other and thus introduced the doctrine of conversion into the discussion as well. Naturally they did not get anywhere because the parties stood on opposing ground intellectually. From the Wisconsin Synod circle Prof. Ad. Hönecke of the theological seminary took sides with Walther. Joining them was Georg Stöckhardt, called as pastor to St. Louis from the Saxon Free Church; soon thereafter he entered the seminary as professor. In 1879 an unedifying conflict broke out which resulted in the Ohio Synod leaving the Synodical Conference; Stelllhorn was called to teach in their theological seminary in Columbus. A split occurred in the Norwegian Synod, with one side following Schmidt, the others remaining in loose association with the Synodical Conference. The Iowa Synod and the General Council (insofar as the Council considered the matter at all) sided with Walther's opponents. In these most recent years a fatigue is becoming manifest which, as fatigue invariably does, tends toward reunion without energetically re-examining the ideas and thus to clear away the antitheses (a movement among the Norwegians, and another within the Synodical Conference, both as yet await final settlement).

y. During the most recent years the Wauwatosa seminary faculty has espoused an interpretation of the doctrine of church and ministry which appears to run counter to that of Walther. Walther equated the office of the ministry with the preaching office, and distinguished the local congregation from other church associations in that he claimed for it, as for the ministerial office, special divine institution. The Wauwatosa faculty maintains that the ministerial office is a species of the preaching office which did not originate until the German Middle

Ages, and similarly, that the local congregation is a species of the concept of the church, and in both instances the faculty holds that the term "institution" does not imply that God has distinguished these two species by particular institutions as distinct from other similar products of Christian and church life, though they too were created by the Gospel, but that "institution" constitutes a divine creation of the forms (preaching ministry, local congregation, synod, teaching office, professorial office, and others) by the operation of the Holy Spirit in Christendom where Christians arrange these things in Christian freedom as the situation requires. Discussions on this question have not as yet concluded, but because both sides at heart stand in identical evangelical relation to the concrete matters at issue, we may hope that the parties will also find unanimity in their intellectual understanding and interpretation on the basis of God's Word.

z. In the other synods much has transpired these years which should lead to an ultimate union. The General Council engaged in a confrontation with the General Synod regarding the significance of the confessional writings, which revealed that the General Synod people too were approaching more nearly the consciously Lutheran point of view. Now that the German synods are turning English, the danger is looming that to the leveling out process, in progress due to universal mental exhaustion, there will be added the corresponding influences of mentally washed out Americanism. Hence one task for zealous Lutherans would be to provide a sound Lutheran literature in the English language. The present world war is creating conditions which offer either great opportunities for the Gospel or great dangers in spiritual respects.

§278. The Oriental Churches in the 19th and 20th Centuries.

a. It is only since the 1870s that the **Greek Catholic church**, thanks to its political involvement, has entered the domain of the western world. Till then as now she has operated under two central governments, the patriarchate in Constantinople and the Holy Synod in Russia. Peter the Great had instituted this synod in 1721, after the death of Patriarch Hadrian (1702), when by agreement with the patriarch of Constantinople, he invested the supreme ecclesiastical authority with imperial rank. A reaction set in Russia in the 19th century which, along with political and economic influences, most likely helped to ignite the great war. **Alexander I** (1801-1825) was brought up with a freer sensibility. Under him in fact the German Lutheran church burst into flower. But the idea of the Holy Alliance as Metternich represented it, headed him into the **Russian reaction**. Nicholas I (1825-1855) was already working toward the national-ecclesiastical unity of Russia. For that reason, Lutherans and Catholics were oppressed. The Poles lost their liberties in 1831, and those in fellowship with Rome in 1839 and 1875 turned Russian Orthodox under duress. In 1845-1846 the Lutherans in the Baltic provinces were persecuted. In 1848 an opposition, abetted by France, arose and led ultimately to nihilism. Nicholas also wanted to bring the Orthodox in **Turkey** under the umbrella of Russia when he was pushing to establish himself on the Bosporus (czarism similar to the Medieval idea of the Holy Roman Empire).

b. Meanwhile the **Greeks** had already emancipated themselves from Turkey in their War of Liberation, with the help of England, France, and Russia. Now England and France, together with Austria and Sardinia, stymied Russia's progress in the Crimean War (1854-6), and at the same time induced the Turks to put Christians on a par with Mohammedans.

c. Alexander II (1855-1881) was a man of freer temperament. He envisioned reforms for the entire czarist empire. In 1861 he terminated serfdom; in 1868 he did away with the caste system for the lower clergy, as the priests' sons had been compelled to follow their fathers into the priesthood. The Raskolniki now had a better time of it. Added in the 18th century to the number of their opponents and those of the established church, the "spiritual Christians" or "people of God" (believing in the incarnation of God and Christ in the farmers Filipow and Suslow, who lived around 1650), the Skopz (self-mutilators), the Chlysts (scourging friars) or Mutes, and the Moreltschiki (self-immolators), were the Molokans (milk eaters) and the Duchobors (spiritual

fighters). Although farmers, they had a highly developed speculative doctrinal system which contains many ideas that agree with those of the Quakers. Only the Skopz were persecuted under Alexander II. The elementary school system was improved and monasticism regulated. Two mission societies were organized, one for the tribes in the Caucasus, the other for Mohammedans and heathen in the empire. The Society of Friends of Spiritual Enlightenment came into being as well. To the Lutherans as well Alexander showed himself amenable. Among the south Russian peasants, the Hourists originated in southern Russia after the discontinuance of serfdom, under the influence of German Pietists. But after the Polish revolution in 1863, the Catholics had to suffer. The revolution again gave free rein to the Pan-Slavists and Nihilists, the latter murdering the czar.

d. Alexander III (1881-1894) was a dedicated reactionary. Presiding under him and Nicholas II was Constantin Pobjedonoszew (d. 1907), the head prosecutor of the Holy Synod. He wanted to quarantine Russia against Western culture. As a result, the universities were harassed, the elementary schools systematically neglected, the sects (all except the Starowerzes) and the Roman church discriminated against, German culture and the Lutheran church of the Baltic provinces persecuted, the University of Dorpat (Jurjew) Russified (just as Bismarck treated the Poles in the *Kulturkampf*, or what the Americans tried to do to the Christian parish schools).

e. Under Nicholas II things kept on this way. But then came the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) and the Revolution with its assassination attempts. Since then Russia claims a constitution providing freedom of conscience, now, however, all the more passionately assailed by the Old Russians. Hereupon in Poland the Roman sect of the Marianites was founded by Maria Francisca Koslowska and the priest Johann Kowalski. They synthesize Mariolatry with modernism. When the curia excommunicated them, they turned to the Old Catholics. What the revolution will bring to pass remains to be seen, under the leadership of socialism and Russian liberalism.

f. In the past fifty years Russia has also contributed its share to world literature. This literature does not distinguish itself from the rest of European literature except perhaps in its form, somewhat stilted by the affinity of nihilism. The pervading impulse tends to be one of negation. Towering above all of the other writers Count Leo Tolstoy stands alone as significant for the church. He wrote *A Brief Exposition of the Gospel* (1890) and *What Does My Faith Consist In?* (1892), besides novels and novellas, particularly *Resurrection.* He accepted no returns for his writing, worked daily for his neighbors for free, and held up to his degenerate age the Sermon on the Mount, a conception of Christianity which since then has been parroted by the shallow in Western countries.

g. Save for the Orthodox church there still remain the Uniate Christians and the old heretical churches The Uniates are a fellowship which has gone in with Rome but has kept their own liturgy. They are found in Greece, Hungary, Transylvania, Serbia, Rumania, Syria, and Arabia. The heretical churches Include: the Armenian Monophysites who suffer grievously under Turkish persecution, probably not always without cause, and probably, too, not without English-American want of tact; the Jacobites; the Copts; and the Nestorians. They all struggle along under a dismal existence, and are densely interfused, and the latter, those living in Iran (Persia), have for the most part gone over to the Russian church to find protection there. Only the Abyssinian church enjoys outward security. But they too, and likewise the Thomas Christians in India, are intellectually inactive. Evangelical attempts at mission work have been quite unfruitful.

§279. Missions in the 19th and 20th Centuries.

a. Other than the mission work undertaken by Catholics and Protestants in their immediate locales in subjugated countries already in the 16th and 17th centuries, mission work such as we know it today may be

traced back to August H. Francke. Succeeding him were the Herrnhuter and Methodists. Since then, mission work has never flagged, but rather, at the close of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, it gained a new lease on life through the founding of mission societies, mainly in England, Germany, and America. The expansion of commerce, chiefly English and American in the middle of the 19th century, when the English forced free trade on China by means of the shameful Opium War (1839-42) and by means of the peaceful American dealings with Japan in 1854, and then the partition of the world among the civilized nations of Western Europe and North America, helped Christian missions along considerably as well. While the commercial enterprises developed from self-interest and frequently were linked with shady dealings, missionaries from conservative orthodox persuasions (with the single exception of the "General Evangelical Protestant Mission Alliance," founded for Japan in 1884 by liberal German and Swiss Protestants) ventured forth. It was faith in the revelation of the Savior of sinners that impelled them. None of the others have any message to bring to the heathens. The other side of the picture, though, shows the Buddhists and Mohammedans seizing the opportunity to attempt a mission, particularly among the so-called Christians in North America, which in turn was sanctioned, at least by way of agreement, by unbelieving missionaries like Underwood and Ingersoll. Just recently the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore has been busy impressing half-educated Americans, most of them women, with his Indian philosophy. None of this traffic in unbelief, however, ever requires any sacrifice of its proponents.

b. Mission work of the Roman church is carried on by the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*, and supported by the Pikpus Association and the Lyonnaise Society. It is conducted under centralized leadership largely by members of orders. On that account, and because of the minimal intellectual requirements, Roman missions have realized extensive ostensible success. The Russian church, too, carries on mission work in China, but nowhere with signal effect. The big Protestant mission societies are: (in England) the Baptist Mission Society, 1792; the Congregationalist London Mission Society, 1795; the tolerant Anglican Church Missionary Society, 1799; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, gone ritualistic, 1701; the Wesleyan Mission Society, 1814; in North America, The American Board in Boston, 1810; the societies of the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, the Episcopalian American church, the Lutherans, the Herrnhuter, etc.; in Germany, the Basel Mission Society, 1815; the Berlin, 1824; the Rhenish, 1828; the North German, 1836; the Leipzig, 1836; the Gossner, 1836; the Berlin Mission for East Africa, 1886; the Mission of the Congregation of Brethren, 1732; and the Hermannsburger, 1849. In the United States, every fellowship either has its own mission, or they join up with others in one of the larger societies.

c. Lutherans maintain their own societies. The General Synod took the lead, going to India in 1841 and in 1860 to Africa. Today, missions there are served by the General Council or by the General Synod. The Missouri Synod, with branch offices in South America and Australia, is active in India. The General Synod of Wisconsin and Other States supports an Indian mission in Arizona, the Missouri Synod one in Wisconsin, both synods jointly maintain the Negro and Jewish mission in the Synodical Conference. A society within this consortium has recently tackled the mission to China as well, following the lead of the Norwegians and others. The Iowa Synod, which originally maintained an Indian mission, since the Indian War has been sending her mission contributions to Neuendettelsau for the Papuan mission. The Ohio Synod supports a mission in India. The various Scandinavian Synods have been active in China, Japan, Madagascar, India, and Alaska. -The English-speaking American missions no doubt cover more ground, with corresponding statistics. Because they do not maintain any parish schools, and their membership includes more millionaires, they enjoy ampler funding, and externally their effort is better equipped. Lutherans, less affluent, are not up to that. But because of their perception of doctrine, most likely they do more intensive work among the heathen.

d. The compass of this mission work may be summed up as follows. In Europe, in Swedish and Russian Lapland, the heathen remnant was converted in the 1820s. In North America, hardly an Indian or Eskimo tribe is left among whom mission work has not been begun. In Asia, what still remains, are the Mohammedans, Buddhists, Brahmans, Confucians, and isolated primitive peoples. Missionary effort has penetrated virtually everywhere. While in Hindustan tireless mission work is underway in Indo-China and in the Malaysian Islands, especially in the Dutch colonies, the harvest is scant as yet. In the Philippines, ever since 1521, the Catholic Spaniards have been hard at work. But the monks aroused such hatred that in 1898-1901 a bloody revolution resulted. Once the United States took over, evangelical mission work gained admission as well (the set-to of the later president, Taft, with the pope and the orders).

e. In China the Jesuits and Franciscans came first. But Christian missions fell back under the jurisdiction of the Peking diocese. There in 1826 Karl Gützlaff, commissioned by Berlin and Rotterdam, took up the work in the evangelical sense. Not until the Opium Wars were China's borders opened. In the 1850s and 1860s the empire was convulsed by the Taiping Rebellion. The Chinese Sin [Hong Xiuquan], calling himself a brother of Jesus, stirred up a rebellion against the Manchu Dynasty. Christians were blamed for the revolution. In the Boxer Uprising in 1900, springing from xenophobia, 135 missionaries, mainly French, and 30,000 Chinese Christians were slaughtered. Reforms in China since 1907 have progressively eased access for missionary endeavor.

f. In Japan since 1854, the door has stood ajar. Since 1870 the nation has adopted Western European culture in every respect, including its unbelief. Since 1884 religious freedom has been the rule. Catholic, Russian, Orthodox, and Protestant societies compete with one another in the face of western-liberal-unbelieving and Japanese influences which figure in the new Tenrik religion, an amalgam of Shintoism and Christian elements.

g. In Australia the native population has been all but annihilated. Their remnants resist missionary effort. In the islands of the Pacific John Williams suffered martyrdom among the cannibals in 1839. Today a number of these islands have been converted to Christianity. In Africa, England, France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, and Germany have occupied the coastal areas and have opened their respective missions there. Central Africa was explored by the Scotsman David Livingstone (1813-73) and the American Henry M. Stanley. Everywhere, evangelical and Catholic missions have been engaged. This work has been hindered by Islamic propaganda originating in Sudan.

h. Mission efforts among the Jews and Mohammedans yield only a scant harvest. Since the Russian pogroms against the Jews, many of these people have migrated to America in the 20th century. This opens a wide field for mission work.

§280. The War and the Prospect for the Future.

a. Now the war is upon us, a war such as the world has never seen, raging in every quarter of the world and on every ocean of the world, and there is hardly a nation uninvolved, directly or indirectly. No one at present can say who is to blame for the war. Because of the appalling systematic provocation, another factor the world has never before experienced, any fair-minded historian will have to lay out the following facts: 1. Soon after the Franco-Prussian War England systematically saturated her people, her colonies, and the United States with the idea that, in the interest of humanity, the world must be governed by the Anglo-Saxon (English-speaking) nations; 2. In this war, having practically shut out Germany from foreign commerce, she systematically imposed upon the world the lie regarding barbarities Germany is alleged to have committed and regarding the progress of the war; 3 German reports were reliable; 4. Germany, after several years of victories, proffered peace because they deemed the slaughter pointless, but Germany had attained her goal, her successful defense; 5. England with her allies rejected the peace because she maintained she must achieve the actual annihilation of the present status quo of the Central Powers in the interest of humanity.

b. From these premises the following conclusions are consequent: 1. We must credit Germany's contention that her intentions in her pre-war preparations for war were defensive and pacific even though in recent decades voices, like the Anglo-Saxon mentioned above and disguised as German, were raised; 2. That she can claim the benefit of the doubt against the allegation of having seized the first opportunity to initiate the war, even if, on the one hand, we cannot declare her diplomats and other representatives entirely guiltless regarding the development of politics of recent decades, and on the other, we will not deny out of hand the diplomats of the opponents the mitigation of their fault in that they might have acted under pressure of economic and political entanglements; 3. That the various nations waged war most likely as they are known to have done all along: the Germans with professional rigor, the English with business-like ruthlessness, the French with passion, the Russians with brutality, and the hordes of Asia and Africa with cannibalism; 4. That the most contemptible baseness showed among the neutrals, in that they used the frightful death struggle of the nations as an opportunity for commercial speculation, and to that extent were implicated in the provocation of the press, insomuch that the generally accepted impression of benevolence, as propagated by the neutrals, could only be rendered highly doubtful.

c. Far more important than the ascertainment of guilt for this war is the recognition that the war has exposed the inner collapse of the whole culture of the 19th century. The foolish have ventured to declare that in this war Christianity has proved itself a mockery. If Christianity is taken to be the Gospel itself, and what it creates, then this line of talk is foolish, because the proof must remain in arrears. But if, by Christianity, we mean Christians in their multifarious associations, then the allegation is true insofar as it applies to Christians. All Christians bear their share of guilt for the horror, and in fact, in proportion to their compliance in the generally prevailing world view and its consequent life style, just the same as other people who are not Christians.

d. The elements of this world culture are: the formal ones, subjectivism and individualism; the material ones, the earthly here-and-now as opposed to the Gospel. Luther pioneered the subjective-individual ideas, insofar as they are founded in natural contexts, to their appropriate claim by means of the Gospel, namely, that man, with his personal faith, stands alone before God. Descartes enthroned subjectivism (all recognition is subjective, hence all action must emerge from within, and only herein can be justified), and thus made individualism (judgment and action must proceed from the interests of the individual, not from those of the rank and file or of family) to be increasingly predominant in practical life, in that he made his contemporaries and their successors conscious of this already dominant train of mind. These cultural elements are of a formal nature and one-sided. In their own way they have performed their services in that they generated many a thoroughgoing external technical achievement. One can pattern judgment and dealing successfully after their model, that is, if it is squared with the Gospel, but, for a fact, one will never win out except by compromising with the conflicting ideas. Subjectivism and individualism have become the norm this past century in every area of life (church, state, society, art, science, business), and till now, even when counteracted, govern all tastes.

e. The material elements of the general cultural life have fared otherwise. We may summarize them under the concept of this-sidedness (starting point, goal, and means of the sum of all thinking and dealing are earthbound as opposed to God and eternal life). Subjectivism and individualism are not merely infected with this concept, but rather substantially helped to flesh out the ideas of this-sidedness, as happened in ancient times and in the Middle Ages through the very reverse of individualism. It is hardly necessary to point out how much the non-Christian world contributes to this culture. The question is, how much do the Christian churches contribute to it? Here we must refer to the explanation of the concept offered in the first paragraph of this book. There is really only one classification of human beings: one segment belongs to the Christian church, that is, the invisible fellowship of believers, and the others do not belong to it. The former group is to be found in every church society which still retains a little of the Gospel of Christ, and they are all essentially of the same kind.

They rely on the grace they find in Christ Jesus alone, and that is how they determine their goal, manner, and means, while in other respects they move in the forms of the environment of their everyday life. Who these people are, no one can tell, and so one cannot make an empirical, statistically accurate judgment in response to the given question, one based on observation of individual persons. That judgment is reserved for God. The judgment the historian pronounces rests on the doctrinal position of the churches and on the generally observed common way of dealing within the religious bodies. But because the observer does not relate uniformly to every party, his opinion must above all have the character of self-criticism.

f. Of all the teachers of the church, Luther alone rendered the ideas of the Gospel with an indefatigable zeal for accuracy. It shows an absolute absence of understanding of Luther (as well as of the world) to view as medieval asceticism or as pessimism, Luther's doctrine of total depravity, and his conception of the world as alien. Such misapprehension raises the fear that the doctrines of faith and sanctification, which lie between sin and the world's end, will also be misunderstood. Because of the pure conception of the Gospel, Luther's ideas did not prevail unaltered and generally, even in the 16th and 17th centuries. And as for 19th-century churches, which call themselves Lutheran, for the most part, they are anything but. And inevitably if, when taking a doctrinal position, you distance yourself from Luther, the cultural elements noted above will take precedence, both formal and material, principally the latter, even among the best Luther scholars.

g. A real Lutheran historiographer will acknowledge Calvin's and his adherents' faith and their serious pursuit of sanctification wherever they come within his purview, indeed, he will acknowledge that these "sects" often put us Lutherans to shame in the particulars noted. Yet it must be apparent to every historical researcher, that three elements, alien to the Gospel, take center stage in Calvinism, diffused throughout the world as it is, as they emerged already in Calvin himself: intellectualism, legalism, and radicalism. These traits are of the world, hence their universal appeal. These three traits have engendered the elements of this-sidedness, which among Calvinists are not seen as conformity with the world, but which on the contrary accompany precisely their most dedicated striving for sanctification. They come to light in the guise of world improvement, as chiliastic, or moral and optimistic hopes, and, to make this happen, they adopt their means from the world: violence, business, and politics, fighting for external ends, and union. Deriving from Calvin, these motivations began to penetrate Lutheran circles as early as the end of the 16th century and have adulterated Lutheranism down to the present day and in other respects dominate our culture in its entirety, inasmuch, and insofar as it calls itself Christian.

h. In Catholicism too, a Lutheran historical researcher will acknowledge the elements of the Gospel and in fact, where he finds them precisely among those Catholics who are true to their convictions. The fact that here, too, contrary to all expectation, subjectivism and individualism are predominant, leads the way for the Gospel at all events to find well prepared soil. But Catholic church doctrine and the Catholic church as a physical institution, took their stand against the Gospel in the Councils of Trent and the Vatican. Hence the questionable factors which no one can otherwise harmonize with human integrity, so long as one does not view them from the standpoint of Catholicism confirmed in its opposition to the Gospel, the equation and confusion of Augustinianism and Pelagianism, the dominance of the Jesuit Order with its dubious morality, the deliberate mental enslavement and domination of priests, along with the claim to freedom, etc. The historian, acquainted with Catholicism from personal contact, must have understood how these contradictions can co-exist in one human soul, and that withal the Holy Spirit still, through faith, gets his work done. But because this external church in its entire essential composition so completely represents everything that stands opposed to the Gospel, it must necessarily possess to an eminent degree the character of this-sided externality. On this account the Catholic church faces off as rival with Calvinism in politics and in society in the contest for world supremacy. Hence the external deadly feud between the two, in which Catholicism with its tight organization

holds the upper hand, while Calvinism, with its predominant subjectivism and individualism till now has been unable to match her organization. Human culture in its entirety has gone to pieces in this war, as everyone could observe. Only the formal achievements have survived. Technical scientific human efficiency fueled by individualization, has advanced mental energy in every area practically to infinity. Some socialist ideas have survived as well, which were brilliantly applied by the German government through the organization of the whole nation and all its energies toward a common goal assuring the immediate victory of formal German culture, regardless of the outcome of the war otherwise. But that is exactly how the collapse of the noblest temporal ideas of culture has become so exposed. The ideas that mankind can practice and preserve humanity, freedom, righteousness, faith, love, and through all of these, peace, have been blasted.

k. An even greater collapse of this culture is the universal conceptual chaos, referring precisely to these noblest cultural ideas, and the barbarity of mind accompanying them which displays itself among those who stand aloof from the war in that they exploit the horrible misery as a contingency for business speculation, and at the same time, with unexampled mendacity (often enough clearly unconsciously and therefore all the more revealing of this culture), preaching humanity, peace, nay more, Christianity (cant). The incompetence of this intellectual culture betrays itself above all in this respect, that the neutrals, who after all would have leisure for it when it comes to the general, and in some sense justifiable, effort to establish the guilt for the war, and a just estimation of individual war transactions, never get around to recognize the guilt of the individual, their very own guilt for the universal calamity, when after all they all, each in his own measure, are factors of the world culture, because the common interest keeps clinging to the outermost surface of things no matter what, which anyone can verify by examining himself. And this milieu till now has always passed for culture.

l. A complete estimation of the situation must also include the recognition of how the war has brought some great qualities to light, for instance, unpretentious faith and the selfless devotion to duty of the citizenry caught up in the struggle and the quiet lovely acts of charity shown throughout the world by those who never otherwise have figured as cultural factors. This paradox the Gospel has brought about, and it is worth the effort to trace this operation of the Gospel in history.

m. What prospect does the future portend? The war is not going to change much at the marrow of human life. This-sidedness will keep on cropping up in other forms. The immediate result of the war will in fact prove an even worse ruination than the war itself owing to the combination of economic, political, and moral ravages and indeed even among the neutrals. Particularly in America where everything is still in the bud, socialism in its concrete conformation, Freemasonic cosmopolitanism, the Indian counterpart to the individualizing nationalism of the West (Tagore), pacifism and the like will all combine with Christian Science, occultism, ethical culture, and other isms to form a new syncretism as in ancient Roman times. Nor is it unlikely that the United States will abandon even more completely than it has already done its traditionary individualizing policy (Monroe Doctrine and avoiding entangling international alliances; the idea of a World's League to enforce peace). All of this will generate new forms of life. Nonetheless in all this transformation lies a great opportunity for the message of the Gospel, because the shock has surely seized many a heart. Will those to whom the Gospel is given now acquit themselves as men? Will we ourselves in particular, disciples of Luther, thanks to God's judgment, awaken to recognize our own personal participation in the false cultural drift? Compelled to a profound personal study of God's grace, will we drop the cant so generally practiced even by us and return to spirit and to life? This is the blessing we hope to receive from this year's Reformation jubilee by our commemoration of Luther and the efficacy of the Gospel of Christ which he preached.

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