

MINEOLA BIBLE INSTITUTE AND SEMINARY

Page | 1

Church History I

Radical, Biblical, Apostolic, Christianity



Bishop D.R. Vestal, PhD
Larry L Yates, ThD, DMin

“Excellence in Apostolic Education since 1991”

Copyright © 2019

Mineola Bible Institute and Seminary

All Rights Reserved

This lesson material may not be used in any manner for reproduction in any language or use without the written permission of Mineola Bible Institute and Seminary

CHURCH HISTORY I

CHAPTER 1

The Passover season was ended. The crowds that had gathered for the occasion dispersed, and Jerusalem returned to normal. Some were puzzled by the unusual circumstances surrounding the crucifixion of a certain Jesus of Nazareth, who appeared to be a revolutionist - for He had talked about setting up a kingdom of His own. A rumor had spread concerning His resurrection from the dead, but certainly that was impossible, they thought. Had not the soldiers who guarded His tomb reported the theft of His body by His followers? That was sufficient explanation for most. Another Galilean rabble rouser had come to a grisly end.

One hundred and twenty of His followers who had gathered in an upper room knew otherwise. Having seen and talked with the risen Lord, they awaited at His command the coming of the Holy Spirit. On the day of Pentecost (fifty days after the crucifixion and ten days after the ascension), they were rewarded. A sound as of a rushing wind filled the house. On each of the group lighted what appeared to be a tongue of flame. Immediately, they were filled with the Spirit and began to speak in other tongues. Rapidly the word of this phenomenon spread among Jews gathered for the feast of Pentecost, and a crowd came rushing to investigate. Upon arrival each heard the message of truth in his own language. Some marveled; others accused the disciples of being intoxicated. This was a foolish assertion because drunkenness would only produce gibberish, not intelligible conversation in another language. Besides, it was early in the day - too early for such a large group to be drunk.

At this point, Peter arose and addressed the throng. He pointed out that this remarkable phenomenon was a result of the Holy Spirit's ministry among them. Then he preached Christ: His death, resurrection, and ascension, the present necessity of receiving Him by faith as Savior, and being baptized in His name. The Holy Spirit so wrought that three thousand believed on that memorable day.

Thus the Church was born and wonderful was the experience of believers during the succeeding days. They held to the true doctrine, were faithful in prayer, partook frequently of the Lord's Supper, enjoyed each other's fellowship, were in one accord, and lived joyous lives. Those who met them were strangely moved and awed; many believed daily (Acts 2:42-47). Soon the number of believers swelled to about five thousand men; there were probably women and children in addition (Acts 4:4).

But believers were not merely to enjoy a state of ecstasy. They were made aware of this by the persecution that the Temple priests initiated (Acts 4). Accepting the Lord was serious business; it involved suffering for His sake. Were they any better than He? The world hated Him; it would hate His followers also (John 15:18-19). Persecution came with increasing frequency and intensity. First there was warning, then beating, then murder. Stephen was the first Christian martyr (Acts 7:54-60). But persecution had the opposite of the desire effect. Members of the Jerusalem Church were scattered all over Judea and Samaria, preaching as they went. Philip went to Samaria to minister and witnessed a wonderful spiritual awakening there. The fulfillment of our Lord's commission to preach in Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria, and the uttermost part of the earth (Acts 1:8) was being realized.

At this point, a certain Saul of Tarsus, a devout Pharisee who had been present at the stoning of Stephen, became a prominent persecutor of Christians. To stamp out the hated sect, he even determined to move against believers at Damascus. On the way north he was stopped dead in his tracks by the Lord he opposed (Acts 9). This vision of Christ and its accompanying conversion brought Saul an inner peace that he had failed to gain by conformity to Jewish Law and a misdirected zeal in serving God. Traveling on to Damascus, Saul was filled with the Holy Spirit and received water baptism there. After that he spent three years in Arabia and subsequently returned to Damascus to preach his new found faith. Under persecution, he fled to Damascus and returned to Jerusalem. There he was stymied by the suspicion of believers until Barnabas persuaded the Apostles that Saul's conversion was genuine. After a most useful time with Peter and James and a Jerusalem ministry that led to a plot on his life,

Saul returned to Tarsus. For the next several years he preached in the region around his home and in Syria (Galatians 1:16-21; Acts 9:20-31). Meanwhile, the Palestinian Church continued to grow, and Peter introduced the Gospel to the Gentiles of Cornelius' household in Caesarea (Acts 10). The Church in Syria expanded rapidly too, and believers were first called Christians at Antioch of Syria.

Ultimately, Church growth at Antioch required more workers. Barnabas went to Tarsus to persuade Saul, later called Paul, to join in the ministry in the Syrian metropolis. Soon the Lord revealed to the Church that He wanted the pair to engage in missionary activity. Barnabas and Paul departed, with the blessing of the whole Church, to minister to Jews and Gentiles in the regions beyond. They traveled and preached in Cyprus and Asia Minor (modern Turkey) and returned to Antioch. When they arrived, a question of the relationship of Jew and Gentile in the Church and to the Law arose. Jewish Christians believed that Gentile believers had to submit to the Law as well as place their faith in Christ. The issue was referred to the mother Church at Jerusalem; Paul and Barnabas and others were sent there to present the case.

The decision of the great Council of Jerusalem (A.D. 49 or 50) is significant: "For it seemed good to the Holy Spirit, and to us to lay upon you no greater burden than these essentials: that you abstain from things sacrificed to idols and from blood and from things strangled and from fornication; if you keep yourselves free from such things, you will do well" (Acts 15:28-29). Under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the Council decided that the Law, which had been an impossible burden for the Jew, should not be required of Gentiles.

On Paul's second missionary journey he was accompanied by Silas. The two again visited churches in Asia Minor and then, responding to the call of the man from Macedonia (Acts 16:9), they crossed over into Greece, where they established Churches at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, and Corinth. Paul remained at Corinth for about eighteen months of successful evangelistic work. During this journey he also preached his famous sermon on Mars Hill (Acts 17).

On his third journey, Paul again called on the believers in central Asia Minor. Traveling westward he stopped at Ephesus for about three years, where he carried the Gospel banner to victory over the forces of Diana. After revisiting the Churches in Greece, he returned to Jerusalem where he was apprehended by the leaders of the Jews and imprisoned. At length, appealing to Caesar, he was taken to Rome for trial. There he was imprisoned for two years (apparently under a sort of house arrest, Acts 28:30), and there he enjoyed a fairly successful ministry to the many who had access to him. Tradition has it that Paul was released from prison and engaged in a fourth missionary journey when he went to Spain and possibly southern France. He seems also to have gone to Crete, in addition to visiting some Churches already established.

The other Apostles were also active during the first century. Several apparently evangelized areas not already mentioned. Tradition teaches that Bartholomew preached in Armenia; Thomas in Parthia, Persia, and India; Matthew in Ethiopia; James the Younger in Egypt; Jude in Assyria and Persia; and Mark (not one of the Apostles but closely related to them) in Alexandria. If the Babylon from which Peter wrote (1 Peter 5:13) was Babylon on the Euphrates instead of a symbolical representation of Rome, then Babylonia was also evangelized during the first century. Indications are that Peter ministered in Rome near the end of his life and was martyred there. Evidently, he also preached in several of the provinces of Asia Minor (1 Peter 1:1).

If there is any truth in these traditions concerning the Apostles and other early Church leaders, the Gospel penetrated the more important inhabited areas of Europe, Asia, and Africa by the end of the first century. In general support of this contention, Justin Martyr, one of the most outstanding leaders in the Church about A. D. 150, observed:

There is no people, Greek or barbarian, or of any other race, by whatever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or agriculture, whether they dwell in tents or wander about in covered wagons, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered in the name of the

crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all things.

Although admittedly this reference must have been primarily to lands within the Roman Empire, it does show a widespread dissemination of the Gospel. In a real sense, then, the pattern of evangelism laid out in Acts 1:8 was realized: "But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be My witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and even to the remotest part of the earth."

CHAPTER 2-THE FATHERS

As the Apostles passed from the scene, others arose in the Church to take their places. These leaders, generally elders or bishops, are called Fathers ("Fathers in God") because of the esteem in which they were held by Church members or because of their historical relationship to later church developments. In fact, "Father" has come to apply to Church leaders during an extended period, beginning about A. D. 95.

The Fathers frequently are divided into four groups: the Apostolic or Post-Apostolic Fathers (95-150); the Apologists (140-200); the Polemicists (180-225); and the Scientific Theologians (225-460). Sometimes they are classified as the Apostolic Fathers (second century); the Ante-Nicene Fathers (second and third centuries); the Nicene Fathers (fourth century); and the Post-Nicene Fathers (fifth century; sometimes to Gregory the Great in the West, 590; or John of Damascus in the East, c. 675). The Apostolic Fathers are characterized by edification, the Apologists by defense against attacks on Christianity, the Polemicists by attacks against heresy within the Church, and the Scientific Theologians by a scientific study of theology in an effort to apply to the theological investigation philosophical modes of thought then current.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

While the apostle John was writing Revelation on the Isle of Patmos or at Ephesus, Clement served as leading elder, or bishop, in the Church at Rome. In this capacity he assumed responsibility for answering an appeal (as did Paul a half century earlier; cf. 1 Corinthians 7:1 ff.) from the Church at Corinth for advice on how to restore harmony to a divided Church. He sent a letter urging a demonstration of Christian graces in daily relationships and obedience to the elders and deacons against whom some were rebelling. He made frequent reference to both Old and New Testament Scripture and especially to Paul's Epistles. Because this is the earliest extrabiblical Christian writing, it has attained a place of prominence among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers.

About a half century later another Roman, Hermas, wrote a work known as the "Shepherd of Hermas." In it he records five visions that serve as the basis of a call to repentance from sins existent in the Church of his day. In his description of these evils, Hermas gives a picture of the level of Christian living about A. D. 150; it is far from high. The book of "Second Clement" was probably written about the same time as the "Shepherd" and was not therefore, the work of Clement of Rome. It is not really an epistle but a homily, probably delivered in Corinth, and is the oldest Christian sermon extant. Its message emphasizes practical Christian living and a sound view of Christ.

A Syrian Apostolic Father and the most famous of the group was Ignatius, bishop of Antioch. About 110, he was apprehended by Roman authorities because of his Christian profession and sent to Rome for martyrdom. Along the way he wrote letters to various Churches. These seven letters were designed to promote unity in the Churches addressed. Unity was to be accomplished on the one hand by rooting out heresies that denied the full divine-human personality of Christ, and on the other hand by the subjection of leaders in local congregations to a ruling bishop. Thus, impetus was given to the power of bishops, but only over local congregations. He did not exalt the position of the bishop of Rome over that of other bishops, but he seems to have been the first to speak of a Catholic (universal) Church.

In Asia Minor (modern Turkey) two Fathers were active: Polycarp and Papias. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna (modern Izmir), is particularly interesting to modern Christians because he was a disciple of the apostle John. His letter to the Philippians remains. As one would expect from a disciple of John, Polycarp emphasized in his letter faith in Christ and the necessary outworking of that faith in daily living. Unlike those of his friend Ignatius, his concerns do not involve church organization and discipline. Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, wrote about 125. His "Interpretations of the Sayings (Oracles) of the Lord" is now lost, but parts of it survive in the writings of Irenaeus and Eusebius. These fragments deal with the life and teachings of Christ and attempt to preserve information obtained from those who had known Christ. They are especially interesting for their historical references, such as the

statement that Mark got the information for his Gospel from Peter.

Works assigned to the period of the Apostolic Fathers also originated in North Africa. "Barnabas" is generally considered to have been written in Alexandria - probably somewhere between A. D. 70 and 130. Like much of the other literature of Alexandria, this Epistle is quite allegorical in nature, engaging in gross typology and numerology. The basic problem of the epistle concerns the necessity of Christians keeping the Law. It holds that such was not necessary; the work of Christ was sufficient. It becomes so anti-Judaic as almost to deny a historical connection between Judaism and Christianity. The "Didache," or "Teachings of the Twelve," is also believed to have originated in Alexandria (though some think it came from Syria), probably during the first decades of the second century. A Church manual, divided into three parts, the "Didache" treats Christian ethics, liturgical and disciplinary matters, and the need for a life of preparedness in view of the return of Christ.

The Apostolic Fathers must be evaluated in accordance with their apparent purpose: to exhort and edify the Church. Sometimes they are criticized by evangelicals because they do not seem to grasp the New Testament concept of salvation by faith or because they seem to neglect certain doctrines. It should be remembered, however, that if one's purpose is to exhort to a higher plane of Christian living, he may make rather obscure allusions to the means by which one becomes a Christian. Moreover, informal utterances of pious faith are not designed to provide completeness of theological treatment and should not be judged by the same criteria as a systematic theology. Admittedly, however, the Apostolic Fathers do in some instances assign a rather significant place to baptism as a medium of forgiveness of sin. Martyrdom and celibacy are also thought to have special sin-atonement power. On the whole, the Apostolic Fathers picture a Church still throbbing with missionary zeal, a Church in which individual responsibility is still everywhere recognized, and a Church in which hierarchical organization is at a minimum.

The Apostolic Fathers should be used with caution, however. Although they exhibit more than individual opinions and provide something of a cross section of

doctrinal beliefs and conduct in the churches, the sampling is minimal. All their writings for this half century of time fill only one moderate-sized volume. And since the layman was not vocal, we know only what the clergy thought about what was going on in a few Churches. What they thought may not have approximated true conditions. And of course there is no way of knowing whether these Churches or churchmen were typical or extreme examples of that period.

THE APOLOGISTS

The approach and purpose of the Apologists were entirely different from those of the Apostolic Fathers. The Apologists sought to win legal recognition for Christianity and to defend it against certain charges leveled by the pagan populace. In constructing this defense, the Apologists wrote in a more philosophical vein than the Apostolic Fathers. A generation of Christians from a higher social class and with more extensive education had arisen. As the Apologists wrote their defenses they had at hand two literary forms already in use in the Roman world: the legal speech (apologia) delivered before judicial authorities and subsequently published, and the literary dialogue.

In seeking to win a favorable position for Christianity, the Apologists tried on the one hand to demonstrate the superiority of the Hebrew-Christian tradition over paganism, and on the other to defend Christianity against certain charges. They viewed this superiority as both temporal and spiritual. Justin Martyr claimed that Moses wrote the Pentateuch long before the Trojan War (C. 1250 B. C.), thus antedating Greek history, to say nothing of Roman. And he and other Apologists made much of fulfillment of prophecy in an attempt to show that Christianity was not something new, but merely a continuation or culmination of the ancient Hebrew faith. As to the spiritual superiority of Christianity over paganism, the Apologists claimed that noble pagans had obtained their high ideals from God or Moses.

Charges against which Apologists defended Christianity were atheism, cannibalism, immorality, and antisocial action. The first charge arose because

Christians refused to worship the emperor or the Greco-Roman gods; the second, because of a misunderstanding of the celebration of the Lord's Supper; the third, because religious services generally had to be conducted in secret or after dark and because Christians displayed great love for each other; and the last, because Christians found it necessary to retire from much of public life, as most aspects of human existence were in some way connected with worship of the gods. For instance, one who held public office had to participate in and even lead the populace in sacrifices to the ruler or the goddess Roma. Normally when one attended an athletic festival or a drama, he found himself acquiescing in a sacrifice to a god before the event began.

In their effort to win recognition from the state for their faith, the Apologists generally took a philosophical approach. It was only natural that they should do so, because on the one hand they were trying to reason out the case for Christianity with their opponents, and because on the other hand they often wrote to men who were themselves greatly interested in philosophy. (Note, for instance, that the emperor Marcus Aurelius was a Stoic philosopher and apologies were addressed to him.) Because of their philosophical orientation, the Apologists have been accused of undue surrender to the world view of heathenism. Even their teachings about Jesus Christ appear in the form of the Logos doctrine. To the philosophers, the Logos was an impersonal, controlling, and developing principle of the universe. But John, in chapter one of his Gospel, had also used Logos to describe Christ without any sacrifice of His deity or the value of His atoning work. The Apologists, on most points, seem to have upheld the New Testament concept of Jesus Christ, though it must be admitted that such writers as Justin sometimes described Christ as a being of inferior rank to the Father. The very fact that the Apologists placed such great stress on the Logos demonstrates that their theology was Christ centered. Moreover, although the practice may involve dangers, it is neither wrong nor undesirable to make one's message intelligible to one's age.

Probably the most dramatic and therefore the best known of the Apologists was Justin Martyr. Certainly, he was a great literary defender of the faith. Born about A. D.

100 in a small town in Samaria, Justin early became well acquainted with the various philosophical systems, but his great knowledge of these philosophies also led him to a realization of their inadequacies. At this point of disillusionment and searching, an old Christian came into Justin Martyr's life and showed him the way of faith in Christ. Thereafter, the converted philosopher became a Christian philosopher, presenting the Christian message in philosophical terms. He wrote apologies to the emperor Antoninus Pius and his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius, and a dialogue with Trypho the Jew. In the apologies, he sought to defend Christianity against the charges of atheism and immorality, to demonstrate that Christians were loyal citizens (Christ's kingdom was not of this world; so the empire had no reason to fear insurrection), and to prove that the truth was taught by Christianity alone. In his dialogue with Trypho, Justin tried to show that Jesus was the Messiah. During his second stay in Rome, Justin engaged in a public debate with a philosopher by the name of Crescens. Shortly thereafter (C. 163), Justin was martyred by Marcus Aurelius, perhaps at the instigation of several philosophers close to the emperor.

One of Justin's converts in Rome was Tatian, a writer skilled in argumentation. His "Address to the Greeks" was largely a tirade against paganism; it ridiculed almost every pagan practice. In the latter part, he argued that since Christianity was superior to Greek religion and thought, it deserved to be tolerated. After Justin's martyrdom, Tatian drifted off into the error of Gnosticism (for a discussion see chapter 3). Tatian is probably best known for his "Diatessaron," the earliest harmony of the Gospels, composed about A. D. 150-60.

Another writer of note, sometimes classified among the Apologists, was Tertullian. Born in Carthage about 160, he later moved to Rome where he became a lawyer and was subsequently won to Christianity. His "Apologeticus," addressed to the Roman governor of Carthage, refuted the common charges leveled against Christians, demonstrated the loyalty of Christians to the empire, and showed that persecution of Christians was foolish anyway because they multiplied whenever persecuted. About 200, Tertullian became enmeshed in the error of Montanism (for a discussion see

chapter 3). These three were the more important of the Apologists, but fragmentary or fairly complete writings of at least a half dozen others do exist.

THE POLEMICISTS

As the Christian movement grew older, errors arose within its ranks - errors that called forth defenders of the faith and that by reaction led to the development of Christian doctrine and the formulation of a New Testament canon. It is significant that in refuting error the Polemicists appealed extensively to New Testament books as the source of true doctrine. Thus they gave impetus to the later official pronouncements on the contents of the New Testament canon. The work of the Polemicists also gave rise to the concept of an Orthodox Catholic Church opposed to heresy. Since a large part of the next chapter is devoted to a definition of those errors, note is made here only of some chief attackers of them.

Although most of the Apologists lived in the East, most of the Polemicists lived in the West. Earliest of these was Irenaeus, who wrote "Against Heresies" about 185, at Lyons, France. Primarily aimed against the philosophical error of Gnosticism, this work may be characterized as follows: Book I - a historical sketch of Gnostic sects presented in conjunction with a statement of Christian faith; Book II - a philosophical critique of Gnosticism; Book III - a scriptural critique of Gnosticism; Book IV - answers to Gnosticism from the words of Christ; Book V - a vindication of the resurrection against Gnostic arguments.

Covering much the same ground as Irenaeus, Hippolytus also attacked Gnosticism, as well as other errors, in his "Refutation of All Heresies" (written about 200). Although Hippolytus may have borrowed from Irenaeus, he significantly supplements the work of the latter. Hippolytus came into conflict with the dominant party in Rome because he criticized them for disciplinary laxity and doctrinal unsoundness. In particular, he linked Callixtus, an important pastor, with Noetianism and Sabellianism - defective forms of Trinitarian teaching.

In Carthage lived two other Western Polemicists: Tertullian and Cyprian. Tertullian may be classified with the Apologists if one emphasizes his "Apologeticus" or as a Scientific Theologian if one emphasizes his "De Anima" (concerning the origin of the soul). In fact, he is commonly regarded as the founder of Latin (Roman Catholic) theology. But he is classified here because of his intensely passionate opposition to paganism, Judaism, early forms of Unitarianism, and Gnosticism. It has been said that he did more than anyone else to overthrow Gnosticism. Although Tertullian lapsed into the Montanistic error, he renewed fellowship with the Church before his death. Tertullian's ministry was carried on during the first decades of the third century.

Cyprian (martyred in 258) in his polemic activity is known for his opposition to Novatianism. Novatus (Novatian) held that those lapsed during persecution could not be pronounced forgiven by the church and restored to its fellowship; forgiveness must be left to God alone. It was not Novatus' severity of discipline but his denial that the Church had the right to grant absolution that caused his excommunication. The Church had become conscious of her catholicity and unity by this time, and those who would not submit to divinely appointed bishops were regarded as heretics. In line with this common attitude, Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, felt duty bound to condemn Novatus.

Sometimes leaders of the school of Alexandria are listed among the Polemicists. Clement's "Protepticus" is an apologetic missionary document written to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity to paganism. Origen wrote his "Against Celsus" to answer certain charges against Christianity. But it is the opinion of the writer that these men are more properly classified among the Scientific Theologians.

THE SCIENTIFIC THEOLOGIANS

As has been noted already, the Scientific Theologians sought to apply current modes of thought to theological investigation. Moreover, they tried to develop scientific methods of biblical interpretation and textual criticism. The classification of these writers falls roughly into three groups: (1) Those living in Alexandria (Pantaenus,

Clement, Origen, and later, Athanasius, Cyril, et al.) were the most speculative in approach; (2) writers of the West (Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine) tended to emphasize the authority of the Church and its tradition; and (3) those ministering in Asia Minor and Syria (Theodore of Mopsuestia, John Chrysostom, et al.) took a generally literal approach to biblical study.

Alexandrian Theologians

Earliest of the leaders of the school in Alexandria for converts from paganism and children of believers was Pantaenus, who held the reins of authority until 200. Since the writings of Pantaenus no longer existed (or have not yet been discovered), it is necessary to move to a discussion of his more famous successors. Associated with Pantaenus from 190, Clement headed the school of Alexandria from 200 to 202, when he was forced by persecution to leave the city. His writings include "Address to the Greeks", "The Tutor", "The Miscellanies", and the "Outlines of Scripture Interpretation". The first was designed to win converts from heathenism; the second, to provide new converts with simple instruction for living the Christian life; the third, to show the superiority of Christianity to pagan philosophy; and the last, to provide commentaries on various Scriptural passages, partly in answer to heretical interpretations. In the writings of Clement, the influence of Greek philosophy is prominent, especially that of Plato; but the Bible also has a place of importance. He sought to synthesize Christianity and Greek philosophy, and is significant in Church history as being the first to present Christianity in the forms of secular literature for the Christian community.

Most famous of the Alexandrian writers was Origen, who led the school from 202 to 232. Thereafter he moved to Caesarea in Palestine, where he continued his illustrious career for another twenty years until the Decian persecution. Origen brought to scientific formulation the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. The germs of this approach may be seen in Philo of Alexandria, a contemporary of Christ who had sought to find a reconciliation between Greek philosophy and Jewish thought by searching for hidden meanings in the Old Testament. Christian writers after Philo employed the

allegorical method, but Origen receives the credit for the full development of the approach. Simply described, it holds that the literal meaning of Scripture conceals a deeper meaning, available only to the mature believer. The hidden meaning that he found sometimes bore little or no relationship to the literal. This concealing of truth by God under the guise of commonly understood words was designed to prevent pearls from being cast before swine.

Origen's work numbers in the thousands (some say six thousand, including letters and articles), involving critical, apologetic, dogmatic, and practical treatises. His commentaries deal with almost the whole Bible. Although they are helpful at points, their value is restricted by his allegorisms. Highly significant are his critical or textual studies: the "Hexapla" and "Tetrapla." The former has several Hebrew and Greek versions arranged in parallel columns. The latter contains the four Greek versions of the "Hexapla." Only fragments of these works remain. Origen's "On First Principles" is the earliest systematic theology that has come down to us.

While Origen made some positive contributions to the theology of the Church, he is more commonly known for views that did not receive general acceptance. For instance, he taught that the souls of men existed as fallen spirits before the birth of the individuals, which teaching accounted for man's sinful nature. Second, he led that in His atonement Christ paid a ransom to Satan, by whom all were enslaved in the bondage of sin. Third, he believed that the rejected, who go to hell at death, would experience there a purifying fire that ultimately would cleanse even the wicked; all would ultimately reach the state of bliss, including the devil himself.

Many decades later the great Athanasius (c. 293-373) rose to a position of leadership in Alexandria. To him goes special credit for the triumph of the Orthodox view of Christ over Arianism, "A Thinly Disguised Paganism," at the Council of Nicea in 325. Even prior to the outbreak of the Arian controversy, he had become a recognized theologian for his production of "Contra Gentiles" and "On the Incarnation." In 326 he became bishop of Alexandria and thereafter steadfastly defended the Nicene position on the full deity of Christ.

A later figure of significance in Alexandria was Cyril (376-444). Becoming patriarch of Alexandria in 412, he devoted himself to the defense of the Orthodox doctrine of the person of Christ, but often did so in a high handed and unprincipled manner. He was a zealous advocate of veneration of the virgin Mary.

Western Theologians

One of the greatest of the Western Fathers was Jerome (c. 345-420). Born in northeastern Italy, he spent several years in Rome studying languages and philosophy, and was baptized at the age of nineteen. During the next twenty years he moved around a great deal - in Gaul, the East, and Italy - perfecting his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew and becoming a convert to Monasticism. Settling in Bethlehem in 386, he began his influential writing ministry. By means of extensive correspondence and dramatic telling of the lives of early ascetics, he did much to promote asceticism and celibacy. As a writer against heresies, Jerome was primarily the interpreter of accepted Church dogma; he was not original. He wrote commentaries on almost all the books of the Bible, but they were unequal in value. He utilized allegorism, according to his admission, when he was unable to discover the literal meaning. Jerome ranks first among early exegetes, and his knowledge of languages was unsurpassed in the early Church. He was careful about his sources of information. He knew and used extensively early versions and manuscripts of the Bible no longer extant. Operating on the principle that only the original text of Scripture is free from error, he engaged in considerable manuscript study in order to determine what, among variant readings, should be considered the original and true texts. Out of these efforts came the work for which he is best known: the Vulgate, a translation of the Bible into Latin. Jerome also tried to bring Eusebius' "Ecclesiastical History" up to date by recording events for the years 325-378.

Ambrose, bishop of Milan (374-97), was another of the most illustrious Fathers of the Western church. Because his writings represent an official witness to the teachings

of the Roman Church in his own time and earlier centuries, they have been constantly appealed to by popes, Councils, and the theologians. Commentaries on Scripture constitute more than half of his writings. In these commentaries Ambrose employs the allegorico-mystical method of interpretation: he admits a literal sense, but seeks everywhere a deeper mystical meaning that he converts into practical instruction for Christian life. Ambrose is also known for his contributions in music. But apparently tradition has been too kind to him. So far no documents have been brought to light to prove he composed anything but the tunes to most of his hymns. And although a large number of hymns have been attributed to him, fewer than twenty can be assigned to him with certainty. In a day when Church services were becoming increasingly liturgical and choirs were assuming greater importance, Ambrose championed congregational singing. He also encouraged Monasticism. In his diligence in teaching the faith and refuting heresy, he influenced many, not the least of whom was St. Augustine.

St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo in North Africa, stands preeminent among theologians of all time. His influence upon all faiths has been significant. His emphasis on a personal experience of the grace of God as necessary to salvation has caused Protestants to accept him as a forerunner of the Reformation. His emphasis on the Church, her creed, and sacraments has appealed to Romanists. His teaching that the Millennium was the period between Christ's first and second comings, during which time the Church would conquer the world, has contributed greatly to amillennial and post millennial theologies of past and present. Augustine's teaching that man is in all his parts perverted by sin profoundly influenced Calvinistic theology. And such an outstanding American scholar as Perry Miller made the claim in his "New England Mind" that the Puritans were even more Augustinian than Calvinistic in their theology. Augustine's views on the nature of man and his salvation are described further in chapter four.

Augustine (354-430) came from a respectable but not a rich family. His life, a journey through periods of immorality, entanglement in appealing philosophies and heresies of the day, and spiritual crisis to the achievement of moral and spiritual victory,

is one of the best known biographies of all time. The account, recorded in his "Confessions," has been read by millions. "Confessions" is Augustine's moral autobiography; "Revisions" is his intellectual autobiography, which describes the changes in his thoughts over the years. Most important of his theological works is his "Concerning the Trinity"; "Concerning Christian Doctrine" is the most important of his exegetical works. His philosophy of history, the first to be developed, is found in his "City of God." In it he traces the development of the city of earth and the city of God through biblical and secular history and shows the destiny of the two cities: the former to eternal punishment and the latter to eternal bliss. He portrays the sovereignty of God in the affairs of men and the ultimate triumph of good over evil, though currently the reverse is often true.

Theologians of Asia Minor and Syria

Three of the most important leaders of the Church in Asia Minor and Syria were the Three Great Cappadocians of central Asia Minor. These men are known for their contribution to the development of the doctrine of the Trinity and the defense of the Orthodox position in church. Of these three, Basil the Great (330-97) of Caesarea is known for his opposition to heresies, especially Arianism, and for the organization of Eastern Monasticism. His brother, Gregory of Nyssa (332-398), was a champion of Orthodoxy at the Council of Constantinople in 381, and is respected as one of the founders of the Eastern Church. Gregory of Nazianzus (329-90) became bishop of Constantinople in 380 and for some years headed the Orthodox cause.

Two other important Scientific Theologians in the Eastern Church were John Chrysostom and Theodore. Theodore (350-428), was bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (Asia Minor) for thirty-six years. A brilliant exegete, he wrote commentaries on most books of the Bible, generally following grammatico-historical and realistic explanations of the text. This method of interpreting the words of Scripture according to their ordinary grammatical meaning and in the light of their historical background, was the prevailing mode of interpretation in the Antiochene school of thought, from which background Theodore had come. John Calvin was later to become famous for his contributions to

the grammatico-historical method of biblical interpretation. Theodore reputedly was the first to attempt to place the Psalms in their historical context.

John Chrysostom (347-407), the most prominent doctor of the Greek Church, also was important as a representative of the grammatico-historical interpretation of Scripture in opposition to the allegorical and mystical interpretations of Alexandria. While Chrysostom did not exclude all allegorical and mystical elements from Scriptural study, he confined them to cases in which he felt the inspired author suggested such a meaning. Chrysostom is also important for the reformation of Eastern theology. At the time of the Reformation there were long discussions whether Chrysostom was Protestant or Catholic. Though he ignored confession to a priest, he did hold to the real presence in the Eucharist, to the one Church, and to tradition as a valid basis of authority. Born in Antioch, and for some years a preacher in the cathedral there, Chrysostom became patriarch of Constantinople near the end of his life. Perhaps he is best known for his preaching. The name "Chrysostom" (golden-mouthed) was bestowed upon him for his eloquence. Copies of some six hundred fifty of his sermons still exist.

A study of the Fathers is very valuable for one interested in the development of the Church doctrine and organization. In their lives and teachings, we find the seed plot of almost all that arose later. In germ form appear the dogmas of purgatory, transubstantiation, priestly mediation, baptismal regeneration, and the whole sacramental system. They defined the allegorical, mystical, and literal interpretations of Scripture. To them we look for a formulation of the hierarchical system, and the importance of the Church as the sphere of salvation. But through them also came the development of the canon, and formulation of the great creeds of Christendom, which serve as the basis of most successive teaching concerning the Trinity, the person of Christ, and the nature of the Holy Spirit. Among them arose great defenders of the faith; they answered the persecutors of Christianity, and attacked heretics who attempted to destroy the faith from within. It is to the persecutions and perversions of the faith that we now turn.

CHAPTER 3-FOES WITHOUT AND WITHIN

THE PERSECUTIONS:

The Christian movement was hardly launched when it faced its first persecutors. This was to be expected, for Jesus Himself had warned His disciples, "If they persecuted Me, they will also persecute you" (John 15:20). Shortly after Pentecost, the success of Apostolic preaching so jolted members of the Sanhedrin, that they threw Peter and John in prison (Acts 4). Soon thereafter, they imprisoned the whole Apostolic band (Acts 5). Opposition heightened, resulting in the stoning of Stephen (Acts 7). A few years later, probably A. D. 44, Herod Agrippa I slew James the brother of John (Acts 12:2), and imprisoned Peter. So, it was with the Jews that persecution of the Church began.

Reasons for their opposition to the Gospel are not hard to discover. Jewish leaders feared a rapidly rising movement that would decimate their constituency. And evidently many among them, like Saul of Tarsus, honestly believed that Christianity was a perversion of true Judaism, and that they were honoring God by attacking it. Moreover, some Jews might have worried about losing their privileged position in the empire, if Palestine were infected with individuals who spoke about another kingdom ruled by a king other than Caesar. A few, of the Zealot variety, may have opposed Christianity, because it was not willing to join Jewish nationalistic moves for independence.

Reasons for Roman persecution were much more complex. Christians were politically suspect, because they spoke of a kingdom with Christ as its ruler. Materialistically minded Romans took statements concerning such a kingdom to imply a plan for overthrow of the government. Moreover, there was a union of religion and state in ancient Rome; so refusal to worship the goddess Roma, or the divine emperor constituted treason, and no government has ever dealt lightly with treason.

Christians suffered social ostracism because they came, especially in the early days, largely from the lowest classes of society, and because as good Christians they could not participate in much of the public life of their time. For example, as civil servants they

might be required to join in ceremonies in honor of the divine Caesar. Even engaging in sporting and theatrical events was impossible, because sacrifice to a pagan deity normally occurred before a drama or an athletic festival. They also condemned public games in which gladiators fought in mortal combat to entertain spectators, and in which innocent prisoners were thrown to wild beasts for entertainment of the crowds. And the fact that Christians proclaimed the equality of all men before God, put them in direct opposition to the generally accepted institution of slavery.

There were also economic reasons for the persecution of Christians. Priests, idol makers, and other vested religious interests could hardly look on disinterestedly, while their incomes dwindled and their very livelihoods stood in jeopardy. Since leaders of the old religions held important positions in society, they could easily stir up mob opposition to Christianity. The success of Demetrius and the other idol makers of Ephesus in this regard is a case in point (Acts 19). Christians were also made scapegoats for great calamities, such as famine, earthquakes, and pestilence which were sometimes regarded as punishment meted out, because people had forsaken the Greco-Roman gods.

Religiously, Christianity suffered because it was exclusive, not tolerant like other faiths of the empire. In fact, it was aggressive in trying to win adherents from other faiths. Because Christians had to hold religious observances in secret, it was easy for all sorts of rumors to circulate about them. Some saw in their love for each other an evidence of licentiousness. Others interpreted their statements used in connection with Communion to refer to cannibalism.

The event that sparked official persecutions, however, was the fire of Rome, July of A. D. 64. That holocaust, which lasted for nine days, and gutted ten of the fourteen districts of the city, brought untold suffering to a population of some one million. Some of Nero's enemies circulated a report that he had started the fire. The charge was probably untrue, but Nero diverted attention from himself, by making scapegoats out of the Christian community in Rome. The penalty suffered by many of the supposed

incendiaries was burning at the stake at night, to light the gardens near Nero's circus in the Vaticanus section of Rome. Some were thrown to wild beasts or mad dogs. Paul, suffered martyrdom at the hands of Nero; Peter is said to have suffered the same fate. The Neronian persecution is important because it established the precedent and the manner of persecuting Christians, though it did not lead to any persecution outside Rome.

The second persecution broke out in A. D. 95, during the reign of Domitian. It was originally directed against Jews, who refused to pay a tax designed to help fund construction of the magnificent new temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill in Rome. Being associated with Judaism still, Christians also suffered during this persecution. Moreover, Domitian enforced emperor worship. Upon refusal to participate, Christians were charged with treason. Some were martyred, some dispossessed of property, and others banished. It was at this time that the apostle John was exiled to the Isle of Patmos, where he received the vision of the Revelation. It is not clear that John's exile was instigated by the emperor; however, probably local opposition in the province of Asia was responsible for that.

Definite imperial policy concerning persecution was not developed until early in the second century. Pliny the Younger, a Roman lawyer, served as governor of the provinces of Bithynia and Pontus in Asia Minor (111-113). While there, Pliny faced a great defection from paganism, and a corresponding growth of the Christian movement. He felt obligated to deal with this situation, and concluded that those brought before him for trial should be asked three times if they were Christians, each time the question being accompanied with threats. If they persisted in their faith after the third repetition of the question, they were to be led out and executed. Uncertain of the rightness of his procedure, Pliny wrote to the emperor Trajan for advice. Trajan replied that Christians were not to be sought out; but if reported and convicted they were to be punished, unless they repented and worshipped the gods. Anonymous information was not to be received against them. Thus an official policy was established. Soon governors throughout the empire were following the principles Trajan had enunciated. Many

believers were martyred, including the famous Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who was thrown to wild beasts in Rome about 115.

During the reign of Trajan's successor, Hadrian (117-138), the general policy of Trajan was followed; Christians were persecuted in moderation. When it became common for mobs at heathen festivals to demand the blood of Christians, Hadrian published an edict against such riots. Christianity made marked progress in numbers, wealth, learning and social influence during his reign.

Antoninus Pius (139-161), seems rather to have favored Christians; but he felt he had to uphold the established imperial policy concerning them. So there were many martyrs, including Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. It should be noted that in many instances during his reign, and particularly in the case of Polycarp, local mobs were responsible for much of the persecution. A good observation that applies to the reign of Antoninus as well as to that of the other Roman emperors, is that the persecutions of Christians were always of limited extent, and that their ferocity was dependent on local conditions, and the attitude of the provincial governors.

A new approach to persecution arose during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180). An intolerant Stoic, he had no sympathy with the concept of immorality. The exultation of Christian martyrs he attributed to their desire for theatrical display. Instead of waiting for accusation to be brought against Christians, as Trajan had done, Marcus Aurelius introduced a spy system designed to accumulate evidence against them. He put no check on the riots instituted against Christians. During his reign, the practice of blaming the occurrence of earthquakes, famines, floods, and pestilence on Christians began. Supposedly, these calamities befell the populace because they forsook the old gods and tolerated Christianity. Persecution under Marcus Aurelius was cruel and barbarous. Thousands were beheaded or thrown to wild beasts, including the famous Justin Martyr.

But, even the Aurelian persecution was not an organized, empire-wide persecution for the extermination of Christianity. Neither could the efforts of Septimius Severus

(193-211), and Maximinus (235-238), be considered an all out war on Christianity. Septimius Severus, directed his attack primarily against Egypt and North Africa, and even there he was largely interested in putting a stop to proselytizing. Maximinus sought to wipe out Christian leaders only in certain areas.

In the middle of the third century the situation changed, however. Rome celebrated the thousandth anniversary of her founding, and looked back to the days of prosperity, stability, and unquestioned authority in the Mediterranean world. How the gods had once favored her! Now the foundations of the economic, political, and social structure were crumbling. Public calamities such as earthquakes and pestilence abounded. Barbarians hovered on the frontiers. A superstitious populace was easily persuaded that the gods were angry because so many Christians had left the old faith.

The emperor Decius (249-251), was convinced that the maintenance of a state religion was necessary for political stability and return of prosperity. Therefore, in the first year of his reign, he gave orders that all inhabitants of the empire should come before special officers, and declare their allegiance to the gods, proving it with an act of sacrifice. This amounted to a petition on the part of the entire populace for blessing on the emperor, and the seriously threatened empire. Of course, this edict flushed out true Christians who refused to sacrifice. They became enemies of the emperor, the state, and the public good, and were subjected to severe persecution. Evidence shows that the design was not to destroy Christians, but to reconvert them to the state cult. First to be seized were the higher clergy, in order to render the Church leaderless and reduce its effectiveness. Multitudes recanted because a conventional Christianity had already come into existence, and the Church was filled with individuals possessing only a superficial belief. But hosts of others suffered martyrdom. After about a year, it became evident that the Decian persecution would not succeed. It was over by April 1, 251. In July the emperor died in battle, and his edicts no longer had any force.

Decius' successor, Valerian (253-260), was at first friendly to Christianity; but after a number of public calamities, he was encouraged to resort to severe punishment of Christians to stop the trouble. Many great leaders lost their lives.

From 260 to 303, Christianity enjoyed respite from persecution. Then all fury broke loose. The emperor Diocletian, persuaded by Galerius, his colleague in the East, issued a series of edicts in 303 that commanded destruction of Christian places of worship, and sacred books and imprisonment of the clergy. During the following year, Christians were offered the alternative of renouncing their faith, and offering pagan sacrifices or suffering martyrdom. In the Eastern part of the empire, persecution was especially brutal. Diocletian's co-ruler in the West, Maximian, carried out the edicts with full force in Italy and Africa. But Maximian's subordinate, Constantius, who ruled Gaul, Britain, and Spain, refused to execute anyone for his religion. The persecution ended for the most part in 305, when Diocletian abdicated the throne and retired to private life.

During the confused time that followed, Constantius' son, Constantine, rose to leadership in the Western part of the empire. In 313, he and Licinius, as joint rulers of the empire, issued an edict giving full toleration to the Christian faith. Though Licinius subsequently reneged on his commitment and stirred up persecution in the East, full toleration of the Christianity came to the entire empire when Constantine became sole ruler of the Roman world in 324. Constantine made Christianity a legal religion, and favored its development in many ways, but it was not until near the end of the fourth century, that Theodosius made Trinity Christianity the official religion of the empire, and persecution of paganism began. In 392, he forbade heathen worship under severe penalties.

An accommodation occurred between Christianity and paganism during the latter decades of the fourth century. Though Christianity was winning a victory of sorts over paganism, paganism achieved victories of her own by infiltrating the Christian Church in numerous subtle ways. As opposition to paganism increased, many took their place in the Church without experiencing conversion. Thus large segments of Church

membership consisted merely of baptized pagans. The distinction between Christianity and paganism became increasingly blurred, as the state Church was established under the ultimate authority of the emperor. Under the circumstances, it seems unwise to speak of the Church's conquering the Roman Empire. One might as easily argue that the empire had conquered the Church.

Accounts of the deaths of martyrs during the period of the Roman persecutions have been greatly dramatized. Their faith and courage were magnificent, but theirs was the easy way. Much greater suffering was endured by those who lay in their own filth in heavy irons in hot Eastern prisons, with little water or food, until they died of disease or starvation. Equally hard, was the lot of those sentenced to work the fields and mines. Half naked, underfed, beaten for low production, the damp ground their bed, these believers faced a living death.

The persecution had their effects. Usually the good effects are noted. Many were won to Christ through the manner of the death of the martyrs. Tertullian is often quoted: "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." It is also frequently noted that the Church was more apt to be pure if one was in danger of his life for naming the name of Jesus; one would not lightly join for social or economic reasons. Moreover, persecution often forced Christians to flee to areas where normally they would not have gone; thus the Gospel spread more widely. Persecution also helped to settle the question of what belonged in the New Testament canon. It is obvious that no one would give his life for something that was not Scripture; and under the difficult conditions of persecution, one was less likely to take the trouble to copy or preserve works of insignificant value. Last, under the duress of persecution, Church leaders called Apologists produced reasoned defenses of Christianity that countless generations since have used in defending their own faith.

But, the persecutions had their ill effects too. Christians were so busy protecting themselves, that there was little opportunity to leave a literary legacy. A great problem arose in the faith. Some buckled under persecution, and then later reaffirmed their faith,

and wished to be reinstated to the fellowship of believers. Some believers favored restoration, and some did not. Many Churches split over the question. Also, the very experience of martyrdom became warped as to its purpose or benefits. Many came to believe that dying for the faith had some sin-atoning merit.

EARLY HERESIES

It is probably true that one's greatest enemies are always internal. External opposition or difficulty will not ultimately overpower if internal strength is adequate for the test. So it was with the early Church. The persecutions for the most part only brought about the increase of Christians, but the internal errors of the second and third centuries took a great toll of the faithful.

One of the earliest errors was Ebionism. Appearing in fully developed form in the second century, it was in reality only a continuation and amplification of the Judaistic opposition of the apostle Paul. In his letter to the Galatians he sternly rebuked those who sought salvation through Law keeping. But human nature being what it is, men have always been enamored with religious systems that promise salvation by means of good works; and Ebionism was such a system. Ebionism grew up in Palestine and assumed various forms. Some groups seem to have been quite clear on the essentials of salvation, but insistent on Law keeping as a way of life. Most, however, appear to have denied the deity of Christ, His virgin birth, and the efficacy of His sufferings. These views they held in an effort to retain a true Monotheism. To them, Christ was unusual in His strict Law observance, and He was rewarded with Messiahship for His legal piety. The Ebionites, generally rejected Paul's apostleship and his writings, and tended to venerate Peter as the Apostle to the circumcision. They put much stress on the Law in general, and on circumcision and Sabbath keeping in particular. One branch taught a kind of Jewish-Christian Gnosticism. Ebionism, practically disappeared by the fifth century. It had little, if any, lasting effect on the Church.

Like Ebionism, Gnosticism seems to have existed in germ form in the days of Paul and John. For instance, Colossians 2:8, 18-19, and much of 1 John, well may have been aimed at this error. Gnosticism was a product of the spirit of religious fusion that characterized the first century. It borrowed elements from Judaism, Christianity, Greek philosophy, and Oriental Mysticism and constructed a system of thought that sought to combine revelation with the "wisdom of this world." Spawned primarily in Egypt and Syria, it spread to Rome, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Persia.

Gnostics taught that matter was evil and spirit was good. Therefore, they were faced with the problem of how a good God could create an evil world. A system of emanations was their answer. That is, there emanated from God an infinite chain of beings that became increasingly evil. Finally, at the end of the line came the Demiurge, or somewhat evil God, who was identified with the Jehovah (Yeshua) of the Old Testament, and who was thought to be the Creator of the world and man. The good God took pity on man in his plight, and sent the highest emanation, Christ, to minister to man's need of salvation. Especially, Christ came as an Emissary of Light from the kingdom of light to dispel man's spiritual darkness. Atonement through His death was not considered necessary. Because matter was evil, the Messiah's body was considered by some to be only an appearance, by others to be merely a human body, that the Messiah used from His baptism until His death on the cross.

Gnosticism derived its name from a Greek word for knowledge, and emphasis in the system was laid on attaining knowledge of the good God - which would ensure salvation. The system was extremely aristocratic. It taught that the true Gnostics, of whom there were few, were born with a high degree of intuitive knowledge of God. Christ's teachings would help them to overcome the material world, and enable them to establish communication with God, and gain entrance into the kingdom of light. Ordinary Church members could attain salvation by faith and good works. But the mass of humanity did not have a chance to be saved. Of great value to the true Gnostic and the average Church member in attaining an experience of God, was initiation into the mysteries of marriage to Christ, baptisms, and other mystical rites of the Church. The

path of redemption also involved a low estimate of the flesh. Some punished the body by extreme asceticism; others gave full rein to the carnal desires of the flesh, for they felt that in such a manner the flesh could best be destroyed. At death the soul would be released from its prison of matter, and would return to the Pleroma - a sort of world soul.

Gnosticism, as a system, was fairly short-lived, partly because of its inherent weaknesses, and partly because the Polemicists (especially Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Hippolytus), were so effective in dealing with it. It left lasting effects on the Church, however, negatively in promoting asceticism and division of Christians into higher and lower orders, and positively in forcing the Church to come to a clearer definition of her doctrine, and the limits of her canon. Gnosticism also helped to advance the institutionalization of the Church in at least three ways. Its claim to be the universal Church led the Orthodox Church to assert her claim to be the Catholic Church; its doctrinal inroads led to the rise of bishops as defenders of the faith; its emphasis on asceticism helped to foster the growth of Monasticism in the Church.

About the middle of the second century, there arose in Phrygia (central Asia Minor), the Montanist error, so named for its leader, Montanus. Montanus, taught that the end of the world was at hand, and that he was introducing the Age of the Holy Spirit in preparation for the end of all things. He asserted that he was the manifestation of the Paraclete promised in John 14, and he claimed special revelations. The Montanists, in general, laid great emphasis on special spiritual gifts, and those of North Africa required a strict asceticism (involving fasting, celibacy, strict moral discipline, etc.) in view of the imminent end of the world. Montanism represented a reaction to the deadness and worldliness of the Church, but its good effects were nullified by its extremes. Though generally Orthodox, its emphasis on such spiritual gifts as continuance of prophetic revelation, and its requirement of ascetic practices, as if they were truths of revelation, caused it to be condemned. The Church declared that Biblical revelation had come to an end, and that special spiritual gifts were no longer operative.

During the third century, three movements arose to challenge the authority and doctrinal solidarity of the Church: Novatianism, Monarchianism, and Manicheism. Novatian was bishop of Rome (251-253), and an able defender of the doctrine of the Trinity against the Monarchians. But he fell out with the hierarchy over the treatment of those who had renounced their faith in the face of Decius' persecution, and later sought to renew their fellowship with the Church. He denied the right of the Church to restore the lapsed, and advocated a purist concept of Church membership that smacked of Montanistic legalism. The dissenting party chose him as bishop, and the result was a schism that spread over most of the Empire, and lasted until the sixth century. In the fourth century, after the Diocletian persecution, the question of restoring the lapsed rose again; and a faction opposing restoration, known as the Donatists, emerged in North Africa. Subsequently, Novatian and Donatist groups seem to have merged.

Monarchianism (meaning "rule of one" and probably originating in Asia Minor), was more strictly a doctrinal error. The problem bothering the Monarchians, was maintenance of the unity of the Godhead in the face of Trinitarianism. Their solution was something less than Orthodox. Some of them, like the later Socinians and Unitarians, taught that the Father alone possessed true personality; the Son and Holy Spirit were merely impersonal attributes of the Godhead. So, the power of God came upon the man Jesus and gradually penetrated and deified His humanity. But Jesus was not to be considered God in the truest sense of the word. Other Monarchians viewed the three persons of the Godhead as mere modes of expression, or ways of describing God. They were not distinct, divine persons. This Modalistic type of Monarchianism also came to be known as Sabellianism and Noetianism, after two of its leading exponents. The Monarchians called forth extensive and effective definition of the Trinitarian position. Although Monarchianism was dealt fatal body blows by the Polemicists, groups holding the Unitarian position have arisen repeatedly in Christendom.

Manicheism has been described as Gnosticism with its Christian elements reduced to a minimum, and Oriental elements raised to a maximum. The system was developed

by Mani in southern Babylonia about 240, and thereafter spread rapidly through Persia, India, China, Egypt, North Africa, and Italy. Its appeal was great, even claiming such leaders as St. Augustine among its adherents for a time. After a somewhat meteoric initial success, Manicheism rapidly lost ground and died out, probably in part because of the sterile rigidity that the system early attained.

Like Gnosticism, Manicheism was a dualistic system. The kingdom of darkness at one time attacked the kingdom of light, and the result was a mixed creation of light and darkness (good and evil), in which the kingdom of light is engaged in a program of gradual purification. Christ came into the world to aid the good principle in man, to overcome the thrusts of the kingdom of darkness.

At the moment we are less concerned with the teaching of Manicheism than with its effects. In this system there were two classes: elect and auditors. Only the former were admitted to the secret rites of baptism and communion, which were celebrated with great pomp. The elect were very ascetic and occupied themselves with religious exercises. The auditors participated in the holiness of the elect in return for supplying the elect with the necessities of life. Manicheism, helped to foster the ascetic spirit in the Churches, and was in large measure responsible for the division of Church members into clergy and laity. Moreover, it promoted the growth of the priestly function, or the belief that ministers are intermediaries between God and man, and have extraordinary power with God.

The effects of the perversions in the early Church, were both negative and positive. They introduced erroneous views and practices into the regular Church, and hindered their growth and development. But they also forced Church leaders to formulate more clearly the doctrines of the Church, and to establish the limits of the canon, which could furnish a source of truth for combating error.

In studying groups that have been branded heretical, one must be extremely careful. Frequently the only information about them that is still extant was produced by their

enemies. Opponents commonly sought to portray them in the worst possible light. Therefore, it is necessary to ask what sort of weakness their enemies would try to magnify, and to figure out ways to evaluate the sources perceptively. The same sort of caution should be exercised in dealing with all minority positions in the history of the Church, whether those persecuted by the medieval Inquisition, Anabaptists harried by the great Reformers, or New England revivalists opposed by the established Churches during the Great Awakening. These and many others have been terribly misrepresented by those who were trying to shore up positions under severe attack.

CHAPTER 4-ESTABLISHMENT OF CANON AND CREED

BOOKS FOR A NEW TESTAMENT

Some think that the books to be included in the New Testament canon were decided on hastily by a group of early Church leaders, late on a hot summer afternoon. It is sometimes implied that the choice of those men was no better than what a comparable group of Church officials would make in the twentieth century. The facts of history demonstrate, however, that the New Testament was not formed hastily, nor was it formed by the Councils. It was the product of centuries of development, and its official ratification came in response to the practical needs of the Churches.

Six main developments forced the Church to formulate a canon of the New Testament. First, by the end of the first century, contemporary witnesses to the message of Jesus and the Apostles were mostly gone. The oral traditions became corrupt and conflicting, and believers wanted a body of Scripture that would spell out the authoritative message of the Apostles.

Second, from the beginning of the Church, it was customary to read Scripture in the worship services for the edification of believers. Church leaders became increasingly concerned that the readings be truly the message of God for the people.

Third, such heretics as Marcion, were formulating canons to promote their own special viewpoints. About A. D. 140, Marcion composed a canon of a mutilated Luke and ten of Paul's Epistles. He rejected the Old Testament. In self defense the Church had to decide what books belonged to the canon.

Fourth, about the same time that Marcion and the Gnostics were making great inroads into the established Churches, the Montanists began to promulgate ideas of continuing revelation. As noted in the last chapter, the Church in retaliation, declared that revelation had ceased.

Fifth, obviously Apocryphal works began to appear in increasing numbers. These gospels, acts, and epistles attempted to fill the gaps in the narrative of the life of Christ and the Apostles, and to round out the theological message of the Church. Some of these books were obviously not on a par with the books we now recognize as canonical, but others were very close to the New Testament message. An effort needed to be made to separate the wheat from the chaff.

Last, the persecutions called for a decision on the contents of the New Testament canon. For instance, the Diocletian persecution in 303 A. D., called for the burning of all sacred books, and the punishment of those who possessed them.

Preservation of Scripture in the face of such determined opposition, required great effort, and endangered the lives of those who hid or copied it. Therefore, one wanted to be sure he was expending effort or risking his life to disseminate or protect a genuine work.

We have been talking about the need for forming a canon, but have not yet defined what is meant by the term. The Greek word "kanon" (rule or standard), designated the laws that govern the behavior society expected or the state demanded of its citizens. Paul used the word in that sense in Galatians 6:16. By the middle of the second century, the terms "canon of truth" or "canon of faith," were applied to the creed of the Church. The connection of the word with books of the New Testament seems to have originated with Athanasius about the middle of the fourth century. Later, in his "Festal Epistle," written in 367, he spoke of the Scripture as "canonized" in contrast to the Apocrypha. Thus the word came into Church vocabulary, although the idea behind it had arisen in the earliest days of the Church. Canonical Scripture then, on the one hand, provides a standard of doctrine and holy living and, on the other hand, meets the standard or tests of inspiration.

It is one thing to determine the need for a canon; it is quite another to decide what belongs in it. Tests of canonicity had to be employed. Early Church Fathers

suggested that those books were canonical that were inspired. But inspiration is rather intangible and subject to differences of opinion. So, secondary tests were required. One of the most important of these was apostolicity: that is, was a book written by an Apostle, or someone very close to the Apostles? Thus, Luke's Gospel was accepted because of his close relationship with Paul; Mark's because of his close association with Peter and Paul. Of course Matthew and John were Apostles. Then there was the test of internal appeal. Did a book contain moral or doctrinal elements that measured up to the standards set by the Apostles in their acknowledged writings?

As these and other tests were applied in various ways over the centuries, the canon gradually developed. Conservatives have long held that all the New Testament books were written by about the end of the first century, in spite of liberal claims to the contrary. Archeological evidence now quite effectively confirms the conservative position. It seems that almost from the time of their composition, the four Gospels and Acts were accepted as divinely inspired accounts of the life of Christ, and the development of the early Church. Various Churches to which Paul addressed his Epistles, accepted his word to them as coming from the mouth of God. Gradually, nearby Churches came to feel that letters sent to sister Churches, were of value for them too; so they made copies. In this way, the Pauline Epistles began to circulate individually, and by the end of the second century as a collection. The story concerning the rest of the New Testament books is not so simple.

Testimony in the writings of the Church Fathers to the existence and value of various New Testament books is extensive, beginning as early as the end of the first century with Clement of Rome. There are other notable pieces of evidence. A full catalog of this information is quite out of the question; a few of the outstanding items are noted here. About the middle of the second century, Tatian composed the first harmony of the Gospels. This wove together elements of the four Gospels in such a way, as to present a continuous narrative of the life of Christ. A decade or two later, a canon was drawn up, now bearing the name Muratori, after the Italian scholar who published it. The work is not quite complete in the condition it has come to us. It apparently

recognizes the four Gospels: Acts, the Pauline Epistles, Revelation, two (or three) Epistles of John, and Jude. But it adds the Apocalypse of Peter, and omits 1 and 2 Peter, Hebrews, and possibly one of John's Epistles.

From the time of Irenaeus (c. 175), the canon was thought to contain essentially the same books that appear in it today, though there were continuing disputes over some inclusions. The eminent Clement of Alexandria (c. 200), seemed to recognize all the New Testament books. His greater student, Origen (c. 250), divided the books into categories of universally accepted works and disputed works. In the former, he put the four Gospels, the thirteen Epistles of Paul, 1 Peter, 1 John, Acts and Revelation. In the latter, he put Hebrews, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, James, Jude, and four works not now part of the New Testament. He himself seems to have accepted nearly all the books now included in the New Testament.

Hebrews was disputed, because its authorship was uncertain; 2 Peter, because it differed in style and vocabulary from 1 Peter; James and Jude, because they represented themselves as servants rather than Apostles of Christ; 2 and 3 John because the author called himself an elder rather than an Apostle. Eusebius, the great historian of the fourth century, also divided the New Testament books into accepted and disputed categories. In the former, he listed the same ones as had Origen. He himself seemed to accept all those now included. Later in the century, the great Jerome also accepted the present twenty-seven books, and influenced the Synod of Rome (382), to take the same position. By the time of the Council of Carthage in 397, only the twenty-seven books we now accept were adopted as canonical. The same decision was rendered at Carthage in 419. But those were local Councils; their decision was ratified at the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451. Since that time, there has been no continuing conflict on the subject.

Thus, it can readily be seen that the story of the formation of the New Testament canon was a long one, not involving any hasty decision on the part of an ecclesiastical body. Basically, three steps were included in the process: divine inspiration, gradual

human recognition and acceptance of the separate works, and official ratification or adoption of those books already universally accepted in the Church.

CONTROVERSIES AND CREEDS

Just as the New Testament canon developed in response to a need in the Church, so did the creeds. In the days before the canon was formulated, and when there were few copies of any of the New Testament books in circulation, believers required some standard to keep them in the path of truth. Moreover, they needed a standard by which to test heretical opinions. So, very early, possibly near the end of the first century or beginning of the second, a rule of faith came into existence. Assuming different forms in different Churches, it generally taught that Christ, the Son of God, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified and died, was buried, rose again, and ascended into Heaven - for the remission of sins. This rule of faith, which has come to be called the Apostles' Creed, reached its present form about 750. In the early Church, candidates for baptism often were asked if they assented to the various clauses of this standard of faith.

Other creeds were formulated too, in an effort to settle controversies that tore the Church into opposing factions. Some of the controversies had to do with the nature of Christ, some with the Holy Spirit, and one with the nature of man. These doctrinal quarrels were handled very differently from those of the second and third centuries. When Christianity became a legal religion early in the fourth century, the emperor Constantine regarded himself as head of the Christian religion along with the other religions of state. Therefore, when difficulties arose, he called a church-wide or Ecumenical Council, to deal with the matter, and to formulate a statement (creed) of settlement. Other emperors followed the same practice. Although these struggles concerning Christ, the Holy Spirit, and man were going on concurrently, for the sake of clearer presentation they are separated here.

1. Controversies Concerning the Nature of Christ:

About 318 Arius, an elder of Alexandria, found great difficulty in accepting the Trinitarian nature of the Godhead, and began to teach that Christ was different in essence from the Father - that He was created by the Father, and before that He did not exist. Athanasius, archdeacon of Alexandria, rose to meet the challenge, asserting that Christ and the Father were the same in essence, and that the Son was eternal. His primary concern was that if Christ were a mere creature, faith in Him could not bring salvation to man. The controversy raged. The fact that a synod at Alexandria deposed Arius in 321, did not end the struggle. Arius was able to win over some of the leading churchmen of the East, and matters only grew worse. Finally, Constantine felt obliged to step in and restore harmony. In 325, he called an Ecumenical Council at Nicea, in Northwest Asia Minor. Over three hundred bishops, and a number of lesser dignitaries gathered for the occasion. Ultimately, the Athanasian party was able to carry the day, and the emperor himself was persuaded to throw his weight behind them. The creed drawn up declared that the Son was the same in essence with the Father, the only begotten of the Father, and very God of very God. But the troubles of the Athanasian party had only begun. In the seesawing fortunes of subsequent years, Athanasius was banished by the emperor no less than five times, with the consequent periodic restoration of Arius. Gradually, however, the situation changed, and the Orthodox party came to enjoy a definite majority in the empire.

In the process of asserting the full deity of Christ, some theologians had done so at the expense of His humanity. They taught that a complete humanity could not be sinless, and that the divine nature, while assuming a human body, took the place of the higher rational principle in man. Several Synodical meetings condemned the idea of the defective humanity of Christ, and in 381, the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople finally asserted His true and full humanity.

Then a third issue arose. If Christ was both fully divine and fully human, how were the two natures related in one person? Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, was one of these who saw the two natures in loose mechanical conjunction. Neither nature shared in the properties of the other; so the divine did not have a part in the sufferings

of the human nature of Christ. It takes little effort to discover that this is not merely an academic question. As Cyril of Alexandria pointed out, if Nestorius were right, a sinner would be redeemed by the sufferings of a mere man, and a mere man could accomplish no redemption. The Nestorian controversy led to the calling of a third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus in 431. The Council met, and anathematized the teachings of Nestorius before the Nestorian party arrived. When the outlawed party appeared, it set up a rival Council. The emperor finally decided against the Nestorians, and Nestorius entered a monastery. The result of the Council was to demonstrate that the majority of bishops were in favor of the doctrines of Cyril (who argued for a true union of the two natures), but clarification of the matter was left to a later Council. Though the error called Nestorianism is correctly represented above, Nestorius argued that he himself did not hold such views. Possibly, he was the victim of smear tactics, and a power struggle in the early Church.

Following the Council of Ephesus, there was a great deal of dissatisfaction on the part of many. As has been pointed out, the Council of Ephesus was not a true meeting of minds in an effort to resolve issues. Moreover, Eutyches, abbot of a monastery near Constantinople, in an effort to demonstrate the true unity of the person of Christ, began to teach that after the incarnation of Christ, the two natures fused into one so that the one nature partook of the properties of the other. Distinctions between the two natures were obliterated. His arguments heightened the controversy considerably. Again, it should be pointed out that these are not mere academic issues. Complete confusion reigned if Eutyches was right. Omniscience is an attribute of Deity only; according to the flesh Christ grew in wisdom and stature and favor with God and men. Omnipresence is an attribute of Deity only; one of the important characteristics of a human body is that it is confined to a specific locality. If Christ is already physically omnipresent, how can He come a second time from heaven? At length a new General Council was called at Chalcedon in 451. Its decision was that Christ was both truly God and truly man, and that the two natures were united in one Person without confusion, change, division, or separation.

Like the other Councils discussed above, the Council of Chalcedon, did not bring final settlement. In Palestine, Egypt, and Syria, groups arose to perpetuate the teachings of Cyril and Eutyches. They held out strongly for one nature in Christ. Ultimately they were able to force a fifth Ecumenical Council, the second at Constantinople, in 553, which ratified the Chalcedonian creed but made changes that tended to favor the Eutychians.

After the Second Constantinopolitan Council, another conflict arose over the person of Christ and concerned the issue of whether Christ had only one will. The supporters of this view held that if Christ had two wills, He would have sinned, because certainly the human will would have succumbed to temptation. Ultimately a Council, the third at Constantinople, in 680-81, met to deal with this issue. The decision was to ratify the Chalcedonian Creed with the addition that Christ had two wills, the human and divine, the human will being subject to the divine.

While these great Ecumenical Councils did not settle for all time discussion concerning the nature of the person of Christ, they did set forth the chief elements that have characterized an Orthodox Christology down through the ages: His true and full deity, His true and full humanity, and the true union of the two natures in one person, without fusion or confusion.

2. Controversies Concerning the Holy Spirit:

Reference has already been made to Montanist and Monarchian perversions of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and in connection with the Council of Nicea, something has been said about Arius. A further word needs to be said here, however. Not only did Arius hold that Christ was different in essence from the Father; he also taught that the Holy Spirit was different in essence. In fact, he seems to have believed that the Holy Spirit was the creature of a creature, that is, of Christ. Being particularly concerned with the nature of the person of Christ, the Nicene Council did not make detailed pronouncement about the Holy Spirit. It merely affirmed, "I believe in one Holy

Spirit." But after the Nicene Council, further attacks on the Arian sort (known as Macedonianism because espoused by Macedonius) on the deity of the Holy Spirit, brought forth an array of Orthodox literature. The result was that at the First Council of Constantinople, in 381, the Creed constructed had phrases asserting that the Holy Spirit was to be worshipped and glorified as was the Father, that He proceeded from the Father, and that He was responsible for revelation. In succeeding decades the doctrine of His deity was further defined; and in 451, the Council of Chalcedon made the declarations of the First Council of Constantinople more explicit.

3. Controversy Concerning Man:

The controversy concerning the nature of man was the only one that took place in the Western part of the empire; all the rest took place in the East. Chief protagonists in the struggle were St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo in North Africa, and Pelagius, a British monk who ultimately found his way to North Africa. These men formed their views independently, not in reaction to one another.

Soon after arriving at Carthage, Pelagius clashed head on with the prevailing theological viewpoint; and the controversy spread rapidly to other provinces. Pelagius taught that Adam's sin affected only Adam; man, he said, was still born on the same plane as Adam. There was, therefore, no such thing as original sin. Sin involved an act of the will, and was due to the bad example of Adam and society since Adam's time. God's grace was only relatively necessary; man could do right without such aid. Divine grace sought only to assist man, who chooses and acts in complete independence. Investigation has shown, however, that Pelagius was a man of personal piety, and that he wanted to rely on Christ for forgiveness of sins.

Augustine, on the other hand, held to the unity of the race that all had sinned in Adam. So, men sinned because they were sinners, and were so totally corrupted in their natures, that they were unable to do good works that could achieve salvation. He viewed faith to believe as a gift from God. God elected some unto salvation; He simply

passed by the non-elect. On occasion Augustine did, however, refer to some as predestined by God to everlasting damnation. He also spoke of the divine gift of perseverance in faith; so salvation was for him a work of God from start to finish. Unfortunately, Augustine confused justification and sanctification; so justification was for him a process rather than a single act of God as taught in Paul's great Epistle to the Romans.

Pelagius experienced considerable opposition almost as soon as he arrived in North Africa. He was condemned by a Carthaginian synod in 412, by Pope Innocent I in 416, by a General Council of African Churches in 418, and finally by the Ecumenical Council at Ephesus in 431.

But this did not mean the triumph of Augustinianism. Augustine was out of step with the Church of his day. He stressed too much the inner Christian life, and too little the external ceremonies; he denied that the Eucharist had any sin-atoning power apart from the faith of the partaker; although he advocated asceticism, he denied that it had any value apart from transformation of life into Christ likeness. He opposed the predominant sacramental method of achieving salvation. Unfortunately, his own statements about the value of baptism, and his confusion between justification and sanctification, contributed to the weakening of his legacy. So although Pelagianism was condemned, a sort of semi-Pelagianism was to win out - a system in which grace and human works were to join in achieving salvation, within the framework of the Church and the sacramental system.

The years during which the first six great Ecumenical Councils met (325-681) were turbulent ones. They were years during which the Church was torn asunder by theological controversy; controversy that produced great statements of faith. They were also years when the barbarians were chipping away at the borders of the Roman Empire, conquering the whole Western portion of it, and there were years when the hierarchical Church was developing its doctrine and organizational machinery. Let us

now take a quick look at the rise and decline of the Roman Church during the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER 5-THE MEDIEVAL PAPACY

BEGINNINGS

The Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, as they existed at the end of the Middle Ages, and as they appear in the twentieth century, are products of historical evolution. Though apologists for Roman Catholicism have been particularly adept at finding "biblical" precedents for new dogmas and organizational developments they have propounded; those with a less biased approach to history have not been similarly convinced.

In the New Testament, the office of bishop is placed alongside those of the elder and deacon; whether equitable with that of an elder it is not our purpose now to discuss. With Ignatius (about 110), arose an emphasis on obedience to the bishop. How many of the exhortations in his writings are genuine is debated; some are thought to be interpolations by later writers trying to bolster their points of view. In any case, his heavy stress on obedience to bishops seems to be an indication that such subordination did not then exist. Moreover, there is no hint that by "bishop" Ignatius meant anything more than an overseer or pastor of a single congregation. He nowhere exhorted presbyters (elders) to obey bishops. Furthermore, he urged congregations on some occasions to obey presbyters and on others to obey deacons. Of paramount importance, is the fact that in his writings obedience to bishops was urged to help prevent Churches from being doctrinally torn apart, not to facilitate their normal functions.

By the end of the second century, Irenaeus was asserting the unity of the Church (a spiritual unity, not organic), by virtue of the headship of Christ and community of belief as handed down through a succession of elders. Thereafter, a tendency arose to transform the spiritual unity into an organic unity. Irenaeus, also taught that the Roman Church had been established by Peter and Paul, and that they had appointed successors. During the following decades the distinction between presbyters and

bishops became firmly established, and bishops with authority over the several individual Churches of a large city became commonly accepted.

By the middle of the third century, the influential Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, taught that the universal Church (outside of which there was no salvation), was ruled by bishops who were the successors of the Apostles. Apostolic authority, he held, was first given to Peter. So the Church at Rome became predominant, because Peter was believed to have founded it. Moreover, Cyprian asserted the priestly function of the clergy. Cyprian's "On the Unity of the Church," incorporates much of his thinking on the nature and government of the Church.

By the time Christianity became a tolerated religion during Constantine's day (about A. D. 325), the concepts of the priestly function of the clergy, Apostolic succession, the ruling bishop, and the recognition of the Roman bishop as first among equals were established. In 325 at the Council of Nicea, the bishop of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome were given authority over divisions of the empire in which they were located. By the fifth century, Rome was asserting that her primacy was intended in that arrangement. It remained for the Roman bishop to transform his primacy into supremacy.

There were several reasons why Rome could effectively compete against the others in her struggle for supremacy. First, she claimed Petrine foundation (actually a double Apostolic foundation - Paul and Peter). Peter was chief of the Apostles and the one, according to Rome, on whom the Church was founded. The dogma of Apostolic succession, though it recognized that other bishops could trace their authority to other Apostles, would grant prominence to Peter's successors.

Second, the bishop of Rome was superior in the West, while bishops of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria competed for supremacy within a relatively small area in the East. After Antioch and Alexandria fell to the Muslims in the seventh century, the only competition Rome faced was Constantinople.

Third, after the move of the capital from Rome to Constantinople in 330, political power in the West gradually declined. With the barbarian invasions and the chaos that ensued, the bishop of Rome became the most powerful figure there. He represented the only living institution, and the Church took on civil functions. In Constantinople, on the other hand, the continuing Roman Empire maintained itself through varying fortunes until 1453. There the bishop (patriarch), found himself subservient to the emperor, and therefore less capable of asserting himself. In this connection, it should be pointed out that when the power of the imperial government was weak, it was sometimes advantageous to the emperor to recognize the pretensions of Rome, in which case the bishop of Rome held virtual authority over the bishop of Constantinople. Finally, the Church in the West was not constantly rent asunder by doctrinal controversies that did arise, the Church at Rome always proved to be Orthodox. So, Rome was in a much stronger position to develop her program, and extend her influence than were Churches of the East.

In discussing the period of the beginnings of the Roman Church (prior to the pivotal pontificate of Gregory I in 590), several important persons and developments should be mentioned. The formation of the canon and creeds has already been described, as has been the rise of errors and their effect on the development of Roman Catholic doctrine and practice. We have also noted the contributions of the Church Fathers, especially those of Augustine, the great theologian, and Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate. But a few others require comment at this point.

The first of these is Leo I, bishop of Rome 440-461. He did much to advance the cause of the papacy. Taking advantage of disorder resulting from the Vandal conquest of the province of Africa, he managed to secure the recognition of his authority by the Church there. He interfered in the affairs of the Church in Gaul, to the advantage of papal power, and he asserted his authority in Illyricum (Yugoslavia). By means of his statesmanship, he saved Rome from being sacked by Attila the Hun in 452, and destroyed by Genseric the Vandal in 455; in the process, he added much to his prestige. He obtained from emperor Valentinian III, the declaration that bishops of Gaul

and other Western provinces were to be subservient to the pope at Rome, and that governors of provinces were to compel bishops to go to Rome when summoned by the pope.

Gelasius (bishop of Rome 492-496), instituted the claim of moral superintendence over the political rulers on the part of the pope. While he recognized that there were two spheres of rule, the spiritual and the temporal, he claimed that the Church must give account to God for the deeds of kings, and so the king must submit to the Church in spiritual matters. Symmachus (bishop of Rome 498-514), added the dictum that no tribunal could compel the appearance of a pope or sentence him in his absence.

But, of particularly importance was the conversion of Clovis, a Frankish chieftain, in 496. Soon afterward, three thousand of his followers were baptized into the Roman Church. The significance of Clovis' conversion can hardly be overestimated. It was momentous because it won for Clovis the support of the Roman Catholics in the West, where he was the only Orthodox Roman Catholic prince. Ultimately, he was able to conquer over half of modern France. Out of this beginning, the empire of Charlemagne later emerged. Clovis' conversion was also significant, because it meant that Orthodox Christianity would win out in the West. Moreover, Frankish kings would protect or aid popes on various occasions in the future, and would contribute to the establishment of the institutional Church, as it has become known in the medieval and modern worlds. Furthermore, his conversion was important because the medieval Church was, to a large degree, the carrier of culture. The Roman Catholic Church helped to preserve and modify the classical heritage that has been passed on to Europe and the Americas, and to a lesser degree to the entire world. Fortunately, for the papacy, this important conversion was supplemented by the decision of Recared, the Visigothic king of Spain, to abandon Arianism, and become a Roman Catholic in 587. Henceforth, Orthodox Christianity maintained a foot-hold on the Iberian peninsula even after the Muslim conquest in 711-718.

As a direct or indirect result of the conversion of Clovis and Recared, Roman Catholicism ultimately was to become the virtually uncontested faith in most of the West, and was to penetrate effectively elsewhere. All of Western Europe was to be organized into dioceses and parishes ruled over by the pope and the princes of the Church. The totality of the populace was born into the Roman Catholic Church, was baptized into the Church, was married by the Church, lived under the ministrations of the Church, and was buried by the Church. Throughout the Middle Ages, Western Europe never knew anything else. As is true of any monopolistic power, conditions grew lax within the institutional Church, because of lack of competition to keep the Church vibrant and effective. The form of religious establishment characteristic of mother countries was passed on to colonies with the advent of the modern era. Thus all of Latin America, the Philippines, and segments of Africa became Roman Catholic.

GREGORY AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Gregory I, the Great (540-604), was one of the greatest leaders that the Roman Church has ever had. Coming on the scene at a time of widespread political confusion with its consequent effects on the life and organization of the Church, he became a stabilizing political influence, and was largely responsible for the creation of the medieval papacy. Born into a noble, wealthy, and devout family, Gregory early turned to the monastic life as a way to glorify God. He spent his inherited fortune to found seven monasteries. For several years, he represented the Roman bishop at Constantinople, and in 590 was elected bishop of Rome. Gregory never called himself pope, but he exercised all the power of later popes, maintaining more or less effective control over the Churches of Western Europe.

For many reasons Gregory was one of the most important popes in the history of Roman Catholicism. First, as noted above, he transformed the bishopric of Rome into a papal system that endured through the Middle Ages. Second, he introduced changes into the liturgy, and sought the standardization of it. (Although Gregory was not responsible for the type of chant that bears his name, he did much to promulgate its use

in worship services.) Third, from a theological standpoint, his system served as something of a converging point for lines of thought found in the Councils and in the Fathers. Though Gregory's theology was not original, he is important for his definition of dogma, and his incorporation of elements of the popular piety of his day into the official teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. He put tradition on an equal basis with Scripture in determining dogma. Though he accepted the Augustinian view of original sin, he held that through baptism sin was forgiven, and faith implanted so that an individual might work the works of God. For sins committed penance was required. He expanded the concept of purgatory, and converted the Eucharist from a sacrament into a sacrifice for redemption, having value for the living and the dead. He officially approved the invocation of saints and martyrs, and the use of relics and amulets to reduce temporal punishments. His view of Christ and the Trinity followed the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils.

Fourth, he was important for his writings. The "Moralia," a commentary on Job, provided one of the patterns for the allegorical interpretation of Scripture common during the Middle Ages. His superstitious nature and that of the age is well displayed in his "Dialogues," which concerns the lives and miracles of pious Fathers in Italy. His "Pastoral Rule," was a practical work that instructed the bishop in the care of this flock, and became a standard manual for the conduct of bishops. Gregory was a good preacher too, as evidenced by his forty sermons that have survived. Gregory's writings have earned for him a place among the four great Latin doctors of the Western Church: Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory. Fifth, Gregory promoted asceticism, especially as he enforced the celibacy of the clergy and as he restored monastic discipline. Last, Gregory possessed great missionary zeal. He sent forty monks to England in 596, under the leadership of Augustine (not the famous bishop of Hippo, who died in 430). Their success was pronounced, especially in the area of Canterbury, which became the religious capital of England, and the seat of the archbishop.

During the seventh century, Gregory's successors hardly maintained the high place he had earned for them. More than one of them was condemned as a heretic. It was a

period when Roman monks in Britain were engaged in a struggle for supremacy with Irish monks who preceded them there.

For a long time, Irish missionary activity had been extensive in Britain and Ireland. St. Patrick evangelized Ireland during the fifth century. Exactly when he went to Ireland is one of many unresolved questions concerning his ministry. What is clear from his autobiographical "Confession," and other meager information, is that he was born in Britain, perhaps in a small town West of Glasgow, and that he was of Scottish parentage. He was snatched by pirates at the age of sixteen, and forced to work as a slave in Ireland. After six years there, during which time he had a conversion experience, he escaped and returned to Britain and his family. Subsequently, he had a night vision in which he received a call to evangelize Ireland. Presumably he received his training in Britain, and subsequently became the greatest single force in the Christianization of Ireland. Evidently, Patrick was biblical and evangelical in his preaching and his ministry, and the Churches he founded were independent of Rome. So, it may be concluded that he was neither Irish nor Roman Catholic.

On the foundation that Patrick laid, Finian of Clonard built the superstructure of Irish monasticism early in the sixth century. Learned Irish monks, filled with missionary zeal, ranged far and wide across Europe during the sixth and seventh centuries. St. Columba (d. 597), established the famous monastery on the island of Iona, and became the Apostle of Scotland. St. Columbanus (d. 615), ministered on the Continent, establishing monasteries in Gaul, Switzerland, and Northern Italy. Other Irish monks went North to the Shetlands, the Hebrides, the Orkneys, and Iceland; South into England and East onto the Continent - along the Rhine, into Hungary and Italy.

A contest between free Irish Christianity and Roman Catholicism was inevitable. After a number of meetings between the Irish and Roman Catholics, King Oswy (Oswiu), of Northumbria (north-eastern England), called a synod at Whitby in 663, to determine which group should be considered the official one. Roman Catholic spokesmen won him over, and Irish monks gradually withdrew Northward. In 636,

South Ireland had already submitted to the papacy, and in 697, North Ireland followed suit. With their home base within the fold of Roman Catholicism, the Irish lost much of their ability to establish new missions. But, primitive British Christianity held out in the mountains of Wales, and the highlands of Scotland, and on offshore islands for a long time.

Meanwhile, far to the East, a new and much greater threat was rising to challenge medieval Christianity. In 622, Mohammed made his famous move (Hegira) from Mecca to Medina, and thereafter began the successful period of his preaching. Constructing a theology that utilized elements of Judaism, Christianity, and Arabian heathenism, and infusing a fanatical zeal that brooked no opposition, he produced a steam roller movement that soon flattened the Middle East, North Africa, and part of Europe. In fact, Islam has gained adherents until today; it can claim about one-fifth of the world's population.

Although it is not the purpose of the present study to engage in theological discussion, Islam is so important in world history and culture that at least the five pillars that characterize the faithful should be noted: (1) accepting the creed, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet"; (2) praying five times a day toward Mecca; (3) making a pilgrimage to Mecca at least once during one's lifetime; (4) giving alms for pious and charitable purposes; (5) fasting from sunrise to sunset throughout the sacred month of Ramadan. Often holy war is listed as a sixth pillar.

Several factors contributed to the rapid spread of Islam: (1) A positive, fanatical, monotheistic program that promised booty, positions of leadership, and salvation to those who would engage in world conquest, was certainly a powerful incentive in obtaining followers. (2) The Roman Empire was rapidly decaying from within while it exhausted its resources, and those of the Persian Empire as well in a grueling fight almost to the death. Neither the Persians nor the Byzantines, were any match for the fanatical Arabs. (3) The Byzantines alienated many of their provincials, by extracting high taxes, and excommunicating them for heretical religious views. (4) Many Semitic people of the Byzantine provinces, actually had more in common with the Semitic Arab

invaders than they did with their Byzantine (Greek) overlords. (5) The Muslims were not mere despoilers like the Huns. In the early days of the movement only non-Muslims paid taxes. Therefore, it was to the advantage of the Muslims to maintain a prosperous economy in areas they conquered. Often they replaced only the top bureaucrats; most of the population remained relatively undisturbed. (6) Often Islam had superior generals. (7) The development of image worship in the Catholic Church made the Christianity of the day look polytheistic to both the Muslims and many Catholics. Therefore Islam, with its monotheistic emphasis, seemed to be superior.

Before his death in 632, Mohammed had won much of Western Arabia. His successor, Abu Bakr (632-634), rapidly conquered the rest of the peninsula, and at the same time, sent volunteers into Syria and Persia. Omar (534-544), began systematic conquest of the Roman provinces. In 635, he took Damascus. He completed conquest of Palestine in 640, and about the same time took most of the Persian Empire. Alexandria and most of Egypt, surrendered in 640. Conquests continued rapidly under successive leaders. Between 685 and 705, the conquest of North Africa was completed, including the conversion of the Moors. In 711, the Muslims invaded Spain, and in seven years reached the borders of France. On they went, it seemed as if all Europe were doomed. Meanwhile, the advance continued into India.

At this point some abler popes came to the chair of St. Peter. Their efforts coincided with the continuing rise of the Frankish Kingdom, and the efforts of great missionaries. The pontificate of Gregory II (715-731), was a time of especially great advance. Willibrord, a native of York in England, succeeded in planting the standards of the Roman Church among the wild peoples of Holland and Denmark. Meanwhile, Boniface (from Devonshire, England), became the great missionary of central Europe. He organized the Church of Bavaria, and later became archbishop of Mainz. With the support of Gregory II and Charles Martel, the real ruler of the Franks, he succeeded in reforming the Frankish Churches, abolishing heathen customs, improving the morals of the priests, and systematizing Church organization. Boniface brought the Frankish bishops to full support of Rome.

Back in Rome, Gregory was having his troubles. Leo the laurian, emperor at the time, sought to rid himself of the pope by violence, because Gregory opposed Leo's taxation policies in Italy, and his interference with the Church's use of images. Supported by the people of Rome, and the Lombards in Northern Italy, Gregory managed to die a natural death.

Contemporary with Gregory II, lived one of England's best known sons the Venerable Bede, a monk who worked at the monasteries of Jarrow and Wearmouth in Northumbria. Though he wrote various biblical works (about forty in number), they are overshadowed by his "Ecclesiastical History of the English People." This book provides much important detail concerning early English Church history, and it earned for the author the title "Father of English history."

At the beginning of the rule of Gregory III (731-741), it looked as if Romanism were doomed in Western Europe. The Lombards, had got out of hand, and threatened to destroy the Church in Italy. But the greater danger was posed by the Muslims, who were advancing steadily North into France. Charles Martel, not actual king of the Franks, but mayor of the palace, summoned enough force to defeat the Muslims near Tours in central France in 732. This victory threw the Moors back into Spain, and made Charles the defender and leader of Western Christendom. Charles Martel, also came to the aid of the pope in his struggle with the Lombards. Negotiations began during these years for an alliance between the Franks and the papacy. The next half century was characterized by increasing cooperation between the king and the pope, the king often coming to the aid of the pope. In fact, Pope Zacharias recognized Pepin, son of Charles Martel, as king of the Franks in 751, in return for Pepin's military aid. To make the transfer of kingship from the line of Clovis official, Pope Stephen II came to Gaul in 754 to crown Pepin king of the Franks. All this was a foreshadowing of the time when the pope would anoint Charlemagne.

CHURCH-STATE ALLIANCE

The year 800 serves as a pivotal date in history. On Christmas day in Rome, Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne "emperor of the Romans." Charlemagne seems to

have interpreted this to mean that he was the leader of Western Christendom, the monarch of a new "Christian empire," rather than the inheritor of the old Roman imperial office. His son Louis the Pious, and successive kings in the line, made more of Roman imperial ideals. Hence there came into being the concept of a Holy Roman Empire. This empire was called Roman, because it was to succeed the now defunct power of Rome in the West. It was called holy, because it was to be supreme over Christendom. This new arrangement constituted an alliance of sorts between the pope and the emperor, according to which each was to have dominion within his own sphere, and each was to cooperate with the other, and promote the interests of the other. But as a matter of fact, during succeeding generations, popes and emperors engaged in periodic struggles to see who could dominate the other. Beyond the immediate significance, the concept of the Holy Roman Empire was to have some long-range effects on European history. For a thousand years, one European ruler or another tore up the countryside with his armies, in an effort to establish himself as successor of the Caesars. Finally, Napoleon abolished the empire in 1806.

By inheritance and force of arms, Charlemagne won control of a vast chunk of Western Europe - it stretched from the Atlantic Eastward to the Elbe and Danube rivers and from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, and included much of Italy, and a little of Spain. In the process, he maintained rather effective control of the pope and the Roman Church. His capitularies, or laws, had to do with both Church and secular affairs. Not only did he regulate the lives of the clergy, but he also directed that bishops and abbots should set up schools. Charlemagne's son Louis, was not so capable; and his grandsons split the empire three ways in the Treaty of Verdun in 843. According to that arrangement, Charles took the area roughly encompassing that of modern France; Louis, modern Germany; and Lothair, a strip of territory extending from the lowlands into Northern Italy.

Thereafter, the process of political disintegration went forward rapidly. The territory of Lothair suffered encroachment by the other two descendants of Charlemagne. With the death of Charles III (the Fat) in 887, the Carolingian line came to an end in Germany; at that time the Carolingian empire, as any sort of unit, also

came to an end. After a time of confusion, Otto I, was crowned king of the East Franks in 936, and introduced the Saxon line. Carolingians continued to rule weakly in France until 987, when the line of Hugh Capet rose to the kingship. Henceforth the Holy Empire was essentially a German entity, with a king elected by and checkmated by a number of powerful nobles. In reality, under feudalism, it was divided into a host of small antagonistic principalities.

While political disintegration occurred internally in the empire, external attacks multiplied. During the ninth century, Vikings terrorized the Northwest and Western parts of the empire, Muslims ravaged Sardinia and Corsica, and the coasts of southern France and Western Italy, and the Magyars (from Russia) raided the Eastern borders of the Christian lands and settled in the area now known as Hungary. Slavs and Bulgars, also attacked in the Eastern parts just prior to incursions of the Magyars.

It is purposed to include under this heading of Church-State Alliance the whole period from 800 to 1073. The papacy reached a high point of development when allied with Charlemagne, but it declined with the fortunes of his house, and the political disintegration of Europe.

By the time of Pope John VIII (872-82), the Carolingian line was about to expire. Muslim pirates ranged all along the Italian coast, and threatened Rome itself. Though the emperor tried to help John, he had little strength left. The pope himself was forced to raise a fleet, and do battle with the Muslims to save the Italian coast. To keep them out of Rome, he had to agree to pay annual tribute. During much of the period between 880 and 1000, Italy was in anarchy, and the papacy suffered accordingly. For instance, there were twelve popes between 882 and 904. Wealthy families sometimes bought their way into the papacy. Military and political forces were exerted on the choice and conduct of popes. The chair of St. Peter was occupied by some very unworthy individuals between about 880 and 1060. For example, near the end of the period, Benedict IX was pope. Even such a nonsectarian source as the "Encyclopedia Britannica," notes that he became pope at twelve, was guilty of gross disorders of

conduct, and was driven out of Rome by the local population more than once because of his disorderly conduct. But nothing is served by portraying the papacy at its worst. As a matter of fact, it is amazing that so many popes of the period were quite capable, and that the Church advanced considerably under such handicaps.

Surprisingly enough, the boundaries of Christendom greatly increased between 800 and 1073. Before the middle of the ninth century, an archbishopric was established at Hamburg, and around the same time Roman Catholicism claimed Bohemia and Moravia. Approximately a century later, it was officially adopted in Poland. About 1000, Olaf I, made it the faith of Norway; and shortly thereafter, Norwegian missionaries won Iceland to Christianity. About the same time, Leif the Lucky, evangelized Greenland, the Swedish King Olaf established Roman Catholicism as the faith of Sweden, and Canute the Great completed the Christianization of Denmark. Concurrently, King Stephen I (St. Stephen), effectively established the Church in Hungary.

Meanwhile Eastern Christians were evangelizing to the North of Constantinople. Cyril and Methodius were successful in Bulgaria during the ninth century, and King Boris made it the official faith of the realm. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, Russia was won over. Following the baptism of King Vladimir in 988, the Eastern Slavs as one body turned to Christianity - just as the Franks had at the baptism of Clovis.

Not only did the Roman Church greatly extend her territory from 800 to 1073, she also greatly extended her power. With the political fragmentation of Europe, the pope often stood a better chance of bringing princes, particularly the lesser ones, to terms. As Christianity spread, and with it the idea that salvation came only through membership in the Church, the threat of excommunication was often enough to bring rulers to terms. If it was not, the papacy could try interdict - withholding services of the Church from the people of a whole area. In such cases, the populace usually brought enough pressure on the king or noble to insure a victory for the pope.

One more development needs to be considered before going on to view the medieval papacy at its height, the split between the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. Several factors were responsible for the split. The first of these was the iconoclastic controversy: the controversy over the use of images. Leo the Isaurian, the Byzantine emperor, issued the first decree against their use in 726, - in part to meet the Muslim charge that Christianity was polytheistic. He was supported by the patriarch of Constantinople, and the higher clergy, but was opposed by many of the monks and the common people. Gregory II, at Rome, denounced Leo's edict, both because the problem hardly existed in the West, and because Rome held that political power had no right to interfere in the affairs of the Church. The controversy produced a definite breach between Rome and Constantinople. Gregory III, was the last pope to seek confirmation of his election from Constantinople, and in 781, the popes ceased mentioning the name of the emperor in dating their documents. Their ties to the East cut, the popes henceforth turned to the Franks for aid; thus the Franco-papal alliance was an important result of the iconoclastic controversy. It was not until 843, that a Church Council in the East, finally settled the matter in favor of the use of images (but only pictures, not statues); by that time the damage to unity had been done.

The second factor, was the conflict over the procession of the Holy Spirit, known as the Filioque Controversy. The East taught that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father alone; the West, believing that such a view did not give proper recognition to the Son, asserted that He proceeded from the Father, and the Son ("Filioque" means "and the son"). Third, the patriarch of Constantinople, and the pope at Rome, were unwilling to be subservient to each other. Fourth, there was no sharp definition of the boundaries between territories to be ruled by Rome and Constantinople, and frequent struggles arose over administration of border areas. Fifth, basic differences in cultural background and influence between East and West hindered understanding and cooperation. Sixth, in the East the Church was subservient to the emperor; the Church in the West insisted on independence from the state, and demanded the Church's right of moral superintendence over rulers of state. Seventh, there were numerous liturgical differences between the two Churches (e.g., whether leavened or unleavened bread

was to be used in the Eucharist), as well as a host of other minor variations (e.g., whether clergy were to be bearded or clean shaven). Debates continued between the two bodies; finally, in 1054, a Roman delegation laid the bull of excommunication on the altar of St. Sophia in Constantinople. Of course, the Greek patriarch retaliated. Thus, the schism was complete.

THE MEDIEVAL PAPACY AT ITS HEIGHT:

A new chapter in papal history began in 1073, when Hildebrand assumed the chair of St. Peter under the name of Gregory VII. His program and philosophy were basic to the achievement of supremacy in Christendom, attained by the popes of the thirteenth century. For some twenty years before he became pope, Hildebrand was a power behind the papal throne. During that time Nicholas II, with Hildebrand's support, succeeded in reforming papal election procedure. Formerly, popes were selected by the seven deacons of Rome, aristocratic faction of the populace, and German emperors. Henceforth they were to be elected by the college of cardinals, a procedure that is still in effect. However, Hildebrand was acclaimed by the crowd at the funeral of Alexander II, and carried to St. Peter's in chains and crowned pope.

As pontiff, Gregory held to the supremacy of the pope within the Church and over temporal rulers. He carried on an unrelenting program to reduce all bishops, abbots, and clergy to absolute subjection to the papacy, and was quite successful. He saw three particular abuses that needed correcting: the marriage of the clergy (or clerical concubinage), simony, and investiture by secular princes. Gregory issued a ban on clerical marriage in 1074, and thereby prevented the clergy from becoming a hereditary caste; instead, they were to become loyal to the pope. On simony (the buying or selling of church offices), he made unrelenting warfare, and was reasonably successful. The problem of lay investiture was another story.

When a bishop or abbot or other high Church official was appointed, he was supposed to receive investiture with spiritual authority by his ecclesiastical superior, and investiture with temporal authority by the secular lord of the area where he was to serve.

For centuries, the political leaders of Europe had been accustomed to appointing and/or investing with spiritual and secular authority the higher clergy of their realms. Understandably, such a practice often did not result in appointments of clerical leaders who were either spiritually sensitive or loyal to the Church. The reforming efforts of Gregory VII could only touch off a fight.

His great test of strength arose over the choice of the archbishop of Milan. Gregory's opponent was Henry IV, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire; both emperor and pope had a candidate for office. Henry was at a disadvantage because he was also engaged in an internal power struggle with some of the Saxon nobles. Gregory threatened excommunication if Henry IV did not comply; Henry answered with a council at Worms (1076), which rejected papal authority. Henry was excommunicated, and his subjects were absolved of allegiance to him. The German nobles then demanded that Henry achieve reconciliation with Gregory within a year or forfeit his throne. So, Henry was forced to make his peace with Gregory. But in the ensuing years Henry won the last round; he marched on Rome, and set up a pope of his own choice, and Gregory died in exile.

In the days of Henry's son, Henry V, the papacy ultimately won the investiture struggle, however. At Worms in 1122, a concordat was drawn up according to which the emperor consented to permit the Church to elect bishops and abbots, and invest them with spiritual power. Although elections were to be held in the presence of the king, he could not use simony or violence. Elected officials of the Church were to pledge allegiance to the temporal power.

The Crusades:

In part, the call for a Crusade must be viewed as connected with the investiture struggle. At the Council of Clermont in 1095, in the midst of a contest with Henry IV, Urban II proclaimed a Crusade. This was evidently a show of force in his struggle with the emperor. By these means, Rome could direct the energies of Europe in a way that would bring her great advantages. Although many went on the Crusades for economic

reasons, or for adventure, or for other lesser reasons, the primary and official motive of the Crusades was religious. In fact, Urban promised remission of sins to those who marched under the banner of the cross. The event that sparked the Crusades was the advance of the Seljuk Turks in the East and the call for help from the Byzantine emperor Alexius I. Tales of the sufferings pilgrims endured at the hands of the Turks in the Holy Land, provided emotional appeal for many to engage in holy war.

In response to Urban's call, a great host gathered from Western Europe, especially from France, the Lowlands, and Italy, and finally took Jerusalem in 1099. The Crusaders then set up the kingdom of Jerusalem. Estimates of the number participating in this Crusade range from fifty thousand to six hundred thousand. One must be careful about dogmatically following any statistician, but the number of fighting men was only a few thousand.

The burden of arousing enthusiasm for the Second Crusade (1147), fell on the famous Bernard of Clairvaux. Europeans were concerned with the Muslim threat to the Northern borders of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The king of France and the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire led the Crusade, but it was completely unsuccessful, leaving Jerusalem in greater danger than before. The Crusading movement ground to a standstill until 1187, when Jerusalem was captured by Saladin, and all Christendom was again aroused.

The Third Crusade (1189-92), is known as the Crusade of the Three Kings: Richard I of England, Philip Augustus of France, and Frederick I of Germany. Frederick drowned on the way to Palestine; Philip stayed in Palestine for only a very short time, leaving Richard to carry on the struggle alone. Although he was unsuccessful in taking Jerusalem, he did win permission for pilgrims to enter the Holy City for a few years.

The Fourth Crusade began in 1201, under the leadership of Pope Innocent III. He urged the capture of Egypt as a base of operations against Palestine. When the army gathered, it found itself without sufficient funds to pay for shipping. In return for financial guarantees, it agreed with Venice to recapture nearby Zara from the

Hungarians. For the same reason, it subsequently decided to support the deposed Byzantine emperor in his bid to regain the throne of the empire. The attack on Byzantium was more fiercely opposed than the Crusaders had expected, however. The result was a prolonged struggle there, permanent sidetracking of the Crusade, destruction of the power of the Eastern empire, and establishment of a Latin kingdom in its place. Innocent, was able to have some indirect influence in this Latin kingdom, and over the Eastern Orthodox Church until 1261, when the Eastern empire regained her independence.

The last Crusades of any significance was the sixth, led by Frederick II of Germany in 1228-29. By diplomacy, he acquired for fifteen years Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and a corridor connecting Acre and Jerusalem.

The Crusades ended in failure, with Jerusalem falling to the Egyptians in 1244, and remaining in Muslim hands until 1917, when General Allenby captured the Holy City from the Turks. Yet, it must be said that while the Crusades lasted, the Roman Church enjoyed wave after wave of popular enthusiasm in support of her causes. Moreover, while the Church directed the energies of Europeans in fighting an external foe, she provided a safety valve that spared her a great deal of internal stress.

The effects of the Crusades were destined to be mainly political, social, and economic rather than religious. They contributed to the commercial revolution and its accompanying rise of the middle class, the demise of feudalism, and decline of provincialism in Western Europe. It is hard to measure fully the impact on Western Europe of the travel of hundreds of thousands of people to strange lands where they discovered new foods, new modes of dress, and new ways of doing things.

Innocent III

Directing the affairs of the medieval papacy at the very height of her power was Innocent III (1198-1216). As has already been noted, he had some indirect influence

over the Eastern Church and empire. In Western Europe, he forced his will on France, England, and the Holy Roman Empire. He humiliated Philip Augustus of France, forcing him to take back his divorced wife, who had appealed to the pope. Innocent did this by laying an interdict on the whole nation of France. Shortly thereafter, he humbled King John of England in a struggle over the appointment of a new archbishop of Canterbury. Again, Innocent used the method of interdict as well as inviting Philip of France to invade England if John refused to come to terms. About the same time, Innocent interfered in the affairs of Germany, dictating the imperial succession there. Again, he used a threat of French troops to accomplish his aim. Last, Innocent called the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), to settle certain doctrinal matters. It decided that annual confession to a priest was mandatory for all laymen. It enunciated the dogma of transubstantiation, which means that the bread and wine become the actual body and blood of Christ upon pronouncement of the priest. The priest could then perform an actual sacrifice of Christ every time the mass was said. Moreover, the Council gave official sanction to the seven sacraments and provided some definition of them.

The Inquisition

One of the strengths of the medieval papacy in maintaining her power over the populace of Western Europe was the Inquisition. In the process of development for a couple of centuries, the medieval Inquisition came to its definitive formulation under Pope Gregory IX (1127-41). It was designed to inquire into the spread of heresy, and to call before its tribunals Roman Catholics suspected of heresy in order to secure their repentance. The program was launched merely to keep the faithful in line, not to obtain the conversion of Jews and Muslims. The great purges against these peoples in Spain were inventions of the Spanish throne. The Inquisition was deemed a necessity, because of the spread of groups such as the Waldenses, which, if allowed to go unchecked, threatened the very life of the papacy.

Generally, the Dominicans were in charge of Inquisitorial activities. Trials were held in secret. There was no way of obtaining legal defense, because any lawyer

representing an accused person would himself become the target of Church tribunals. Confessions might be extracted by torture, and testimony against the accused might be obtained from witnesses by the same means. Those who confessed and were reconciled might be subjected to various punishments, including penance, pilgrimages, scourgings, or fines. Those who refused to recant, commonly were imprisoned for life, or handed over to the secular authorities to be executed usually by burning. The excesses of the Inquisition (sometimes called an engine of iniquity), its violation of human rights, and in some places its reign of terror, must forever remain as a blot on the history of the Roman Church.

Scholasticism

It has already been noted that at the height of her power, the medieval papacy defined the dogma of transubstantiation, and declared the necessity of annual confession to a priest. Other dogmas and doctrines were being formulated at this time too, largely through the efforts of the Scholastics. Scholasticism is hard to define adequately, but certain generalizations may be made concerning it. It was the sum of the teachings and methods of the prominent Western philosophers most widely accepted during the Middle Ages. It constituted a harmonization of philosophy, and theology in one system for the purpose of rational demonstration of theological truth. The Scholastics sought certainty of the truth and salvation by way of knowledge and reason. The ninth to the twelfth centuries mark the formative period of Scholasticism, the thirteenth century the height, and the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a period of decline. Anselm and Abelard, are usually thought of as cofounders; Hugo and Peter Lombard as important representatives along the way; Thomas Aquinas, as representing the movement at its height; and Duns Scotus and William of Ockam, as typical writers during the decline.

The Scholastics, and especially Aquinas, are responsible for helping to formulate the sacramental system of the Roman Church - a system through which one was to obtain salvation. They pegged the number of sacraments at seven, and then spelled

out in greater detail the significance of baptism, the Eucharist, confirmation, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, and marriage. Also, they set forth theories of the atonement still common today, defined the way of salvation, and in general produced many of the ideas that the Council of Trent (1545-1563), would draw together in a tight, coherent system and would officially establish as Orthodox Roman Catholic teaching for centuries to come.

Mysticism

Contemporary with the Scholastic movement came Mysticism, which aimed at a certainty of salvation and the truth through spiritual experience. Some of the mystics went to great excess in their emphasis on a love experience with God, but many of them seem to have been genuine believers. Three of the better mystics, all of the twelfth century, were Richard and Hugh of St. Victor and Bernard of Clairvaux. The latter is known for the famous hymns attributed to him, "Jesus the Very Thought of Thee," and "O Sacred Head, Now Wounded." One way that mystics sought to experience Christ, was by walking where He walked and suffering where He suffered. Thus, participating in a Crusade was a natural outgrowth of their religious orientation. It is no accident that Bernard of Clairvaux, one of the best known mystics, was a leader of the Second Crusade. Mysticism and Scholasticism were a good counterbalance for each other. Mysticism helped the mystics keep their feet on the ground.

Monasticism

In a very real sense the backbone of the medieval papacy was the monastic movement. Long is the roll of great leaders of the Middle Ages, who came from the monastery. It includes such famous names as Gregory I and VII, Richard and Hugh of St. Victor, and Bernard of Clairvaux. The monasteries were the conservatories of learning, and the centers of missionary and philanthropic work. The monks were the writers, preachers, philosophers, and theologians of the age; they headed the Inquisition and persuaded multitudes to participate in the Crusades. It may be said that the monasteries provided something of a safety valve for the Roman Church, for in

them earnest Christians had a great deal more freedom from ecclesiastical machinery than they would have had outside the cloister. Without this freedom, it is possible that much of the evangelical life would have parted company with Romanism sooner than it did. It should be remembered that Luther, Erasmus, and many other critics of the papacy had monastic background.

St. Benedict (about 500), developed the Western European form of monastic life and other orders were, in general, off shoots of the Benedictine order. The Cluniac order came into being in 910, the Cistercian in 1098. The latter's most illustrious son was Bernard of Clairvaux. St. Francis of Assisi, founded the Franciscan order in 1210, and St. Dominic, founded the Dominicans in 1215. The Augustinian order was formed out of a number of older bodies in 1244. The thirteenth century was the heyday of Monasticism. It declined at the end of that century and throughout the fourteenth. There was some reform in the fifteenth century. The Reformation destroyed most of the monasteries of Northern Europe, and seriously curtailed the activities of those in central Europe.

DECLINE OF THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

The period of the decline of the medieval Church may be dated between 1305 and 1517. The first date marks the beginning of the Babylonian Captivity of the papacy, which is discussed below; the latter is the year Luther posted his theses on the Church door at Wittenberg.

There were many reasons for the decline of the papacy. First, there were the rise of national monarchs, and the decline of feudalism; correspondingly, there was a developing sense of nationality and increased loyalty of the people to their rulers. The Church claimed a supranational loyalty, which would certainly suffer with the spread of the new intense nationalism. As strong monarchs arose, they became jealous of the immense wealth and power that the Church held within their monarchal borders. Second, the rigid enforcement of doctrine and practice, especially by means of the

Inquisition, stirred up opposition and dissent. Third, the increasing cost of maintaining the hierarchy and the employment of oppressive means of securing money alienated many. Fourth, there was an increasing moral laxity among churchmen, especially in the fifteenth century.

Fifth, the moral relaxation was accompanied by a general secularization of the Church during the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth centuries. Secularization of all of life was in process, a feature of the Renaissance. The Renaissance was not just a rebirth of knowledge; it was a rebirth of the classical spirit, with its rationalistic outlook on life. The classical world had formulated its ethics by means of philosophy, and therefore found them to be relativistic; it did not follow an unchangeable revealed standard. Moreover, the Renaissance marked the rise of the middle class with new wealth, commonly spent on art, literature, education, and the like, rather than on the Church. Spurred by the thought patterns of the classical world, and an improved economic climate, men of the Renaissance subscribed to a humanistic orientation to life. Man instead of God increasingly became the measure of all things. There was a desire to make this world a more fit place for human beings instead of concentrating all efforts on preparing for the life hereafter. The heady individualistic spirit of the Renaissance also weakened the corporate orientation and demands of the Roman Church. An important phenomenon of the Renaissance, was the invention of printing, which facilitated not only the distribution of Scripture, and a return to New Testament Christianity, but also the spread of satirical or critical writings that often ridiculed the Church.

Sixth, the Crusades contributed in many ways to the decline of the Church. For example, hordes of Europeans who had lived within sight of their lord's manor house, without education, bred on superstitions of the times, learned that life elsewhere was different. The new ideas and ways of life with which they came in contact in the East, weakened the ties of many to the Church. Last, the Babylonian Captivity of the Church and the Papal Schism, did much to weaken the power of Rome in Western Europe.

The Babylonian Captivity, was a period of approximately seventy years (1305-1477), when the pope ruled from Avignon, just outside the Southern border of France. It was called the Babylonian Captivity by ardent Roman Catholics of a later time, because they likened this period when the pope presumably was a virtual prisoner of the French king to the seventy years when the Hebrews were captive in Babylonia.

The captivity came about partly because of rising nationalism and partly because Pope Boniface VIII over reached himself. Boniface, in his famous bull "Unam Sanctum" (1302), insisted that all rulers were subject to him, and that it was "necessary for salvation" for every human being to be subject to the pope. Philip IV of France, who was having a running battle with Boniface, sent representatives to Italy to arrest the pope. Rescued by the townspeople at his home at Anagni, Italy, Boniface died a month later. His successor, Benedict XI (1303-1304), lasted for only eight stormy months, and the papal chair remained vacant for eleven months thereafter. Finally, it was filled by Clement V, a French churchman chosen by King Philip. Trying to remove himself from the direct presence of the French king, and afraid to face the Italian people, Clement settled down at Avignon in 1309.

Whether or not later popes were under French control, Clement was, and all popes of the period were Frenchmen. Political rulers of the later part of the captivity seemed to feel that papal interests were closely identified with those of France. Such a belief was bound to have significant effects. For example, during the Babylonian Captivity, the Hundred Years War broke out between France and England, greatly weakening the power of the papacy in England. During the war, the pope demanded the surrender of Wycliffe, the great reformer; but a powerful party at the English court protected him. Furthermore, the papacy gained a reputation for extravagance in expenditure and offensiveness in taxation during this period.

The Papal Schism (1378-1417), hurt the papacy even more than the Babylonian Captivity. The schism resulted from the total incompetence of Pope Urban VI who, within a few months of his election in Rome (1378), had alienated the entire college of

cardinals. Ultimately all the French cardinals slipped out of Rome, declared Urban's election void, and elevated Robert of Geneva to the papacy as Clement VIII. When Urban refused to be deposed, the French cardinals and Clement moved to Avignon and the rupture was complete. Naturally, the princes of Europe lined up behind the pope of their choice, and Christendom was split. When the Council of Pisa (1409), tried to settle the problem by deposing the two existing popes and installing a single one in their place, all it succeeded in doing was electing a third pope; so for several years there were three popes anathematizing and excommunicating one another. Christendom was utterly confused, and reforming parties grew rapidly. It must be remembered that during this period, Hus preached with great success in Bohemia, and the Lollards (followers of Wycliffe) secured a large following in England and Scotland. Finally, the Council of Constance, managed to depose all three popes in 1417, and elect a new one, who henceforth would permanently reside in Rome.

Some have called the last part of the fifteenth century the paganized stage of the papacy. The Renaissance was taking its toll in the secularization of some of the top clergy. Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455), was a great lover of classical literature and the founder of the Vatican library. He spent considerable sums on that pet project, and on the repair of numerous classical structures in Rome. Julius II (1503-1513), is known as the patron of artists, especially Michelangelo, who painted the Sistine Chapel ceiling from 1508 to 1512. Leo X (1513-1521), pope when the Reformation began, was very extravagant. His court life was a constant round of banquets, theatrical shows, and balls. As builder of St. Peter's in Rome, he used the revenues of the papacy on art, architecture, and the like. It should be remembered, that his conflict with Luther came over the sale of indulgences, designed to raise money for the building of St. Peter's.

So, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the medieval papacy was sick. Some within the system began to make prescriptions for cure of the illness. These, coupled with the disruption brought about by the Reformers, stirred the Church to make changes that permitted a strong resurgence of power in later years.

CHAPTER 6-DISRUPTION OF THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH

Long before Luther fired his verbal salvo against indulgences and launched the Reformation, others had sniped at the theological position of the Roman Catholic Church. In fact, there always had been those within the Roman Church who did not agree with its teaching, and many had even broken away into separate religious communities.

FORERUNNERS OF THE REFORMATION

Peter Waldo, one of the most effective of the pre-Lutheran Reformers, was a wealthy merchant of Lyons, France. Impressed with the way of poverty and service to Christ as the path to heaven (based on Matthew 19:21), he sold most of his holdings in 1176, and gave the proceeds to the poor. He retained some property to care for his wife and daughters, however. Within a year or so he was joined by others, men and women who called themselves the "Poor in Spirit," and undertook an itinerant ministry of preaching repentance, and living from the handouts of listeners. As good Roman Catholics, they appealed to the Third Lateran Council in 1179 for permission to preach, but were refused because they were thought to be ignorant laymen. Convinced that they, like early believers, should obey God rather than men, Peter and his followers continued to preach. In 1184, Pope Lucius III, excommunicated them for their disobedience. This act brought them numerous supporters and the movement spread into Southern France, Italy, Spain, the Rhine Valley, and Bohemia. It is hard to know whether all the individuals classified as Waldenses were part of the movement, or whether contemporary Roman Catholic opponents merely used the term as a blanket descriptive for many disaffected individuals who opposed the official Church.

At any rate, the true Waldenses seem to have taken the New Testament as a rule of faith and life, and appeared to have used it in a rather legalistic sense. They went about two by two, wearing a simple clothing, preaching repentance, engaging in

frequent fasting, and living from the gifts of others. They rejected purgatory, masses, and prayers for the dead, and held to the necessity of using vernacular translations of Scripture. They insisted on the right of both laymen and laywomen to preach, but they did have an organization with bishops, priests, and deacons. Perhaps it should be noted that Waldo (also Valdez, or Valdes), seems never to have become fully evangelical in the best sense of the term. But in pointing to the Scripture as the source of religious truth, he opened the door for his followers to become truly evangelical.

The Waldenses were severely persecuted for centuries. Part of the reason for their widespread distribution in Europe, was that they were driven from their homeland. In Bohemia, they ultimately became part of the Hussite movement. In the mountain vastness of the Cottian Alps between France and Italy, their real homeland by the time of the Reformation, they met in historic conclave with representatives of the Genevan Reformation in 1532, and adopted the theology and government of the Swiss Reformers. Subsequently in 1545, some three to four thousand of them were massacred in Provence (France). Finally, in 1848, they won toleration in the kingdom of Sardinia, and subsequently in a united Italy. They are the only late medieval separatist group to survive to the present, though of course numerous changes in organization and teaching have taken place among them.

John Wycliffe

Like Peter Waldo, John Wycliffe (1320?-1384), was a Biblical reformer, bringing to bear the teachings of Scripture on the practices of the Roman Church. He also engaged in Bible translation, and it was largely through his efforts that the first English version was produced. Though he personally translated or supervised translation of much of the Bible, his version was not completed until after his death by Nicholas of Hereford and John Purvey. Without doubt, its widespread use had an influence on the development of the English language. Descended from a noble family, Wycliffe was educated at Oxford, and later became master of Balliol College at the university. He

was therefore able to reach some of the upper-class English. But he addressed himself largely to the common people, sending out lay evangelists to instruct them.

After 1375, Wycliffe's reforming views developed rapidly. Pope Gregory XI, condemned him in 1377, for his efforts, but he was protected by some of the nobles, and the powerful John of Gaunt, who was duke of Lancaster and son of Edward III. These were the days of the Hundred Years War, and it was unthinkable that Englishmen would surrender one of their most outstanding countrymen to a pope at Avignon, who was considered to be under the domination of England's French foes. The power of Wycliffe was at least threefold: his intense patriotism, his deep piety, and the belief of many that he had no scholarly equal in England.

To Wycliffe, Scripture, which he interpreted literally, was the sole authority for the believer. Decrees of the pope were not infallible except as based on Scripture. The clergy were not to rule, but to serve and help people. Eventually, he reached the conclusion that Christ and not the pope was the head of the Church; in fact, the pope, if he were too eager for worldly power, might even be regarded as the Antichrist. He also attacked transubstantiation (the view that the bread and wine in the Eucharist become the body and blood of Christ), and seems to have come to a position similar to Luther's. Moreover, he condemned the dogma of purgatory, and the use of relics, pilgrimages, and indulgences. He seems to have been deeply influenced by St. Augustine. It is not clear how evangelical Wycliffe was personally, but under the influence of Biblical teaching, his followers increasingly moved in that direction.

The followers of Wycliffe were suppressed by force in 1401. Thereafter, those who held his views went underground, and no doubt helped to prepare the way for the Lutheran and Calvinistic teachings that invaded Britain about a century later. Bohemians studying at Oxford in Wycliffe's day, carried his ideas to their homeland, where they influenced the teachings of John Hus.

John Hus

John Hus (1372? - 1415), professor of philosophy at the University of Prague and preacher at Bethlehem Chapel, did not slavishly depend on Wycliffe, however. The old view that he was influenced by Wycliffe, to the point that he simply adopted the views of the Englishman as his own, must now be abandoned. A Czech reform movement, dating to about the middle of the fourteenth century, paralleled Wycliffe's efforts. Hus was in the tradition of the native movement and a product of it. But during the early fifteenth century, indigenous and imported varieties of reform joined to form a single development.

At any rate, Hus' approach was similar to that of Wycliffe, and his influence on the Continent was greater than that of the Englishman. It should be remembered that Luther was greatly impressed with the reformer from Prague. Hus' great work was entitled "On the Church." In it he stated that all the elect are members of Christ's Church, of which Christ rather than the pope is head. He argued against simony, indulgences, and abuses of the mass. He demanded a reform in the lives of clergy, and he asserted the right of laity to take both the bread and wine in the Communion.

Hus became the leader of a reform movement that spread across Bohemia. Almost the whole nation supported him in his reform program, in spite of the fact that he was excommunicated by the pope. After Hus' death this reform agitation did not cease, and about the middle of the fifteenth century, the Bohemian Brethren rose out of the embers of the fire Hus had lit. They still exist as the Moravian Brethren.

When the pope summoned Hus to the Council of Constance to stand examination on his views, the Emperor Sigismund ordered him to go, and promised safe conduct to and from the Council. But when the Council condemned him as a heretic and burned him at the stake, Sigismund did not interfere. Like Luther, Hus came to blows with the pope over the issue of indulgences (among other things); but Europe was not so ready for the Reformation in 1415, as it would be a century later.

Savonarola

Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498), was a forceful preacher against the worldliness and corruption of Church and society in Florence. A Dominican, he was transferred to the priory of San Marco in Florence in 1482, and gradually rose in influence and power in the city. His studies in the Old Testament prophets, and the book of Revelation, helped to make him a powerful preacher against the evils and corruption of society.

Savonarola, became the spiritual leader of the democratic party that came to power in Florence with the invasion of Charles VIII of France, and the flight of the Medici in 1494. Exercising virtual dictatorship over the city, he tried to reform both the state and Church there. The new constitution of 1495 was similar to that of the Republic of Venice.

With the passage of time, opposition to Savonarola heightened, and his power began to slip. His opposition and ultimate downfall resulted as much from his political and social involvements in the city, as from his religious tangle with the Roman Church. Pope Alexander VI, excommunicated him in 1497, and in April of 1498, he was arrested and tried for sedition and heresy and cruelly tortured. Finally, on May 23, he was hanged and his body burned.

Although Savonarola demanded reform in the Church, he never took the more advanced position of Wycliffe and Hus. He had no quarrel with the teachings or the organization of the Church, but personally seems to have believed in justification by faith. He was characterized by religious zeal and personal piety. Because he openly condemned the evil character and misrule of Pope Alexander VI, and the corruption of the papal court, he won the undying opposition of the papacy and suffered execution.

Brethren of the Common Life

Contemporary with Wycliffe and Hus, was a mystical movement that flowered in Holland, Northern France, and Northern Germany during the latter fourteenth and

fifteenth centuries. Emphasizing Bible reading, meditation, prayer, personal piety, and religious education, it produced such outstanding figures as Jan Van Ruysbroeck (d. 1381), who wrote "The Seven Steps of Spiritual Love," and Gerhard Grote (d. 1384), who was instrumental in founding the Brethren of the Common Life. The principal aim of the Brethren, a quasi-monastic group, was to secure a revival of practical religion, and its members were deeply devoted to the cause of education. They established in the Netherlands and Germany, several schools that were outstanding for scholarship and piety. Four of their best-known students were Nicholas of Cusa, Erasmus, Luther, and Thomas a Kempis, who wrote or edited the widely distributed "Imitation of Christ."

Many other religious movements, for which there is no space here, spread across Europe during the fifteenth century, demonstrating how widespread was the demand for Church reform. In fact, the Continent, was a seething kettle by 1500, ready to boil over. In the realms of economics, society, politics, intellect, and religion, the time had come for an eruption. All that was needed, was someone who could mold these explosive elements into a single movement. Such a movement would blitz Europe. It was Martin Luther, who provided a channel for all this explosive energy in what is now called the Protestant Reformation. For a clearer understanding of Luther's place in the history of Europe, it is necessary to survey the various facets of life on the Continent on the eve of the Reformation.

EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION

In giving reasons for the decline of the papacy during the later Middle Ages, we have noted some of the properties on the stage of Europe, while the drama of the Reformation was enacted. Much more needs to be said on the subject.

Politics

The political map of Europe was a crazy quilt composed of hundreds of principalities, evidencing extreme decentralization. But around the fringes, in Portugal, Spain, France, and England, national states were rising, challenging the supranational

power of the papacy. In central Europe, the Holy Roman Empire (now essentially a German entity), had an emperor checkmated by numerous states with slight allegiance to him. Not only was the emperor hampered by these semi-independent vassals, but Muslim hosts knocked at the doors of the empire soon after Luther nailed his theses on the Church door at Wittenberg. After toppling Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire in 1453, the Muslims (Ottoman Turks), advanced across Eastern Europe, until they stood before the gates of Vienna in 1529, and again reached the vicinity of the city in 1532.

What had really happened was this: Charles, a Hapsburg and king of the Netherlands and Spain, was elected in 1519, as Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire. Francis I of France, almost surrounded by the holdings of Charles, and defeated by him in 1525, made an alliance with the Ottoman Empire in 1526, to apply a pincers movement against his enemy. Charles needed the help of all his German vassals to defeat the Turks. As some of the German princes became Lutheran, he was not able to put religious pressure on them, because then they would not give political and military support. Thus, Charles was not able to force Frederick of Saxony (one of his most powerful vassals), to surrender Luther when the pope demanded the Reformer.

Meanwhile, Europe was expanding. A few years after Luther's birth, Columbus discovered the New World, and launched the Spanish empire in the West; shortly after Luther posted his theses, Magellan's expedition sailed around the world. At the same time, the Portuguese were establishing outposts of empire in Brazil, Africa, and the Far East.

Intellect

A new world of thought was discovered long before 1492. The full tide of the Renaissance had rolled in. Rediscovering the literature and thought patterns of the classical age, it contributed to a greater secularization of life. Humanism was one of the main features of the Renaissance, involving a new emphasis on man, and his culture and an effort to make the world a better place in which man might live. The pull of the

future life was not so great for the true child of the Renaissance, as it had been for his forbears during the Middle Ages. He would rather eat his pie now, than have it in the sky by and by.

In looking back to the literature of the classical age, the humanists put new emphasis on the study of Greek (and some of them, Hebrew), in an effort to read the classics in the original languages. The greatest of all ancient documents was the Bible, and the renewed emphasis on ancient languages led many to the Scripture. The humanism of Northern Europe, seemed to put more stress on the form and analysis of classical literature, the humanism of Southern Europe, seemed to stress the philosophy embedded in that literature. The literary humanists included a good deal of Biblical study in their academic diet, and it was in the North that the Reformation gained most headway - Zwingli, Calvin, Melancthon, and Erasmus are examples of the more Biblical of the literary humanists. That Erasmus, among others, was a great satirist of the evils of the institutional Church, as well as the evils of society in general, underscores the fact that criticism of Romanism by Renaissance leaders, contributed to the success of the Reformation. Also, advancing the effectiveness of the Reformation was the Renaissance spirit of individual-ism, which paved the way for Luther's emphasis on the priesthood of the believer, and its attendant ideas of the right of the believer to go directly to God, and to interpret the Scriptures for himself.

Another important facet of the intellectual development of Europe on the eve of the Reformation, was the invention of movable type and the spread of printing. Without it, the Reformers could not have had the same effect. In fact, the tremendous literary activity of the Reformers, was largely responsible for building the printing trade in many areas.

Last, an important phenomenon of the period, was the rapid growth of universities, which provided education for a larger number of people, fostered the critical spirit, and provided a means whereby the leaders of the new generation could be

reached with Reformation principles, and wherein they could be trained to promulgate them.

Religion

The religion of Europe was in a condition of decay. The evils of the Church were many - simony, economic oppression, the purchase of salvation through indulgence traffic, immorality of many of the clergy, and so on. The effects of the Babylonian Captivity, and Papal Schism, had been great, as noted earlier. The wave of secularism that engulfed Europe during the fifteenth century, affected all levels of Church life: the parishioners, lower and higher clergy, monks, and even the successors of St. Peter.

The decadence of the Church led to numerous calls from within for its reform. Symptomatic of this concern, were such movements as the Observant Franciscans in England, the Oratory of Divine Love in Italy, and the Brethren of the Common Life in the Lowlands. Books of devotion found wide audience. Mendicant friars preached an emotional religion. Evidence of the religious concern of the common man, is considerable; a religious ferment emphasized the emotions, and provided a basis for popular support of the Reformation.

Society and Economics

European society and economics were in flux. Feudalism was on the decline, and it was paralleled by the rise of towns and nation-states. In these new towns and states, a new middle class emerged, as did a degree of social mobility not known for more than a millennium. Compared with the old nobility, these striving, successful people were social, political, and economic outsiders; naturally they wanted to become social, political, and economic insiders. Traditionally, what really mattered in society, were the titled nobility with their great holdings in landed estates. Members of the rising middle class, with their wealth in financial and commercial interests, felt they were the equals of the old aristocracy, and sought social recognition and political power. Peasants were generally restless, looking for a way out of their economic and social

oppression. Both national governments, and the middle class, needed a ready supply of cash. Kings and nobles had to support armies and navies, finance public improvements, and promote the general welfare of their people. Businessmen needed to have capital reserve for new economic ventures. All this naturally hindered the flow of wealth to the Church, and efforts of the Church to drain money from an area, were met with something less than enthusiasm by king and middle class alike.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY

To such an age as this, one seething with unrest and vexed with a host of problems and longings, came Martin Luther. He was a voice speaking for a multitude who had been voiceless. In fact, as he began his reformation activities, many hoped he would become their spokesman in political, economic, and social, as well as religious matters.

Born the son of a miner in 1483, Martin Luther lived in a day when men were able to better their fortunes. Hans Luther gradually amassed a fairly adequate estate, and was able to provide Martin with an excellent education. After early studies at Mansfeld, Magdeburg (where he was taught by Brethren of the Common Life), and Eisenach, Martin matriculated at the University of Erfurt, where he earned his B.A. and M.A. degrees. He was second in a class of seventeen when he took the M.A. in 1505. Thereafter, on his father's urging, he entered the law school of the university.

But, in July of that year, when thrown to the ground by a flash of lightning during a very bad storm, he vowed to enter a monastery if spared from death. But this was not the only reason for his decision. Apparently, Luther hoped he would find at the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt, the peace for his soul that he could not find on the outside. As Luther pursued the monastic life, he saw Christ as a stern judge, and he spent days in fasting and bodily mortification, seeking release for his sinful soul. During his struggle, he came under the influence of Johann Von Staupitz, vicar-general of his order, who urged him to think on God's love for the sinner as evidenced in Christ's

death. Luther assiduously studied "the Bible with the red binding," that he was given on entering the monastery.

Meanwhile, Staupitz had become dean of the faculty of theology at the newly founded University of Wittenberg, and he arranged for Luther to join the faculty of the university in 1508. Two years later, Luther went to Rome on a business trip for the Augustinian order, and had a chance to view the papacy first hand; for him it was a disillusioning experience. When in 1512, he received his doctor of the theology degree, he succeeded Staupitz, as professor of theology, which position he held until his death in 1546.

During 1513-1518, Luther lectured on Psalms, Romans, Galatians, Hebrews, and Titus and sometime during that period came to an acceptance of the doctrine of justification by faith. He was a Saul turned Paul. He abandoned the prevailing scholastic and allegorical interpretation of Scripture, for a more strictly literal and grammatical interpretation. To his pedagogical method, his students responded enthusiastically. Luther's influence expanded as he was given charge over eleven monasteries in 1515. In the same year, the town council of Wittenberg, called him to the pulpit of the City Church, where he continued to minister the rest of his life. From that vantage point, he could carry his views directly to the laity.

The issue that brought Luther to the attention of all Europe, was indulgences. Initially, an indulgence provided for the remission of punishment imposed by the Roman Catholic Church, on someone who had broken some religious commandments. In earlier days, one might gain such an indulgence for risking his life in fighting the infidel during the Crusades. Gradually, however, financial sacrifice was accepted in lieu of physical risk, and the financing of the building of Churches, monasteries, hospitals, and the like could be designated by the pope as warranting indulgences. During the latter Middle Ages, indulgences came to involve not only remission of punishment imposed by the Roman Church, but also absolution of all guilt incurred before God.

Pope Leo X (1513-1521), like his predecessor Julius II, sought to raise funds for the building of St. Peter's in Rome by indulgence sales. His needs coincided with those of Albert of Hohenzollern, then only twenty-three, who had gone heavily into debt to buy from the papacy the archbishoprics of Mainz and Magdeburg and the bishopric of Halberstadt. So, it was decided that indulgences would be offered for sale in Albert's domains, and the proceeds split equally between the archbishop and the pope. Luther did not know about the pope's involvement in this financial arrangement. What bothered him, was the promise of full remission of sin, and punishment in purgatory, for living persons, and what was worse, the assurance to purchasers, that their dead loved ones in purgatory, could be forgiven their sins without confession or contrition.

Frederic of Saxony, forbade the sale of indulgences in his domain; so there was none of the traffic at Wittenberg. But Wittenberg citizens traveled to other towns to buy indulgences. When Luther observed the effect of this sale on the moral and ethical standards of his parishioners, he decided to post his famous Ninety-five Theses (or topics for debate), on the Church door at Wittenberg on October 31, 1517, in protest against the indulgence sale. Printed copies quickly flooded Europe, and popular enthusiasm was engendered everywhere. A conservative, faithful son of the Church, Luther believed the authority of the pope, and the validity of the sacrament of penance, were at stake in the way the indulgences had been sold. He sent a copy of the theses and a letter of explanation to Albert. Early in 1518, still not believing that the abuse in the indulgence sale had been approved by the pope, Luther sent an explanation (the "Resolutions"), to Leo X. In trying to squelch Luther, Leo preferred to put pressure on him through local agencies (e.g., the Augustinian order), but members of the higher echelon of papal power in Rome, persuaded the pope to demand Luther's appearance in Rome as a suspect of heresy.

Luther then appealed to Frederick the Wise of Saxony, for advice in handling the complicated proceedings, and requested that the hearing be held in Germany. Nationalistically minded, Frederick arranged a meeting at Augsburg in 1518; this ended in a standoff between the two parties. In subsequent years, polarization of the two

camps increased. Luther gradually turned his back on the authority of the pope and Councils, and planted himself squarely on the teachings of Scripture. The pope became increasingly determined to get his hands on Luther; but he could not because Frederick protected him. The new emperor, Charles V, was loath to come to Leo's aid, and thus alienate Frederick, because Saxony was the most powerful state in Germany at the time, and the emperor needed all the support he could get for his war against the Turks. Finally, in 1521 Luther went to the Diet of Worms (a parliament of the empire), under an imperial safe conduct. It was at Worms, that he uttered the famous words: "I cannot and will not recant anything, for it is neither safe nor honest to act against one's conscience. God help me. Amen." On the way back, Frederick's men kidnapped Luther to protect him, and put him in Wartburg Castle, where he translated the New Testament into idiomatic German in the unbelievably short time of eleven weeks. While there, he was informed of extremism, and violence at Wittenberg; so he returned to quell the disturbance.

With Luther excommunicated by the Roman Church, and living under an imperial ban that deprived him of physical protection, what began as a Reformation, became in effect a revolution. Luther, with Frederick's protection, launched a new religious movement. During these years, the pope was still trying to stop Luther. At the Diet of Speyer (1529), it was resolved to forbid further spread of the Lutheran movement. Against this action, a protest was entered by a number of German princes and free cities. Subscribers came to be known as Protestants, and soon the name "Protestant," passed on to the whole movement. In the following year, the Protestant princes got together in what was called the Schmalkald League. Already hard pressed by the Ottoman Turks, who had appeared before the gates of Vienna in 1529, the emperor Charles V., finally granted religious freedom to the princes in 1532, and interfered with Lutheranism no more for several years.

Meanwhile, the Roman Catholics became alarmed by the spread of Protestantism, and banded together to form the Holy League. War broke out in 1546, the year Luther died. After initial victories by the Roman Catholics, the Protestants

finally defeated the imperial forces. The Diet of Augsburg (1555), ended the struggle, and provided for a recognition of Roman Catholicism and Lutheranism, as legal religions in the Holy Roman Empire.

Luther's right hand man at Wittenberg, was Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560), who directed the organizational, educational, and publishing side of the Reformation. He is often called the teacher of Germany. He aided in establishing primary and secondary schools, and did all he could to train the clergy. Recognizing the need for organizing the Church that Luther had brought into being, he prepared a manual for that purpose. He also wrote a systematic theology, commentaries on New Testament books, and was largely responsible for preparing the various statements of faith that the Lutherans presented at some of the diets where they met papal foes.

Luther was a popular and dynamic leader in an age that was looking for such leadership. He was an indefatigable critic of Roman Catholicism, in an age that became increasingly critical of Roman Catholicism. He played on the national interests of the Germans, in such pamphlets as his "Address to the Christian Nobles of the German Nation," in an age when nationalism was gathering momentum rapidly. He offered a message of hope and faith to a people lost in the darkness of sin and looking for light. For all these reasons, Luther was successful.

But, often he has been criticized, because he did not go far enough in his reforms (he retained the crucifix, candles, and other elements of Roman Catholicism), because he placed the Church under the control of civil authority, and because he failed to cooperate with the Swiss Reformers, and thus present a solid block of Protestants against Roman Catholic power in Europe.

In his preaching, Luther set forth three great distinctives: "sola fide" (justification by faith alone); "sola gratia" (salvation by grace alone); and "sola scriptura" (the Bible alone as the source of the believer's authority for doctrine and practice). He also had much to say about the priesthood of the believer. Every believer was a priest, and had

the right to go to God directly; Christ was the only mediator between God and humanity. Moreover, every believer had the right to interpret the Scripture for himself under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. God spoke directly to the believer-priest through His Word; believers could address God directly in prayer, and especially in their songs. He gave the German people not only a Bible in their own tongue, but also a hymnbook. In his hands, the hymn became a great spiritual weapon, and he became the father of evangelical hymnody.

THE REFORMATION IN SCANDINAVIA

Although Lutheranism spread early to many countries of Europe, and later to the New World, it became the dominant faith of Scandinavia. When Luther posted his theses at Wittenberg, Sweden and Norway were united to Denmark (as they had been ever since the Union of Kalmar in 1397). But in 1517, a Swedish revolt was trying to throw off Danish control. This nationalistic effort was opposed by the Roman Church, and the archbishop of Upsala, won the title of Swedish Judas Iscariot. Ultimately, Gustavus Vasa, was successful in winning Swedish independence and, because of national antipathy to Roman Catholicism, and because of his personal preferences, he had little difficulty in setting up a national Lutheran Church in the 1520's. Because Finland was a possession of the Swedish crown, Lutheranism was soon established there too.

The advance of Lutheranism in Denmark (and Norway, which was linked to it), is much more complicated and would require considerable space to describe. Suffice it to say that Frederick I (1523-1533), set up a national Church with definite Lutheran leanings. After a period of civil war, Christian III, came to the throne (1536-1559), and at once reorganized the Danish Church, and made it distinctively Lutheran. Roman Catholic and Anabaptist dissenters were suppressed. In Iceland, which belonged to Norway, the policy was to force Lutheranism on a reluctant populace. After a mid-century revolt against Norwegian authority was put down, Lutheranism was established there by royal decree in 1554.

At the Eastern end of the Baltic, in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, Lutheranism spread rapidly after 1539. In 1561, Sweden annexed Estonia, which in fact strengthened Lutheranism there. About 1525, the grand master of the Teutonic Knights, established Lutheranism throughout East Prussia.

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND

Zwingli

Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531), sparked the Reformation in German-speaking Switzerland. After studying at Bern, Vienna, and Basel, he was ordained and became a parish priest at Glarus, where he remained for ten years. At Glarus, he studied extensively the classics in the original languages, thus laying the foundation for his future Reformation work. During those years, he also served as chaplain to Swiss mercenaries in Italy, and began a campaign against Swiss mercenary service. This effort brought him many enemies in some of the poorer areas of the country, where that means of employment was thought to be necessary. Such animosity would be important in the later factionalizing of the country.

In 1516, he moved to the monastery Church of Einsiedeln, for a three year ministry. There he studied the Greek New Testament published by Erasmus. He later claimed that at Einsiedeln in 1516, he had begun to found his preaching on the Gospel. Thus, his Reformation work began about the same time as Luther's. Because the monastery Church had a well known image of the virgin Mary, it had become a pilgrimage center. To such comers, Zwingli began to preach against the belief that religious pilgrimages were a means of obtaining pardon.

After becoming a priest in a large cathedral in Zurich (1519), Zwingli gradually become more open about his views. He broke with the pope and married, and preached openly against celibacy. Popular feeling was roused to such a point that the city Council felt that it was necessary to appoint a public meeting for the discussion of religious subjects. When it convened, Zwingli presented his sixty-seven articles, and

was so convincing that the Council charged him to continue in evangelical methods, and urged other preachers to follow his example. Tremendous changes followed; many priests married and set aside the mass. Some thought the evangelical movement had gone too far, but the city Council stood behind the Reformation, and eventually abolished the mass and image worship altogether.

Switzerland was a network of thirteen small states, or cantons, loosely federated and generally democratic. Culturally, the Northern and Eastern regions were German in language and orientation, the Western part French, and the Southern part Italian. Geographically, the country was divided between mountain or forest and valley cantons. Gradually, the Reformation spread from Zurich, the chief city of the chief canton, to other cities of German Switzerland, until the valley cantons were won. But, that did not mean they were willing to join with Zurich in a united front. Some did not want to risk domination by Zurich. Several forest or mountain cantons remained militantly Roman Catholic, and being poor farming areas, found Zwingli's anti-mercenary patriotism to be a threat to their economic life.

As political tensions heightened, some Protestant cantons formed a Christian Civic League; the Roman Catholic cantons organized also, and allied themselves with Ferdinand of Austria. War broke out in 1529, and ended early in 1531, with the Protestants defeated and Zwingli slain. He had served his townsmen as chaplain at the front. Thereafter, the Reformation program in German Switzerland lost ground, but Heinrich Bullinger, became Zwingli's able successor in Zurich. The military struggle had assured the virtual independence of the several cantons, and therefore made it possible for the Western canton of Geneva, to go its separate way in following the lead of John Calvin a few years later.

As has been indicated, Zwingli directed the Reformation in Switzerland, along civic lines, with a view to establishing a model Christian community. He persuaded the city Council to legislate the various details of the Reformation, and supervise the

carrying out of its decisions. In other words, he aimed at political as well as spiritual regeneration.

Zwingli's theology, put great emphasis on the sovereignty of God, and His election unto salvation. He held that the Lord's Supper contributed nothing to the elect; it was merely a symbol or remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ. He could not agree with Luther, who held that the body and blood of Christ are really present in the Communion. This was the rock on which the negotiations of the German and Swiss Reformers broke at Marburg in 1529. During his last years, Zwingli moved away from his earlier position toward a doctrine of the spiritual presence of Christ in the Supper. The same may be said of Melanchthon. The Zwinglian movement merged into Calvinism later in the sixteenth century.

The Anabaptists

By no means did all those who broke with Rome agree with Zwingli, or with Luther or Calvin, for that matter. As early as 1523, in Zurich, Protestant separatists Conrad Grebel, and Felix Manz, questioned a number of the teachings and practices of Romanism, and began to insist on adult baptism. Their activities caused the city Council to persecute them, and many of their followers and fellow preachers were exiled, spreading the movement into Germany and Moravia. In time, Anabaptist became a general term applied by Zwinglians, Lutherans, Roman Catholics, and others to those who would not fellowship with any of these communions, who rejected a connection between Church and state, and who rejected infant baptism or for some reason insisted on rebaptism later in life.

The term "Anabaptist," was a general descriptive, and widely diverse views were held among them. Some were pantheistic, some extremely mystical, some Anti-Trinitarian, some extremely millenarian, and some quite Biblical. Modern Baptists, who like to place themselves in the Anabaptist tradition, need to remember that some groups of Anabaptists were not truly Biblical. Furthermore, many of them, although they

insisted on water baptism after a conversion experience, did not baptize by immersion. Moreover, the doctrinal position of Biblical Anabaptists, is more closely related to the modern Mennonite view point, than to Baptist theology.

Today, there is a tendency to describe the Anabaptists as the left wing of the Reformation, or better, the radical Reformation, and to find at least three major groups among them: Anabaptists proper, spiritualists, and religious rationalists. Generally, all of them opposed meddling with the religious affairs of the citizenry, by the sate or state Churches, though a few tried to set up a revolutionary theocracy or accepted protection of the state.

Rationalists, sought to put intuitive and speculative reason alongside Scripture, as a basis of religious authority, or a source of religious information. From this seedbed, came the anti-Trinitarian efforts of Socinous and Servetus, as well as various pantheistic or transcendental approaches, that involved a spiritual contemplation of the order of nature, or allegorized the Bible into a cosmic philosophy. Spiritualists put much emphasis on the future. They either sought revolutionary change in society as they set up communities designed to be utopias of sorts, or quiescently awaited the end of the age or the dawn of a millennial day. The true Anabaptists were quite ascetic, tended to communal holding of goods, were pacifistic, opposed the use of oaths and capital punishment, favored the free will of man as opposed to predestination, stressed individual faith and witness, insisted on water baptism after a conversion experience, and taught separation of Church and state. Primarily, they were the spiritual antecedents of modern Mennonites, rather than modern Baptists. As may be suspected, by no means can all groups of radical Reformers be neatly categorized under one of the three headings suggested here.

Calvin

John Calvin (1509-1564) ,was the great second generation Reformer. As such, he could benefit from the work of such leaders as Luther, Zwingli, and Bucer. He began

in the Roman Church, and gained a couple of benefices early in life, because his father was in the service of the bishop of Noyon, but he was never ordained to the priesthood. His father wanted him to study law, and he completed the degree in that discipline, but he also took university training in literature. His intellectual pursuits took him to the universities at Paris, Orleans, and Bourges. At the latter, he came under the influence of Wolmar, with whom he studied Greek and Hebrew, and the New Testament in the original language. His conversion probably dated sometime during 1532 or 1533. Calvin says it was sudden, through private study, and because he failed to find peace in absolutions, penances, and intercessions of the Roman Catholic Church. Soon thereafter, he and some of his friends were caught up in an anti-Protestant drive, and forced to leave Paris.

For three years, he wandered about as a refugee in France, Germany, and Switzerland. During this period in his life, Calvin met Martin Bucer, the great Reformer of Strasbourg, who was professor of theology at the university there. At Basel in 1536, at the age of only twenty-six, Calvin published the first edition of his "Institutes of the Christian Religion;" the last edition (1559), was several times the size of the original. Later in 1536, Calvin decided that after paying a last visit to his native France, he would settle in Strasbourg. But he passed through Geneva on the way, and there William Farel, persuaded Calvin to remain, and help him with the Reformation there. In 1535, Geneva officially had become Protestant. The city Council had made laws against drunkenness, gambling, dancing, and the like; but the laws had little effect. So, when Calvin came, he prepared a catechism, and articles of faith, and insisted on the right of the Church to exercise discipline over unworthy communicants. Farel, and Calvin, worked very hard from 1536 to 1538, to establish the community on a theocratic basis. But, the profligate population was not ready for rigid discipline; so the Reformers were banished - Farel going to Neuchatel, and Calvin to Strasbourg.

The interval at Strasbourg seems to have been a happy one for Calvin. He pastored a congregation of French refugees, wrote his commentary on Romans, met with Reformers in Germany, and married a widow. But a son born to them lived only a

few days. Meanwhile, back in Geneva, the Church was in confusion, and the Roman Church had put on a campaign to bring the city back into its fold. This threat, together with the rise of his friends to power in the city government, led Calvin to return reluctantly in 1541.

For the rest of his life, Calvin worked tirelessly in his adopted city. Though he held no government office, and did not even gain citizenship in Geneva until 1559, Calvin dominated the city. He exercised strict discipline over the morals of the community and drew up a new form of government and liturgy for the Church. Moreover, he was largely responsible for a system of universal education for the young, and programs to care for the poor and aged. He established the Academy, later to be the University of Geneva.

The major event that marred the administration of Calvin at Geneva, was the Servetus incident. Michael Servetus, was a Spaniard under sentence of death by the Inquisition for his unitarian views. He escaped from prison, and presumably stopped in Geneva to stir up trouble. There, he was put on trial, and ultimately judged guilty of subversion of religion, and the general welfare. Genevan authorities consulted with other Swiss leaders, who supported the accusations against Servetus, and recommended the death penalty. Finally, on October 25, 1563, he was judged guilty on fourteen counts, and condemned to death by fire, contrary to provisions of the city ordinances, which limited punishment to banishment. Although this act is to be lamented, it is to be remembered, that the age was an intolerant one. Roman Catholics executed thousands of Protestants throughout the century, and they probably would have burned Servetus at the stake if he had not escaped from them. Calvin took part only in this one execution; but he never appeared in person during the proceedings, and he argued for a more humane form of execution. Moreover, the event had political overtones. Calvin's enemies sought to use Servetus, to overthrow Calvin, and expel his friends from power in the city government. In spite of all that, Calvin's reputation has been forever tarnished by the event.

John Calvin, was probably the most influential leader of the Reformation era. He put much stress on education. His catechetical system for the young has been carried all over the world. At the school in Geneva, men were trained who spread Presbyterianism all over Western Europe. In part, his influence rose from the fact that Geneva generously welcomed refugees from almost every country in Europe. Often, they returned home to spread the variety of Christianity they had come to know in Geneva. It was Calvin's theology and form of Church government, that triumphed in the Protestant Church of France, the Reformed Church of Germany, the Church of Scotland, the Reformed Church in Hungary, the Reformed Church in Holland, and in Puritanism in England and New England.

Calvin's Biblical and theological writings also have been very influential. He wrote commentaries on twenty-three Old Testament books, and twenty-six New Testament books. His "Institutes of the Christian Religion," became the dominant systematic theology of the Reformation in all except Lutheran lands. He wrote numerous pamphlets on current issues. His literary output was so prodigious, that he influenced the development of modern French; he has been credited along with Rabelais, as being cofounder of modern French prose. Calvin is often called the father of the historic-grammatical method of Biblical study - a method that attempts to discover what the Scripture meant to those who wrote it, and what it means according to the common definition of its words. Contemporary evangelical students have so taken this method for granted, that they have little realization of the part that Calvin had in its development, and of the fact that it was virtually nonexistent in the Church before the Reformation.

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE

As the sixteenth century wore on, the Roman Catholic Church in France, fell into an increasingly deplorable condition. In addition to the general slackness it experienced during the Renaissance era, the Roman Church suffered increasingly from the effects of the Concordat of Bologna (1516). This agreement between Francis I of France and

Pope Leo III, gave the French monarch the right to appoint the 10 archbishops, 38 bishops, and 527 heads of religious houses in the realm. Henceforth the Church became part of a vast patronage system, and individuals won positions in the Church not for ability or religious zeal, but for service to the crown or by purchase. Conditions became indescribably bad. For instance, it is asserted that standards for parish priests declined to the point that only some ten percent could read. Whether or not this percentage is correct, it seems safe to say that only a minority were literate. The king had in fact become the head of the Church, and his great dependence on its patronage system, and revenues helps to explain why Francis I and Henry II, were so zealous in their persecution of Protestants. They could not afford to permit the system to crumble. They certainly were not zealous for the Roman Catholic faith. Impetus for the French Protestant movement, came from Geneva, and its advance was achieved especially through the printed page - the French Bible, Calvin's "Institutes," and numerous other publications. Naturally, the most literate element of the population was more largely won. Converts were especially numerous at the universities, and among lawyers, and other professionals, the merchant classes, and the artisans, the lower clergy, and the friars, and the lesser nobility. The illiterate peasantry was hardly touched. In addition to the positive attraction of the Gospel, special forces worked to propel many into the Protestant camp. Lawyers and other professionals, were traditionally anticlerical, merchants and financiers were discontented, because of the financial strain in Francis' Italian wars, and many of the lesser nobles were in revolt against a social and political system of which they were victims.

In spite of persecution, the Protestant movement expanded rapidly. Under Henry II (1547-1559), Protestants may have numbered four hundred thousand. By the end of his reign, they came to be known commonly as Huguenots (meaning uncertain), and the total number of their congregation is said to have been 2,150 in 1561. The Presbyterian system of Church government gave a firm organization and discipline to the Huguenot movement.

In order to understand the course of events that the French Reformation took, and to see why it became embroiled in the civil wars, it is necessary to look at political and social conditions of the times. First, that many of the younger nobility joined Protestant ranks is of very great significance. Entitled and accustomed to carry swords, they became protectors of Huguenot congregations during the turbulent years of mid century and later. Often they protected Church meetings against hostile bands of Roman Catholics. Naturally, their concerns became mixed up in the affairs of the Church, and their quarrel with the crown very much affected the actions of the Church.

Second, it is important to note that there were three major groups of mutually jealous nobility in the realm. The Bourbons, heirs to the throne if the ruling house of Valois should die out, controlled most of the Eastern France. Their leadership was largely Huguenot. The powerful Guises, staunch Roman Catholics, had extensive holdings in the East. The Montmorencys, controlled much of the central part of the country; their leadership was divided between Protestants and Roman Catholics.

Third, when Henry II died, he left behind him young sons who were dominated by His queen, Catherine de Medici. She was determined to maintain her personal control, and advance the power of her sons and the central government. She was opposed by many of the nobility, who were jealous of their old feudal rights, and wanted to restrict the power of the monarchy.

Fourth, foreign affairs furnished another ingredient to the mix. As civil war boiled, both the English and Spanish sent aid to serve their respective national interests.

Fifth, as already intimated, the rising middle class, as political and social outsiders, and put upon by heavy financial exactions, opposed the crown for reasons of their own. The fact that they were also largely Huguenot, only complicated their antipathy to the establishment.

Such animosities provided the tinder to ignite armed conflict. In fact, eight wars were fought between Roman Catholic and Protestant forces in France. Leading the

Protestants early in the conflict was Gaspard de Coligny. But he lost his life along with thousands of other Protestants in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572, at the instigation of Catherine de Medici. Thereafter, Henry of Navarre, of the Bourbon family, led the Protestants. His military activities were successful and ultimately, with the death of others in the royal line, he became heir to the throne of France. Because he did not have quite enough strength to complete his conquest, he turned Roman Catholic and won the crown. Judging from his conduct, Henry's religious principles sat rather lightly on his shoulders. His switch to Catholicism was obviously for political reasons, and perhaps the purpose was to turn off the blood bath that was drenching France.

At any rate, in 1598, Henry published the Edict of Nantes, a grant of toleration for the Huguenots. It guaranteed them the right to hold public office, freedom of worship in most areas of France, the privilege of educating their children other than in Roman Catholic schools, and free access to universities and hospitals. The edict was the first significant recognition of the rights of a religious minority in an otherwise intolerant age. Though the Huguenots enjoyed a period of great prosperity thereafter, they became a defensive minority, and finally Louis XIV, revoked the edict in 1685. Thousands were driven into exile to the benefit of England, Holland, Prussia, and America.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

The marital problems of Henry VIII, especially led to England's break with Rome. Not only was he tired of Catherine of Aragon, and enamored with Anne Boleyn, but he was concerned that Catherine had not provided him with a male heir. This could well have led to civil war after Henry's death. So, he sought annulment of his marriage at the hands of the pope. But, Clement VII, under the influence of the powerful Charles V of Spain (nephew of Catherine), would not agree. In the midst of the struggle, Henry managed to install Thomas Cranmer, as archbishop of Canterbury, and to win from him annulment of his marriage to Catherine.

Though the rupture with Rome resulted from Henry's marital difficulties, the Reformation came to England for more complex reasons. Social, economic, political, cultural, and theological factors combined with personal matters to contribute to the success of the movement. The general spirit of anticlericalism, antipathy to Cardinal Thomas Worsley, Tyndale's New Testament (1525), Erasmus' humanism, and the impact of numerous Lutheran converts, were additional specific elements that helped to make the Reformation a success.

The break with Rome came in 1534, when Parliament passed the Supremacy Act, making Henry head of the Church of England. Soon thereafter, Henry, in need of money and afraid of a fifth column in the realm, closed the monasteries of England. But Henry did not provide a Protestant theology for England; he merely changed the headship of the English Church. His efforts were always directed toward political control rather than theological change. Evidently, he sought the degree of political absolutism, or at least control over the Church, that was being achieved by such contemporary sovereigns as Ferdinand of Spain, Francis I of France, and Gustavus Vasa of Sweden. That he sought no change in Church doctrine is evident from his severe persecution of individuals of a Lutheran persuasion. His one innovation was the publication of the Great Bible (1537), and its installation in the parish Churches of the realm.

There was a marked change, however, during the reign of Edward VI (1547-53). Coming to the throne at a very early age, he was ruled by regents who were of Protestant persuasion. The liturgy was changed, services conducted in English, a prayer book composed, marriage allowed for the clergy, images done away with, and the mass abolished. Archbishop Granmer, and others, composed the Forty-two Articles, which later became the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. A blend of Lutheran and Calvinist teachings, they were subscribed to by the king but not by the Parliament.

Edward died in the midst of a Roman reaction. So when Mary (1553-1558), took the throne as a Roman Catholic, she was well received. In 1554, she married Philip of Spain, and thereafter spent little time in England. Edward's religious policy had been too sudden in one direction, and Mary's was too strong in the other. In fact, Mary brought the English Church once more within the Roman fold. Many Protestants fled the country; some three hundred were martyred, including such outstanding leaders as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. Of special importance to the future of religion in England, is the fact that many of the Marian exiles went to Geneva. There they were converted to Calvinism, and later returned to England to help launch a Puritan opposition to Elizabeth's establishment.

After the persecutions during Mary's reign, and the unpopular Spanish alliance, the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603), was well received by the English people. Persecution came to an end, as did the Spanish alliance. The Church of England was reestablished, a prayer book drawn up, and the forty-two Articles revised to Thirty-nine and adopted by Parliament. Queen Elizabeth loved an ornate service, and under her influence the Church of England, developed its liturgy in that direction.

In this development she was opposed by the Puritans. The Puritans, who are known to have existed as early as the days of Edward, stressed rigid morals, Church discipline, and a conversion experience as a prerequisite to Church membership; they de-emphasized ritualism. At first, they did not oppose a Church government controlled by bishops. But the oppressive measures of Elizabeth, and the return of Marian exiles with their Calvinist views, changed the character of English Puritans. Ultimately, a great many of them argued for a Presbyterian form of Church government, insisted that only Christ could be considered Head of the Church, and called for a general purification of the Church and English society. Some of them came to prefer a congregational form of Church government, and were called Congregationalists, or Independents. Some Congregationalists (Brownists, or Separatists, later Pilgrims), held to complete separation of Church and state. At about the end of Elizabeth's reign, the Baptists appeared, drawing members from the ranks of the Puritans and Separatists. Baptists

insisted on separation of Church and state, the congregational form of Church government, and a conversion experience prior to Church membership and baptism. Normally, they also held that baptism should be by immersion.

James VI of Scotland, became James I of England in 1603, and is significant to Christians for his interest in the Bible translation that bears his name (published in 1611). James is also important because he increased the opposition of the Puritans to the crown by arranging for Sunday sports, and by encouraging Arminianism in England. This animosity grew until in the days of Charles I, it erupted in civil war (1642-1646). Prior to the outbreak of the war, many Englishmen had given up hope of any appreciable change in English religious life. Some, as Separatists (Pilgrims), had gone to Holland and/or Plymouth, Massachusetts, and others (Puritans), had established the Massachusetts Bay Colony. From 1640 to 1660, Parliament and Oliver Cromwell ruled the nation. The Puritan divines worked with the commissioners of the Church of Scotland to compose the Westminster Confession, which was adopted by the Church of Scotland in 1647, and in part by the English Parliament in 1648.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

Probably in no country of Europe were the Roman Catholic clergy more depraved than in Scotland at the time of the Reformation. This fact, taken in conjunction with remaining influences of Wycliffe, the old Celtic Church, and the infiltration of Lutheran and Calvinistic ideas, greatly contributed to the rise of the Reformation in Scotland.

The Pioneer Reformer in Scotland was Patrick Hamilton, who had been influenced by Luther's views while a student in Paris, and had returned to his homeland to preach. He was burned as a heretic in 1528. The second great leader of the Scottish Reformation was George Wishart, who had a Zwinglian and Calvinistic orientation. Wishart was martyred in 1546. Martyr's blood stirred many a heart in bonnie Scotland, and many a temper too. By the time Cardinal Beaton presided over

the martyrdom of Wishart, he had made so many enemies that a band of nobles (only one of whom was Protestant), entered his castle at St. Andrews and killed him.

Wishart's most ardent follower was John Knox; a leader with all the enthusiasm and popular power of Luther, and the steadfastness of Calvin. After university training at St. Andrews, Knox, in great personal danger, fled for safety to the castle of St. Andrews, where the assassins of Beaton and others were holed up. A French fleet, coming to the assistance of the Scottish queen, took the castle, captured its occupants, and sold Knox as a galley slave. After nineteen months, the English rescued him, and he ministered in England during the days of Edward VI. Leaving England when Mary Tudor (Bloody Mary), came to the throne, he ministered briefly among English exiles in Frankfurt, and then became pastor of a group of English exiles in Geneva. His chapel was only a stone's throw from the cathedral where Calvin regularly preached. In 1555, he made a brief visit to England, where he married, and subsequently preached in Scotland for nine months with great courage. Then he returned to Geneva for another three years.

Meanwhile, the Reformation message spread widely in Scotland. Of prime importance to its success, was the fact that in 1543, Parliament legalized the reading of the Bible in English or Scots. Moreover, a great amount of Protestant doctrinal literature was coming into the country. Actually, the Reformation was successful among all classes of the population. Many of the nobility supported it. The common people flocked by thousands to the cause. Of special importance in winning them, were the plays, ballads, and pamphlets that blanketed the country. Lyrics on sacred themes taught doctrine, cast ridicule on the papacy, and provided a hymnody for the masses. Recent scholarship has shown, that the rising middle class, was also heavily involved. Students were constantly moving to and from centers of learning on the Continent, where they were introduced to the writings and ideas of Hus, Luther, Calvin, and others. John Knox himself said in his History that, "merchants and mariners" had a prominent role in bringing religious books and ideas from the mainland. Amazingly, all this

Reformation development was going on when there were hardly any Protestant preachers in Scotland, and not even a semblance of a Church organization.

It should be remembered that after the death of James V (1542), Scotland was ruled by his wife, Mary of Guise, of a noble French family, and virtually a tool of the French. Her daughter Mary, when six years old, was sent for education to France, where she was married to the Dauphin, the crown prince Francis, son of Henry II, and Catherine de Medici. For seventeen months (until December 1560), Mary Stuart was queen of France. Meanwhile, in an effort to maintain her position, Mary of Guise, even had French troops stationed in Scotland. Many of the nobles, because they were both Protestants and good Scots, banded together to expel the French. Aided by an English fleet, they defeated the French in 1560. In the midst of this conflict, Mary of Guise, died, and Scotland was without a ruling sovereign.

John Knox had returned to Scotland in 1559, and he set about to organize a Reformation that already had become a reality. The Roman Church had virtually ceased to function. Without waiting for the absent queen to express an opinion, Parliament approved the First Scottish Confession, and established the Church of Scotland in August of 1560.

Mary Stuart came back to Scotland in 1561. From the outset, she experienced the opposition of Knox, whose outspoken denunciations destroyed the possibility of persuading her to moderate or forsake her Roman Catholicism. Her determination to restore Romanism in Scotland brought her many enemies. But, her love affairs with worthless men sealed her downfall. The refusal of the nobles to permit her second husband, the Earl of Bothwell, to rule as king, led to a military confrontation, her defeat, and her imprisonment in 1567. Mary abdicated in favor of her son James VI; and her half brother, the Earl of Moray, became regent. After Mary fled to England for safety, and was imprisoned there, plots against Elizabeth I, began to swirl around Mary's head. Finally in 1587, Elizabeth was pressured into executing Mary.

Protestantism was firmly established by Parliament. Knox had done his work. His impress may still be seen on the Church of Scotland, and the educational system of the land. When Knox died (1572), Andrew Melville, took over the work, and perfected the system Knox had established. Though Knox had tolerated the Episcopal form of Church government, Melville opposed it. After a lengthy conflict between the Episcopal and Presbyterian systems, a Presbyterianism finally won out completely in 1690.

THE REFORMATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

The teachings of Luther and especially Calvin, were readily accepted in the Netherlands. The great humanist Erasmus did much of his work there, writing devastating satires on the Roman Church, and other institutions of contemporary society under such titles as "The Praise of Folly," and "Familiar Colloquies." Moreover, the Bible had been translated into English several years before Luther was born. The Brethren of the Common Life, were another important factor in the advancement of the Reformation in the Netherlands.

Spain controlled the Netherlands during the Reformation, and it was the great Charles V, who first had to deal with Protestants. There were many martyrdoms in his days, especially of Anabaptists. Because Charles had been born in the Netherlands, the populace tended to put up with his policies. With his successor, Philip II (1556-1598), conditions radically changed, however. To begin with, he was looked upon as a Spanish foreigner in a day of rising nationalism in the Lowlands. Second, his autocratic ways were greatly resented by the more moderate Netherlands. Third, his severe financial exactions threatened economic ruin of the fairly well-to-do burghers of the region. Fourth, Philip's introduction of the Inquisition, and the stationing of the Duke of Alva, and numerous Spanish troops in the Lowlands, proved to be the last straw. Alva's "Council of Blood," is credited with executing well over six thousand Lowlanders. Thus, there erupted an eighty year war of independence, which evidently was not merely a struggle between Protestants and Roman Catholics. This is clear from the fact that in its early stages, the Protestant North (Holland), and Roman Catholic South (Belgium),

united to expel the hated Spaniard. Ultimately, however, the Spanish were able to drive a wedge between the Northern and Southern provinces, and the Dutch fought on alone.

William of Orange, led the Dutch patriots in resistance. Though the Dutch did not seem to be very successful on land, they did fairly well on the sea. There they had the help of a navy, which Elizabeth provided. Though William was assassinated in 1584, the Dutch were able to expel the last of the Spanish in 1609, and to win independence officially in 1648, with the Peace of Westphalia. The Reformed Church, was established as the state Church of the Netherlands.

While still technically at war with Spain, the Dutch settled a colony at New Netherland (New York) in the 1620's, and likewise moved into the East Indies, to take over former Portuguese territory. They felt justified in occupying Portuguese holdings, because Philip II, had moved into Portugal, and annexed both it and its empire. Subsequently, they planted a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, as a halfway station between their homeland and the colonies in the Far East. Thus, the Dutch Reformed Church gained a foothold in North America, Africa, and Indonesia.

It is cogently argued that the term "Counter Reformation" is misleading. The Roman Catholic Church, like a sleeping giant, was not suddenly awakened to new life and vigor by the Protestant menace alone. Calls for reforming the teachings and practices of the Church could be heard throughout the fifteenth century and earlier. In some quarters reforms of sorts were undertaken long before Luther posted his theses at Wittenberg in 1517. But it is undeniably true that the threat of Protestant successes spurred the Roman Church's efforts to set her house in order. She did counterattack at numerous points to regain areas lost or in danger of being lost to Protestants.

The Roman Church was successful in these efforts for many reasons, among which must be included in the following: (1) As state Churches were established in Protestant lands, the Church increasingly came under the dominance of the political arm, and was forced to serve the interests of the state. Thus, Protestant Churches

began to suffer the same kind of fate as the Roman Church had at the hands of a Francis I, or Henry II of France. (2) The early evangelical enthusiasm declined, partly because of political involvements, and partly because enthusiasm cannot be maintained at a high level for long. (3) A controversial spirit arose among Protestants, state-church people against dissenters, and divisiveness among members of the dominant group. (4) The papacy had the advantage of a thoroughly organized system. (5) The papacy was supported by Roman peoples, among whom there was little reformation. (6) The Roman Church learned from the Reformation, and set its house in order somewhat.

There were at least four aspects to the Counter Reformation. The first of these was the Council of Trent. During Luther's ministry, there was constant agitation for and promise of a Council to deal with the issues that the Reformation had raised. The Council of Trent was that Council. It met in a total of twenty five sessions, under three popes, from 1545 to 1563. The majority of participants came from Italy, Spain, France, and Germany. The Council decided a host of issues, including the validity of the seven sacraments, in bestowing merit on the believer, and the necessity of some of them for salvation; the value of tradition as a basis of authority alongside the Bible; the canonicity of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament; the existence of purgatory; the value of images, relics, indulgences, and invocation of saints; and the importance of confession to a priest. It also defined more specifically the sacrificial aspects of the mass, and decided that only the bread should be distributed to the laity. The Council's work constituted a statement of faith by which a true Roman Catholic could determine his Orthodoxy. No such comprehensive statement existed before. If it had, perhaps the force of the Reformation would have been blunted in some places.

The Inquisition was another feature of the Counter Reformation. The medieval Inquisition, discussed earlier, was revived during the Sixteenth century, especially in Italy and Spain and her dependencies. Though the Netherlands were subjected to a terrible persecution, Protestantism triumphed there. But in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium the Inquisition was fairly successful in extirpating the effects of the Reformation.

The Jesuits (Society of Jesus), were the third aspect of the Counter Reformation. Founded in Paris in 1534, by Ignatius of Loyola (but officially recognized by Pope Paul III in 1540), the order demanded slavish obedience of all its members for the furtherance of the interests of the Roman Church. They were absolutely unscrupulous in their methods, holding that it was permissible even to do evil if good might come of it. The Inquisition could win back individuals where the Reformation had slight effect. In other areas, the Jesuits set up schools to convert the minds of the populace, sought to infiltrate governmental office, or used every means fair or foul to advance the cause of the Church. Their power became so great, and their methods so immoral, that the order was suppressed by the papacy from 1773 to 1814, as a result of appeals from various governments.

It should be noted, however, that when Ignatius began his spiritual odyssey in 1521, and when he later launched the Society of Jesus, a counter attack against the Reformation was not in view. He himself was characterized by a missionary zeal, and especially by a desire to convert Muslims. The three major goals of the Jesuits were, to convert pagans, combat heresy, and promote education. Military features of the order derive from the fact that Ignatius, had been a soldier before he decided to devote his life to the Church.

A fourth aspect of the Counter Reformation, was a new and vigorous kind of spirituality that bloomed in a remarkable series of writings and movements. Some little Spiritual books from this movement, such as the "Imitation of Christ," and the "Spiritual Exercises," have received proper attention, but many have not. This new kind of devout life was characterized by a systematized examination of conscience, prayer, contemplation, and Spiritual direction. Its roots lay deep in the Middle Ages, with such groups as the Carthusians, who put special emphasis on the contemplative life, and the practice of spiritual exercise. The "Devotio Moderna," which made its appearance in the Low Countries during the fourteenth century, gave the movement greater impetus, and was at the background of the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life. In the same contest fits the Italian Oratory of Divine Love. One can go on and on listing sixteenth

century Italian or Spanish masters of Spiritual cultivation. For instance, there is the Italian Dominican Carioni, the Theatine Scupoli, the Spanish Dominican de Granada, and the writer de Cisneros. This magnificent and massive development deserves extensive new exploration for the benefit of contemporary lay movements. Though some of the developments noted here date earlier than the sixteenth century, it seems proper to include them. As noted above, there were signs of new life in Roman Catholicism before Martin Luther's attacks. Probably it is better to speak of a Roman Catholic Reformation than merely a Counter Reformation.

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

The Reformation period closed with a bloodbath that is known as the Thirty Years War. This conflict was really a combination of three antagonisms wrapped into one: Protestants versus Roman Catholics in Germany, emperor versus princes in the Holy Roman Empire, and France versus the Hapsburgs for the domination of Europe. The ambitions of other princes and states became the involved; for example, Sweden and Brandenburg-Prussia.

The war is normally divided into four phases, with slightly varying dates and titles given to each:

1. Bohemian (1618-1623): At the background of this struggle is the fact that only Lutheranism had been recognized at the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, and Calvinism had rapidly advanced in the empire subsequently. In 1618, the Bohemians refused to recognize the newly elected Roman Catholic emperor, Ferdinand II, and elected Frederick V of the Palatinate of Germany, a Calvinist, as their king. This could only lead to open warfare. The imperial and Roman Catholic forces were victorious and crushed Protestantism in Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, and the Palatinate and engaged in a ruthless policy of reconversion and confiscation of Protestant property.

2. Danish (1623-1629): Christian IV, of Denmark entered the struggle with English subsidies. Imperial and Roman Catholic forces were again victorious, and Protestantism in central Europe lay virtually prostrate.

3. Swedish (1630-1634): German princes, fearing the increasing power of the emperor, became involved in a squabble that weakened the imperial and Roman Catholic cause. At that point, the great Gustavus Adolphus, "Lion of the North," landed an army in Germany. Evidently, he believed he was fighting for the sake of the Gospel, but he was at least equally interested in expanding the Swedish empire. For that reason, some German Protestant princes were reluctant to join forces with him. Cardinal Richelieu of France (virtual prime minister), sought to use Gustavus' successes to weaken the power of the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs to the benefit of France and provided the Swedes with French subsidies.. Gustavus won major victories, but was killed in battle in 1632; his army continued to fight.

4. International (1635-1648): The last phase of the war was a struggle for advantage by German states and foreign powers. Armies crossed and recrossed Germany, creating havoc and destruction. Finally, after years of negotiations, the Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648. Calvinism was recognized as a legal religion along with Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism. Each prince of the empire was permitted to determine the religion of his state, according to the status of 1624. The Holy Roman Empire was further weakened by allowing the three hundred German political entities local autonomy. Holland and Switzerland officially won independence. Sweden gained holdings in Germany. Brandenburg-Prussia expanded her territory. France won Alsace and Lorraine from the Holy Roman Empire, which fact raises a hint of further international conflict. Europe was now officially divided religiously. England, Scotland, Holland, Scandinavia, part of Germany, and part of Switzerland had established Protestant Churches. The Roman Church retained its hold everywhere else. Though Richelieu had restricted Huguenot power and freedom in France, that significant minority clung to a degree of toleration for a few more decades.

In reply to those who criticize Christianity for the many wars it presumably fought during the Reformation period, it must be observed that in every case the political, economic, and social considerations were often as important as the religious. Much of the time, there was no clear cut struggle between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Let it be remembered that both Protestants and Roman Catholics, were found in the armies that opposed Mary, Queen of Scots. The Reformer Henry of Navarre, was supported in his bid for the throne of France both by Protestants and Roman Catholics. During much of the Thirty Years War, Roman Catholic France was allied with Protestant Sweden.

#####