Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years

By MacCulloch, Diarmaid, 2009

Introduction

- Draws on two ancient cultural wellsprings, Greece and Israel.
- Supreme deity emerged from Greek philosophy in Plato: all-perfect, therefore immune to change and devoid of the passion
- The first generations of Christians were Jews who lived in a world shaped by Greek elite culture.
- Grappled with how to talk of the divine and human natures of Jesus Christ
- Newly invented form of written text, the codex (the modern book format).
- The author describes himself as a candid friend of Christianity. "I still appreciate the seriousness which a religious mentality brings to the mystery and misery of human existence, and I appreciate the solemnity of religious liturgy as a way of confronting these problems."
- Living with the puzzle of wondering how something so apparently crazy can be so captivating to millions of other members of my species.

Part I: A Millennium of Beginnings (1000 BCE–100 CE)

Greece and Rome (c. 1000 BCE – 100 CE)

- A tangle of Greek and Jewish ideas underlies Christianity (e.g., *logos* and *Christos)*

- Greeks made religion central to their identity
  – Strong cultural influence - many ideas incorporated into Christianity.

- Greek writing – the language of early Christian texts – inherited from Phoenicians

- Greek origins and identity
  – Hill-city of Mycenae - southern Greece (Peloponnese) - mysteriously collapsed c. 1200 BCE - celebrated by Homer, as much as 400 yrs. Later
  – Homerian epics, (8th or 7th century BCE) - central to a sense of being Greek.
  – Strong sense of common identity - Hellas ('Greekdom').
  – Lived in small city-states - common language - common knowledge of Homer's epics – shared religious sites, temples and ceremonies
  – Non-Greeks - *barbaroi*, speakers of languages which sounded as meaningless as a baby's 'ba-ba' babble

- Greeks - religion central to their identity
  – Competitive games at Olympia held to honor their chief god, Zeus
  – Temples rather than palaces dominated the Greek landscape, e.g., the Parthenon of the goddess Pallas Athene, and shrines to a particular god.
  – Delphi - shrine and oracle of the god Apollo, whose prophetess, dizzy and raving on volcanic fumes rising from a rock fissure, chanted riddles which any Greek might turn into guidance on worries private or public.

- Greek gods
  – Greek gods were often a disruptive force in human lives; they are petty, passionate, competitive, very much like the Greeks themselves.
  – Both gods and humans could both embody abstract qualities. Their fascination with the human form in their sculpture shows us this tendency.
  – The Greek gods are rather human and humans may also be like gods. Resourcefulness and originality - borrowed by Christian culture, and the attitude to the gods embedded in the epics.
  – Greek religion was a set of stories belonging to the entire community. Priests were not seen as a caste apart but as people doing a task on behalf of the whole community
  – The poet Hesiod (same era as Homer) created the epic, Theogony. - created the notion of allegory, a story conveying deeper meaning.

Greece and Rome (c. 1000 BCE – 100 CE

- Greek Philosophy
  - All-encompassing – obsessed with questioning, classifying and speculating
  - Alphabetic script - easier to convey abstract ideas than with pictorial
- Greek Community - the *polis* - tiny independent communities
  - The nature of the polis encouraged the remarkable contributions Greeks have made to society
  - Included the surrounding mountains, fields, woods, shrines, up to its frontiers
  - The polis is the collective mind of the community who made it up
  - The polis was the assembly of citizens of the polis who met to make decisions. (*Ekklēsia*)
  - Eventually, Macedonia and then Rome swallowed up the freedom of these poleis. Nevertheless, more than a millennium after Homer's time, the life of the Greek polis still represented an ideal and remained influential
- 'Archaic Greece' (roughly 800– 500 BCE) - ruled by groups of noblemen –
  - moved steadily towards a more divided society
  - Increase of debt slavery - undermined cities ability to defend themselves with armies of free inhabitants
- Increasing strife was solved through installing a *tyrannos* - an individual charged with restoring stability, power. This word "tyrant" did not originally imply the current sinister connotation for this term - described a ruler who could not appeal to any traditional legitimacy
  - If a *tyrannos* was to exercise authority without any traditional or religious justification, there would have to be some other basis for government.
  - Inhabitants of the polis who had acquiesced in the upheaval would now have to decide on laws with which their community would be governed. This imparted tremendous responsibility to the members of the poleis. The power not coming from divine authority but from the community.
  - Athens - most centrally positioned, dramatically sited and flamboyant of Greek cities - 510 BCE, two years of civil war after the overthrow of a tyrannos, Athens established a democracy.
    - Prior to this is considered Archaic Greece – after, it is Classical Greece.
    - Launched two centuries of extraordinary achievement. Large numbers of people, not endowed by birth or divine power, were charged with tremendous responsibility for the future of the community.
    - This is why the Greeks searched for meaning in cosmos and society with unparalleled intensity –why they were more inclined than others to detach that search from structures of traditional religion.
- Philosophers involved themselves intimately with debate about society. E.g., Socrates (469-399 BCE), Plato (428-348 BCE) and Aristotle (384-322 BCE)

Greece and Rome (c. 1000 BCE – 100 CE)

- Thus, when Christianity arose, in its efforts to sort out questions about faith and morals, it was natural to be heavily influenced by Greek thought which dominated the classical world around it.

- A strong tendency to give priority to rational thought permeates Christian tradition through this Socratic principle.

- Plato's influence was to look beyond the immediate in everyday life to the universal or ultimate. His allegory of the cave that our lives are but shadows of ideal Forms. And it is through the intellect, which is the path to the forms that we may find arête – excellence or virtue.

- Plato's influence also in defining what God's nature encompasses – oneness and goodness. The "demiurge" described in Timaeus gives way to a creation in which the hierarchy of emanations extends away from the divine.

- Aristotle sought for reality in individual and observable objects.

Israel (c. 1000 BCE– 100 CE)

- Patriarchs, beginning with Abram, from Ur (now Iraq) and receiving a repeated promise from God that his descendants will receive the land
- References to the Patriarchs start to appear abundantly in material which is of sixth-century or later date. They developed a need at that time to tell stories of the ancestral patriarchs.
  - The promises of land to the Patriarchs would have been made in a period around 1800 BCE.
  - Altogether, the chronology of the Book of Genesis simply does not add up as a historical narrative when it is placed in a reliably historical wider context.
- The relationship of God with Israel (Jacob's grandson) is intense, personal, conflicted.
  - All-night wrestling match with a mysterious stranger who overcomes him and gives him a new name, Israel, meaning 'He who strives with God'.
- The Hebrews and the settlement of Canaan
  - The settlement of Aramaeans in areas reasonably close to the land of Canaan/ Israel/ Palestine was a gradual process,
- The Book of Judges at last provides stories which begin to sit more robustly and extensively amid conventional historical and archaeological evidence, and that evidence fits into the period 1200– 1050 BCE. The Israel revealed in this biblical text is not yet a monarchy but a confederation of peoples ruled by 'Judges', leaders in peace and war who are portrayed as being individually chosen by God, but who do not rule in hereditary succession.
- Hebrew Nomads
  - writer of Judges is much concerned with a threat to the Children of Israel from one of these peoples, the Philistines.
  - 'Israel' is not conceived of as a place but as a people.
  - conclude that 'Israel' was then known as a people of farmers perhaps scattered throughout the wider territory of Canaan, 'Hebrews'
  - they seem to concern a social rather than an ethnic grouping, and their context invariably suggests people who were uprooted
  - Marginalized: nomads, semi-nomads, the dispossessed who now began to find ways of settling down and building new lives. they constructed a new identity,
  - natural for the worshippers of this God to begin a long process of refashioning a patchwork of ancient stories from their varied previous homes into a plausible single story of common ancestors,

Israel (c. 1000 BCE– 100 CE)

- The 1000 years between David and Jesus Christ the 'Son of David' are also effectively the first millennium of Christian history
    - Key notions arise that shape Christian thinking and imagery
- Circumstances of Israel changed dramatically in the 11th century BCE
    - A judge and successful military campaigner, Saul, took on the trappings of monarchy familiar in other contemporary kingdoms
- David - greatly extended the power of the kingdom and seized for the first time for Israel the strategically important city of Jerusalem
    - Relocating cultic symbol of Yahweh - sacred wooden chest known as the Ark of the Covenant
- Solomon (c. 970– c. 930 BCE) - long reign - Israel reaches its greatest extent
- Solomon's empire quickly split on his death into two kingdoms, southern Judah and northern Israel, whose union had even in David's time appeared fragile;
- While Judah kept the Solomonic capital of Jerusalem with its Temple, the kings of Israel had to retreat to the northern city of Samaria. With their control of the strategic pass of Megiddo, they were more exposed to the commerce and activities of great powers to the south and north, so they were **more cosmopolitan** and more inclined to take an interest in other cultures and religions than were the **rather introverted rulers of Judah, who resentfully guarded their Jerusalem Temple for Yahweh**.
- Judah stands alone
    - Israel (up north) suffered frontal assault and destruction by the Assyrians around 722 BCE
    - thousands of its people were exiled and its political organization disappeared for ever
- once more Palestine/ Israel had become the object of land-grabbing by external powers and, apart from the century-long interlude of the Hasmonean regime from 167 BCE
- 8th Century prophets
    - in Greek, prophēteia means the gift of interpreting the will of the gods. - The prophets' primary job was to talk about the present, not the future,
    - In one of Elijah's clashes with Ahab and Jezebel, Yahweh ended a long drought, showing that Elijah's God could see off any fertility god if he chose.
    - the eighth-century prophets understood the international situation, with its constant threats of annihilation by Assyrian military might - perceived that the only thing which could save their people from annihilation was obedience to Yahweh for which Elijah and his fellow prophets had fought in previous century.

Israel (c. 1000 BCE– 100 CE)

- After the destruction of the northern kingdom, the people of Judah brooded on the catastrophe and on how to defend what was left. Their fierce debate about the future was played out in an appeal to the past – in fact, a large-scale reinterpretation and invention of the past. They used the Babylonian captivity to reinforce the obedience to Yahweh. The nation had been punished for disobedience.

- Around 640 BCE killed King Amon of Judah and installed his young son Josiah as a puppet ruler. As the boy grew up, his energy and zeal were harnessed to push forward a reform program which, in the way of such innovations in the ancient world, was presented as the rediscovery of a venerable document: a code of law, attributed to Moses himself.

- the law code is to be found in the Pentateuch as the Book of Deuteronomy

- There were more laws to come in a period much later than Josiah's reign, but they were likewise back-projected to the time of Moses.

- This remarkable program - given practical expression in the gleeful destruction of cultic objects and of any sacred places within Judah which might rival the Jerusalem Temple

- Babylonian Exile – Babylonian alliance sacked the Assyrian capital, Nineveh, in 612 BCE. Not long after, Judah found itself overwhelmed by Babylonian armies. Around **586 BCE the Babylonians sacked the already shattered city, destroyed the Temple** and carried off many people from Judah to exile in Babylon.

- Exiles were not allowed to return until Babylon itself was conquered by the Persian ruler Cyrus in 539. Not all Jews did go home then, and many formed a community in Babylon

- **Rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem; it was reconsecrated in 516 BCE**.
    - Thanks to the generous spirit of the new conqueror Cyrus and his successors. So the Temple and its priesthood became the absolute centre of Jewish identity,
    - 'Second Temple' period. Their preoccupations and the results of their new experiences went on permanently to colour Jewish religion.

- Here's the key: Now they had the catastrophe of the Babylonian captivity to ram home the point that Yahweh wanted obedience to his law and had severely punished the nation for not providing that obedience.

Israel (c. 1000 BCE– 100 CE)

- Like its daughter religion, Christianity, Judaism has often fostered the idea that it has an exclusive approach to the divine. But there was a universal focus in Judaism.

- One could then be accepted as a convert (' proselyte', from a Greek word meaning 'stranger' or 'foreigner living in the land'). It was enough to accept the story which Judaism told: so in theory, Judaism could become a universal religion.

- Seleucid overlord, King Antiochos IV (who boastfully called himself Epiphanēs or 'Manifestation'), tried to force Greek customs on to the Jews and attacked the religious life centred on the Temple in Jerusalem. From 167 BCE the Jews rebelled against him, first under the leadership of Judas Maccabeus.

- Did succeed in winning independence for Judaea under a dynasty of native rulers, known from an earlier ancestor as the Hasmoneans.

- It is at this period that Jews were first described by the Greek Ioudaios, a word which could be applied to all Jewish people who looked to the life of the Jerusalem Temple,

- This was not just education for an elite, as was the case in Greek society, but education for everyone in the Jewish community;

- The life of the synagogue and the assumptions of a well-instructed, well-ordered and uniformly observant community that it fostered furnished an attractive and distinctive model which Christianity later readily imitated as it developed its own separate institutions.

- The whole collection of authorized and privileged texts came to be known by a Hebrew word, Tanakh.

- a number of books, twenty-four in all, came to be recognized as having a special status.

- gave them the description 'apocrypha' (' hidden things').

- By the time of Jesus there may have been a million Jews there, the largest single community of Jews outside Palestine,

- it became known as the Septuagint, from the Latin word for seventy. This was a reference to the seventy-two translators who, legend said, had produced it in seventy-two days,

Israel (c. 1000 BCE– 100 CE)

- Philo's allegorical method – the people at the time even recognized that religious truth is mediated through images, symbols and archetypes
- Greek influence on Judaism
  - Greek discussion of nothingness helped to change Jewish views on beginnings
  - The most readily available vocabulary and central concept was actually Greek and had been particularly developed by Plato: he talked of individual humans as having a soul, which might reflect a divine force beyond itself.
- 'Inter-Testamental literature' dating after the closure of the Tanakh,
- Romans Invade Judaea 63 BC
  - Romans invaded Judaea in 63 BCE as part of their mopping-up operations around the conquest of their real prizes, the Seleucid and Egyptian empires.
  - 37 BCE the Romans displaced the last Hasmonean ruler and replaced him with a relative by marriage, who reigned for more than three decades. This puppet king, an outsider whose forebears came from the territory to the south of Judaea which the Romans called Idumea (Edom), was Herod, 'the Great'.
  - During the first century CE the Romans experimented with a mixture of indirect rule through various members of the Herodian family and direct imperial rule of parts of Palestine through a Roman official – Pontius Pilate was one of these.
- at least four identities for Judaism, Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, Zealots,
- The Sadducees provided the elite which ran the Temple.
- The Jewish sect which became Christianity borrowed the sacred literature created by the Jews and shaped Christian belief in its founder-Messiah along lines already present in the sacred books of the Tanakh.

Part II: One Church, One Faith, One Lord? (4 BCE–451 CE)

3 A Crucified Messiah (4 BCE–100 CE)

- The prophet Micah had foretold that the Jews' Anointed One, the Messiah, would come from Bethlehem in Judaea

- Why, then, were the stories created? One motive for locating the birth in Bethlehem might be precisely to settle the argument noted in John's Gospel about Jesus's status as Messiah of his people Israel.

- But there is much else to these stories, all reflecting the deepening conviction among followers of Christ that this particular birth had profound cosmic importance.

- The conviction of Christians grew that Jesus's mother, Mary, was a virgin

- They are all likely to have been written in the last three decades of the first century, around half a century after Jesus died

- The three Gospels are together known as the 'Synoptic' Gospels to distinguish them from the Gospel of John, which was probably written a decade or two later than they were; the three present the basic story of Jesus in a similar way, quite differently from John's narrative – so they 'see together', the root meaning of the Greek synopsis.

- Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels virtually never calls himself 'Son of God',

- Rather 'Son of Man' may reflect in Greek a phrase in Aramaic (Jesus's everyday language) meaning 'someone like me',

- 'The Lord's Prayer'
    - includes an adjective whose meaning has baffled Christians ever since: 'epiousios',
    - does not mean 'daily', but something like 'of extra substance', or at a stretch 'for the morrow'.
    - If we can assign any meaning to epiousios, it may point to the new time of the coming kingdom: there must be a new provision when God's people are hungry in this new time
    - Jesus's concentration on the imminence of the coming kingdom

- So Jesus was convinced of his special mission to preach a message from God which centered on an imminent transformation of the world, yet he spoke of himself with deliberate irony and ambiguity, and used a delicate humour that is revealed in the content of some of his sayings.

4 Boundaries Defined (50 CE–300)

- Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles,
  - Paul's break with Jesus's first followers in Palestine.
  - Christianity had become a religion for urban commercial centres, for speakers of common Greek who might see the whole Mediterranean as their home
  - No radical challenge to existing social distinctions. The reason was that Paul and his followers assumed that the world was going to come to an end soon and so there was not much point in trying to improve it by radical action.
  - He made notably little reference in his letters to the 'kingdom of God', that concept of a radical turn to world history which had meant so much to Jesus and had accompanied his challenge to so many existing social conventions.
  - wish to keep the new religion's frontiers open in order to make more converts.
  - Paul's acceptance of the secular status quo
  - slaves and women.
  - it followed a strong command to 'be subject to every human institution'.
- Women in Christianity
  - signs that Christians women played a newly active role and official functions in Church life, then gradually moved to a more conventional subordination to male authority.
  - All three evangelists make women the first witnesses to the empty tomb and resurrection of Jesus; this is despite the fact that in Jewish Law women could not be considered as valid witnesses.
  - Mary Magdalene's Resurrection experience can account for a good deal of the subsequent interest in her, but it is also apparent that she became a symbol of resistance to the way in which the authority structures of the Church began to crystallize exclusively in the hands of men.
  - The Gospel of Thomas, resembles the four 'mainstream' Gospels in its content and its likely dating to the late first century, describes a confrontation between Mary Magdalene and the Apostle Peter, in which Jesus intervenes on her behalf to reproach Peter.
  - 'if the Saviour made her worthy, who are you then to reject her?
  - husband the head of his wife: quite a contrast to his proclamation of Christian equality for all.
- he forbids women to speak in worship at all.
- Paul's admirers evidently decided to place increasing emphasis on his hierarchical view of Christian relationships and on his awareness of the scrutiny of Christian communities by non-Christians.
- The Church is worried about its public image and concerned to show that it is not a subversive organization threatening the well-being of society,

4 Boundaries Defined (50 CE–300)

- Once the Christians expanded beyond Palestine, they were meeting cultures very different from that of Judaism, especially within the Graeco-Roman world. Many converts would be people with a decent Greek education; it was only natural for them to understand what was taught them by reference to the thought of Greek philosophers.

- Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, grouped such alternative Christianities together under a common label, talking about gnōstikē hairesis

- Previously we had known of gnosticism through the hostile filter of such biased commentators as Bishop Irenaeus;

- Implicit in most gnostic systems was a distrust of the Jewish account of creation.

- But anyone imbued with a Greek cast of enquiring mind might raise questions about Jewish insistence that God's creation is good: if that is so, why is there so much suffering and misery in the world?

- cosmic Christ of the gnostics can never truly have taken flesh by a human woman, and he can never have felt what fleshly people feel

- His Passion and Resurrection in history were therefore not fleshly events, even if they seemed so; they were heavenly play-acting (the doctrine known as Docetism,

- In fact, the austere, ascetic strain in gnosticism is far more reliably attested than any licentiousness,

- Gnostic hatred of the body

- It is nevertheless the case that gnostics opposed the authority structures then evolving in parts of the Church, particularly in relation to one important issue: martyrdom.

- is positive evidence that gnostics opposed martyrdom as a regrettable self-indulgence and were angry that some Christian leaders encouraged it.

- Small wonder that the Church whose leaders came to regard themselves as successors to the Apostles, and which increasingly celebrated martyrs for Christ, loathed gnostics so much.

- distancing from Judaism,

4 Boundaries Defined (50 CE–300)

- Marcion determined to pull Christianity away from its Jewish roots.
- Marcion found the Tanakh in its Greek form crude and offensive – 'Jewish myths',
- Revulsion against the idea of a God of judgement, the contrast between Law and Gospel, the fascination with Paul and the single-minded search for a core message within the inheritance of sacred writings.
- Gnosticism and Marcionism offered two possible futures for the Jesus cult.
- gnosticism's general hospitality to mixtures of doctrine, Christianity might have drained into the sands of a generalized new religiosity within the Roman Empire if gnostic beliefs had become dominant within it.
- Uniformity and Universalism in the Catholic Church
    - The Christianity which emerged in reaction to these two possibilities adopted the same strategy as Marcion: it sought to define, to create a uniformity of belief and practice, just as contemporary Judaism was doing at the same time in reaction to the disaster of Jerusalem's fall.
    - a universal version of Christianity which had taken up Paul's mission to the Gentiles and combined it with much of the rhetoric and terminology of ancient Israel to express its wider unity.
    - From an ordinary Greek adjective for 'general', 'whole' or 'universal', katholikos/ ē, there developed a term of great resonance for Christianity,
    - Christians have never since abandoned their rhetoric of unity, despite their general inability to sustain it at any stage in the reality of history.
    - three main tools to build a 'Catholic' faith: developing an agreed list of authoritative sacred texts (a 'canon' of scripture, from the Greek for 'straight rod' or 'rule'); forming creeds; embodying authority in ministers set aside for the purpose.
    - 'New Testament' books which would be familiar to modern Christians was made in the middle of the second century, but that is not the same as saying that it was universally accepted by Christians straight away.
- knowledge of God was found both in scripture and in such achievements of the human intellect as the writings of Aristotle and Plato:
- stress the Christian progress in holiness that he saw each individual's journey as continuing after physical death:
- flowered into the complex family of ideas about the afterlife which the medieval Western Church called Purgatory

4 Boundaries Defined (50 CE–300)

- Origen succeeded Clement in the Christian school of Alexandria:
    - Origen acted as a one-man academic task force in various theological rows throughout the eastern Mediterranean. We
    - followed Clement's line that what really mattered in the Christian life was the pursuit of knowledge.
    - the crown of his biblical labours, the Hexapla. This was a sixfold transcription of the Tanakh in six different columns side by side, apparently beginning with the Hebrew text and a transliteration of it into Greek alongside four variant Greek translations, including the Septuagint.
    - one of Christianity's first works of scholarship
    - He affected to despise Greek thought, unlike his master Clement, but in reality he was just as voracious a consumer of its heritage;
    - That meant that when he read the Bible, he shared Greek or Hellenistic Jewish scepticism that some parts of it bore much significant literal meaning.
    - 'allegorical' method
    - he grappled with the old Platonic problem of how a passionless, indivisible, changeless supreme God communicates with this transitory world. For Origen as for Justin, the bridge was the Logos,
    - It is thus our duty to use our free will to remedy the mistake which we had made in this fall (the reality of which was allegorized in the story of Adam and Eve).
    - All will be saved, since all come from God. 99
    - By rejecting it, Christianity was committing itself to the idea that God has made eternal choices, separating all people into the saved and the damned
- The advantage of credal statements was that almost anyone was capable of learning them quickly to standardize belief and put up barriers against speculation

4 Boundaries Defined (50 CE–300)

- The second century saw a marked increase in the authority and coherence of the Church's ordained ministry. By 200 CE there was a mainstream Catholic Church which took for granted the existence of a threefold ministry of bishop, priest and deacon, and there would be few challenges to this pattern for the next thirteen hundred years.
- Church organization
    - The leadership in Jerusalem under James had a group of elders as well: the Greek is presbyteroi, which would descend into the English 'priests',
    - This was probably inevitable as the Church began to settle down around local centres which had their own traditions and way of life, and as wandering teachers with dangerous charisma brought with them the sort of variety of belief and teaching which one finds in the gnostic literature.
    - Church took its cue from Paul in talking a great deal about 'tradition', continuity.
    - succession is the only way of making sure that doctrine remains the same in Corinth and in Rome and throughout the whole Church.
    - the elevation of one leading bishop figure above other presbyters was virtually complete by the end of the second century.
    - The advantages of a monarchical leadership were clear: it was much more straightforward for one person to act as a focus for the Church
    - episcopal leaders of certain cities stood out as especial figures of authority, what would later be called patriarchs:
- In early centuries Peter and Paul were given more or less equal veneration in Rome, and in early Christian art they were commonly paired together, but in Rome manifestly the balance has now drastically shifted towards Peter.
- reflects Paul's preoccupations, which had brought him into serious conflict with his fellow Apostle Peter
- The fading of Paul from popular devotional consciousness and from much share in the charisma of Rome is one of the great puzzles of Christian history, but it is obvious that part of the answer to the puzzle lies in a vast expansion of the power and prestige of the Bishops of Rome.
- The switch to Latin in Christian Rome may have been made by one of the bishops at the end of the century,

4 Boundaries Defined (50 CE–300)

- Gnosticism and Montanism
  - Montanus announcements that he had new revelations from the Holy Spirit to add to the Christian message.
  - By what right did this man with no commission, in no apostolic succession, speak new truths of the faith and sweep crowds along with him in his excitement?
  - accompanied by female prophetesses who spoke in states of ecstasy. The position of women leadership in the Church had steadily diminished over the previous century, and this combination of female assertiveness and prophecy seemed dangerously reminiscent of the ancient cultic female seers
  - In their Phrygian homeland, Montanists persisted until at least the 6th century.
  - their enthusiasm contrasted sharply with the Catholic Church's general abandonment of Paul's original conviction that the Lord Christ would soon be returning.
- Gnosticism and Montanism thus both had a marked effect on the Church, causing it to shut doors on all sorts of possibilities for new Christian identities.
  - halt Christianity's march away from its Jewish roots,
  - Church vigorously reaffirmed the worth of what it called the Old Testament
  - That left large questions about the relationship of the Catholic Church to Greek and Roman high culture,
  - new peak of literary creativity and self-conscious pride in the Greek cultural past, conventionally now called the 'Second Sophistic'. It was not surprising that thoughtful Christians who listened to the self-confident voices which dominated cultured conversations in the world around them went on to find ways of drawing on the best of this culture for their own purposes.
- A series of Christians tackled these questions during the second century, without closing them down. Christianity has never ceased to debate the relationship between truth revealed from God in sacred text and the restless exploration of truth by human reason, which on a Christian account is itself a gift of God.
- Nevertheless all of them except Tertullian thought and wrote in Greek, the common currency of the Church throughout the Mediterranean, even in the Latin-speaking West, an indication that Western Christianity was still largely dominated by an urban population maintaining links with the Greek East.
- Justin

4 Boundaries Defined (50 CE–300)

- Opened a dialogue with the culture around them in order to show that Christianity was superior to the elite wisdom of the age.
  - explain the mysterious relationship of Jesus Christ to God the Father in terms which would make sense to intelligent Greeks puzzled by Christian claims.
  - (Logos),
  - Logos as a mediator between them.
- Tertullian is the first known major Christian theologian who thought and wrote in Latin.
  - Tertullian suggested that the human soul is transmitted by parents to their children and is therefore inescapably associated with continuing human sin: this doctrine of 'traducianism'
  - homoousios, meaning 'of one substance', which could be applied to the intimate and direct relationship of Father and Son.
- Among Alexandrian theologians there developed the closest relationship with Greek philosophy
- Jews, Greeks and Egyptians had lived side by side in Alexandria for centuries; it was natural that gnosticism should flourish here

5 The Prince: Ally or Enemy? (100–300)

- Clement
  - About 190, Clement, a much-travelled scholarly Christian convert,
  - he regarded knowledge not merely as a useful intellectual tool of analysis for a Christian but as the door to a higher form of Christian spiritual life.
  - knowledge of God was found both in scripture and in such achievements of the human intellect as the writings of Aristotle and Plato:
  - stress the Christian progress in holiness that he saw each individual's journey as continuing after physical death:
  - flowered into the complex family of ideas about the afterlife which the medieval Western Church called Purgatory
- Origen succeeded Clement in the Christian school of Alexandria:
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  - All will be saved, since all come from God.
  - By rejecting it, Christianity was committing itself to the idea that God has made eternal choices, separating all people into the saved and the damned

6 The Imperial Church (300–451

- Diocletian and the Tetrarchy
  - In 293 Diocletian had instituted a team of four emperors under his leadership (the 'Tetrarchy'), with a senior and a junior emperor in east and west, in the hope that it would make the empire more manageable and stable;
  - in fact, after he retired in 305, he had to watch the Tetrarchy trigger further civil war.
- Constantine
  - in 312 Constantine led his army to face the army of his rival, Maxentius, at the Milvian Bridge, which crossed the River Tiber and was barring his passage into Rome.
  - His troops bore on their shields a new Christian symbol: the Chi Rho ,
  - The following year, Constantine and the Eastern emperor, Licinius, his ally for the time being, made a joint declaration at Milan proclaiming equal toleration for Christians and non-Christians,
  - Licinius's defeat and murder in 324 ended any immediate possibility of a new violent assault on the Church. The crisis which had begun in 303 with Diocletian's persecution was now decisively resolved.
  - Which version of Christian doctrine was to capture the allegiance of the rulers of the world in the West and in Constantinople.
  - Constantine's religious experience was like nothing which would today be recognized as a conversion.
  - For Constantine, this God was not gentle Jesus meek and mild, commanding that enemies should be loved and forgiven seventy times seven; he was a God of Battles.
  - lavished wealth on it. Christianity could now embark on its long intoxication with architecture,
  - extraordinary expenditure on creating de luxe written texts,
- Chalcedon - Church leaders at Chalcedon in 451,
  - We have already seen mainstream Christianity based on a series of exclusions and narrowing of options: Jewish Christians, gnostics, Montanists, Monarchians were all declared outside the boundaries. Chalcedon was to mark a new stage in this process of exclusion.

6 The Imperial Church (300–451

- Founding of Byzantium
  - imperial patronage was now going to the Christians,
  - founding of a new capital for his empire.
  - superb strategic site at the entrance to the Black Sea and the command of trade routes east and west: Byzantion.
  - the core centres of worship were Christian churches of great magnificence.
  - They were designed like the contemporary temples of non-Christians with specific dedications or commemorations in mind, to concentrate on a particular saint or aspect of the Christian holiness.
- Jerusalem
  - Constantine's vigorous annexation of the Christian past for imperial purposes in Rome and Byzantium also bore fruit in a remarkable enterprise which was a huge boost to the growing Christian urge to visit sacred places: the recreation of a Christian Holy Land centred on Jerusalem.
  - the eagerness of people seeking an exceptional and guaranteed experience of holiness, healing, comfort – increasingly a self-fulfilling prophecy as the crowds swelled, to the delight of the souvenir traders and night-time entertainment industry in the Holy City.
  - Jerusalem and the spectacularly large Church of the Holy Sepulchre begun by Constantine became host to a liturgical round which sought to take pilgrims on a journey alongside Jesus Christ through the events of his last sufferings in Jerusalem, his crucifixion and resurrection.
  - Boundary is very largely that existing today between Orthodox and Catholic
- The Power of the Church
  - Diocletian, when he split the administration of his empire between east and west, with a dividing line running through central Europe to the west of the Balkans,
  - a technical administrative term which Diocletian had adopted for the twelve subdivisions he created in the empire: 'diocese'.
  - Parochia - sedes, - 'see'.
  - Bishops were becoming more like official magistrates, because their Church was embraced by the power of the empire.
  - word for 'chair', cathedra, previously associated with teachers in higher education,
  - basilica. to lay out its long axis west to east, with an apsidal end at the east to contain the eucharistic table or altar with the bishop's chair behind it. Probably only the present-day liturgy of the Syriac Churches is anything like a form which predates that period
  - In the fourth century the situation changed: the liturgy, like the buildings in which it was celebrated, became more fixed and structured.

6 The Imperial Church (300–451

- Rise of Monasticism
  - The closer the Church came to society, the more obvious were the tensions with some of its founder's messages about the rejection of convention and the abandonment of worldly wealth.
  - Worldly goods, cravings and self-centred personal priorities are to be avoided, so that their accompanying frustrations and failures can be transcended. The assumption is that such transcendence has a goal beyond the human lifespan, the goal which some term God. The movement known as monasticism is a way of structuring this impulse.
  - In its early years, the Christian Church was a small community which found it easy to guard its character as an elite group, proclaiming the Lord's coming again. Later, the gnostic impulse in Christianity encouraged this tendency, pushing Christians in the direction of austerity and self-denial.
  - Underlining the uneasy relationship between monasticism and the mainstream Church, its origins are in the lands from which gnostic Christianity had also emerged:
  - Monastic communities - made at much the same time as the emergence of that new rival to Christianity, Manichaeism, with its ethos of despising physical flesh.
- Pachomius and Egyptian Monasticism
  - Egypt was peculiarly suited to a Christian withdrawal from the world because of its distinctive geography: its narrow strip along the Nile, backed by stretches of desert, means that it is easy to walk out of civilization into wilderness. It was here towards the end of the third century that the monastic movement first securely tied itself into the developed Church of the bishops and left a continuous history in conventional Christian sources,
  - Antony and Pachomius, representatives respectively of two different forms of monastic life, that of the hermit and that of the community.
  - from the Greek for wilderness, erēmos, comes the word 'hermit'.
  - Pachomius's sister is given the credit for founding female communities along similar lines, with a program of manual work and study of scripture.
  - the word monachos (' monk') gained its specialized religious meaning in Greek:
  - simply by his style of life, denied the whole basis on which the Church had come to be organized, the eucharistic community presided over by the bishop.
  - Egyptian hermits and monks became famous for their self-denial, vying like athletes in such exercises for God's glory

6 The Imperial Church (300–451

- Tradition of the Holy Fool.
  - Simeon, who came to be known in Syrian as Salus (' foolish'). Simeon outdid Diogenes in active rudeness:
  - His extrovert craziness is an interesting counterpoint or safety valve to the ethos of prayerful silence and traditional solemnity which is so much part of Orthodox identity.
  - Simeon, therefore nicknamed the Stylite (' pillar-dweller').Once established on his column, he reputedly never descended from it before his death.
  - deliberate competition between Egyptian and Syrian monks in striving for holiness demonstrates their consciousness of the wider world; they were far from detached from the life and concerns of the Church.
- recognition being his abandonment of the view of baptism
- Donatist schism
  - Rather than make a judgement for the Christians with the help of the traditional imperial legal system, as the non-Christian Emperor Aurelian had once done before him (see p. 175), he would use the expertise of Church leaders, asking them to bring the matter 'to a fitting conclusion'.
  - Emperor was provoked into ordering troops to enforce their return to the mainstream Church. The first official persecution of Christians by Christians
  - The split was never healed, and it remained a source of weakness in North African Christianity for centuries until the Church there faded away
  - use of councils to resolve Church disputes became firmly established as a mechanism of Church
  - principle persisted that its bishops had a power and jurisdiction independent of the emperors.
  - apparent was that the Catholic Church had become an imperial Church,
- Arius
  - An austere and talented priest there called Arius was concerned to make his presentation of the Christian faith intellectually respectable to his contemporaries.
  - Platonic problem of the nature of God.
  - since the supreme God is one, that Christ must in some respect come after and be other than the Father,
  - Arius's Christ: inferior or subordinate to the Father
  - council's agreed pronouncement: the statement that the Son was 'of one substance' (homoousios) with the Father.
  - He had tried to exercise the sort of independence of mind and as a teacher which had been possible in the Alexandria of Origen's day, but which was becoming dangerous in an age when bishops were seeking to monopolize control of instruction;

6 The Imperial Church (300–451

- Nicaea
  - Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, who allied ruthlessness to an acute theological mind. Athanasius was fixedly determined to defend the doctrinal consensus on the nature of divinity achieved at Nicaea
  - Son is 'like' the Father (from which comes the party's name 'Homoean', from the Greek word homoios for 'like').
  - This statement, an effort to settle the dispute once and for all, was named the Creed of Ariminum
  - come to be sickened by what he regarded as Christianity's absurd claims, and he discreetly developed a deep fascination for Neoplatonism and the worship of the sun;
  - not 'the same in essence' but similar in essence (homoiousios).
  - the Cappadocian Fathers provided a way of speaking about the Trinity which would create a balance between threeness and oneness.
  - The eventual solution to their worries was to take a different Greek word, hypostasis,
  - the Trinity consists of three equal hypostaseis in one ousia: three equal Persons (Father, Son, Holy Spirit) sharing one Essence or Substance (Trinity or Godhead).
  - This first Council of Constantinople saw the formulation of the fully developed creed which is now misleadingly known as the Nicene,
  - all agreed on the outcome: Jesus Christ the Son of God is not created and is equal to the Father in the Trinity.
  - Pneumatomachi - denied the equal status of the Holy Spirit in the Godhead,
- The Council of Constantinople thus radically narrowed the boundaries of acceptable belief in the Church, creating a single imperial Christianity backed up by military force.
- The declaration of Constantine and Licinius at Milan in 313 proclaimed toleration.
- Ruthless action: some of the most beautiful and famous sacred places of antiquity went up in flames,
- Perhaps the most repulsive case was the death in 415 of the Neoplatonist philosopher Hypatia, so well respected for her learning that she had overcome the normal prejudices of men to win pre-eminence in the Alexandrian schools.
- Arian Christianity
  - it flourished – among the 'barbarian' tribes known as the Goths
  - Arianism might well have formed the future of Western Christianity.
  - It may seem baffling now that such apparently rarefied disputes could have aroused the sort of passion

6 The Imperial Church (300–451

- need to remember that ordinary Christians experienced their God through the Church's liturgy and in
- a devotional intensity which seized them in holy places.
- Miaphysite
- Now the argument was about the way in which Christ combined both human and divine natures –
- Antioch
- Alexandria,
- Constantinople,
- Jerusalem
- All these four cities would therefore be jostling for power
- Nestorius aggressively promoted his Antiochene views by attacking a widely popular title of honour for the Virgin Mary: Theotokos, or Bearer of God. Devotion to Mary was now becoming prominent throughout the Roman Empire:
- Chalcedon,
- carefully balanced definition of how to view the mystery of Christ: 'the same perfect in divinity and perfect in humanity, the same truly God and truly man, of a rational soul and a body; consubstantial with the Father as regards his divinity, and the same consubstantial with us as regards his humanity …' This still remains the standard measure for discussion of the person of Christ,
- The Chalcedonian Definition certainly proved to have staying power, unlike the Homoean compromise solution to the Arian dispute at Ariminum in 359, but it still won much less acceptance than the credal formula of Constantinople from 381.
- those who treasure the memory of Cyril and his campaign against Nestorius a label which they still resent: 'Monophysites' (monos and physis = single nature). This latter group of Churches has always been insistent on claiming that title prized among Eastern Churches: 'Orthodox'.
- There is a common assumption among those Christians who are heirs of either Eastern or Western European theology that Chalcedon settled everything, at least for a thousand years. The stories which we are about to follow show how mistaken this is

Part III: Vanishing Futures: East and South (451–1500)

7 Defying Chalcedon: Asia and Africa

- The Miaphysites' power base, Alexandria, was one of the most important cities in the Eastern Empire, essential to the grain supply which kept the population of Constantinople in compliant mood, and Miaphysites continued to have support in the capital itself.

- The emperor's authority in Egypt never fully recovered from this appalling incident: increasingly a majority in the Egyptian Church as well as other strongholds of Miaphysitism denounced Chalcedonian Christians as 'Dyophysites' and sneered at them as 'the emperor's people' – Melchites.

- From now on Egyptian Christianity increasingly worshipped God in the native language of Egypt, Coptic.

- Now Coptic language and distinctive culture were becoming badges of difference from the Greek Christianity of the Church in Constantinople. There was a tendency all round the eastern Mediterranean for 'Melchites' to be concentrated in urban, affluent outposts of Greek society,

- In 410 had come the sack of Rome itself by barbarian armies:

- but in 476 the barbarian rulers who were taking over so much of the former western territories of Rome allowed the last emperor to reign for no more than a few months

- from 482 until 519, Rome and Constantinople were in formal schism

- Byzantine Emperor Zeno and his bishop, Acacius, in the capital backed a formula of reunion (Henotikon) with the Miaphysites:

- In 527 there came to the throne one of the most significant emperors in the history of Byzantium: Justinian, nephew and adopted son of Justin, who was destined to do so much to transform the former Eastern Roman Empire (see pp. 429– 31). He was torn between his wish to preserve the fragile agreement of 519 with Rome and his continuing awareness of Miaphysite partisanship in the East – not least from his energetic and unconventional wife, Theodora, who became an active sympathizer with the Miaphysite cause,

- Christianity eventually spread eastwards through much of what is now Sudan, halfway to the Niger as far as Darfur, and remnants of it survived in one Nubian kingdom into the eighteenth century.

- Armenian Church was so concerned to build up an arsenal of Christian literature to guarantee its own view of orthodoxy that it undertook a sustained programme of translating classic Greek and Syriac theological manuscripts.

- 'Holy God, Holy and Strong, Holy and Immortal, have mercy upon us' – the Trisagion (' Thrice-Holy').

7 Defying Chalcedon: Asia and Africa

- Peter the Fuller, a late-fifth-century Miaphysite monk from Constantinople, made the latter assumption. That led him to express his theology in liturgical form by adding to the Trisagion the phrase 'crucified for us'
- so every congregation in the Armenian Church continues in this solemn prayer to affirm the intimacy of relationship of divine and human in Christ.
- With Peter the Fuller's phrase in mind, devotion, literature and art in both Armenia and Georgia assigned a special significance to the Cross.
- The most remarkable and exotic triumph of the Miaphysite cause around the Byzantine Empire was far to the south even beyond Nubia, in Ethiopia.
- Frumentius, who is credited with converting Ezana, the Negus (king or emperor) of the powerful northern Ethiopian state of Aksum.
- Ezana was responsible for beginning a tradition of monumental religious sculpture in the city of Aksum
- monolithic stelae
- biggest single stones ever quarried in the ancient world.
- King Ezana may have renounced traditional gods, but the worship of the Church over which he first presided has remained unique and unmistakably African in character.
- much of the liturgy is conducted in the open air, accompanied by a variety of drums and percussive and stringed instruments, and with the principal clergy and musicians shaded from the weather by elaborately decorated umbrellas.
- this Church, which derived its fragile link to the wider episcopal succession via Alexandria, followed the Egyptian Church into the Miaphysite camp.
- täwahedo, 'union' of humanity and divinity in the Saviour who took flesh.
- Ethiopia's Semitic links are also apparent in the unique fascination with Judaism which has developed in its Christianity. This is reminiscent of the distinctively close relationship with Judaism in early Syriac Christianity
- honours the Jewish Sabbath, practises circumcision (female as well as male, unlike the Jews), and makes its members obey Jewish dietary laws.
- foundational work of Ethiopian literature, the Kebra Nagast, the 'Book of the Glory of Kings'.
- sets out the origins of the Ethiopian monarchy in the union of King Solomon of Israel and the Queen of Sheba, that legendary ruler of a Yemeni kingdom
- the first Ethiopian king, brought the Ark, or tabot, back to Ethiopia,

7 Defying Chalcedon: Asia and Africa

- This might have become the future of the Arabian peninsula, had it not been for a major disaster of engineering: in the 570s, the ancient and famous Marib dam, on which the agricultural prosperity of the region depended, and which had undergone thorough repair under King Abraha, nevertheless suffered a catastrophic failure.

- The scholars of Nisibis did not have a monopoly of Christian higher education; the most important other centre was far to the south, in the settler city of Gondeshapur.

- how little Arabian Christians were inclined to identify with the imperial Church of Chalcedon: they set their sights on Semitic versions of the faith.

- By the sixth century, therefore, the Church of the East was fully established, both in its independence of any bishop in the Byzantine Empire and in its firm adherence to the theology condemned at Chalcedon.

- its spiritual life was sustained by a rapid expansion of monastic life.

- natural articulacy and propensity for salesmanship which made Syrian merchants so successful across Asia. During the fourth and fifth centuries the east Syrians reached out beyond the Sassanian Empire and established Christian outposts among the peoples of Central Asia,

- the Church of the East remained united by adhering to its Syrian roots, displaying the vigorous individuality which Syriac Christianity had exhibited from its earliest years.

- human beings could do their best to imitate the holiness of Christ. Such belief did lead monks in the Syrian tradition into their extraordinary self-punishments to achieve such imitation, but it also represents an optimistic pole of the Christian spectrum of beliefs in human worth, potential and capacity, because if Jesus had a whole human nature, it must by definition be good, and logically all human nature began by being good,

- the monk John of Dalyatha, the Syriac emphasis on bodily penance was pressed to an extreme as forming a road back to the original purity of human nature. John proclaimed that through humility and contemplation (especially while prostrate), a monk could unite his purged nature not simply with all creation, but also with his creator, to achieve a vision of the glory of God himself:

- Yet the common Syriac language of the Church was a source of weakness as well as of strength and stability.

8 Islam: The Great Realignment (622–1500)

- Muhammad's revelations of words from God only began for him in middle age, in 610, while he was on one of his regular expeditions to a cave outside Mecca,
- As revelations continued, he would dictate the words he had heard to an ever-growing body of disciples,
- At first they were a beleaguered group suffering oppression and expulsion – their moment of withdrawal (' Hijra') from Mecca to Yathrib (Medina) in 622 CE has become the basis of Islamic dating.
- Muslim sources have often ascribed the Qur'an's power to its exceptional beauty in the Arabic language,
- representation of the divine in pictures, since the divine beauty is already represented in the words of the Qur'an.
- The Qur'an is strikingly preoccupied with the two monotheisms which Muhammad had known from his boyhood, Judaism and Christianity. He was concerned to proclaim a new unity of religion through 'the God' (al-ilah, subsequently abbreviated as Allah)
- His theme of oneness is a clear contrast with the Christian quarrels about the nature of Christ which Chalcedon had failed to heal.
- God and his messengers and do not speak of a "Trinity" … God is only one God, He is far above having a Son.'
- initial mission as a resolve to restore a monotheism concentrated on the Jerusalem Temple, which Christians had compromised.
- even though his own career had been full of conflict, in which Muhammad had been a much more aggressive participant than had Jesus when facing violence in his own ministry.
- The result was one of the most rapid shifts of power in history. 11 Between 634 and 637,
- Jerusalem, the city fell to Muslim forces after a year's siege;
- The function of this 'Dome of the Rock' seems originally to have been to mark the victory of Muhammad's revelation over Christianity, by creating a building which would be as impressive as anything that Christianity had put up –
- the city of Constantinople was now the goal of what seemed an unstoppable programme of conquest.
- Poitiers in 732 or 733. The two Christian victories at Constantinople and in France between them preserved a Europe in which Christianity remained dominant, and as a result the centre of energy and unfettered development and change in the Christian world decisively shifted west from its old Eastern centres.
- Muhammad's deathbed commands and set about eliminating Christianity from the peninsula.
- The conquerors thus remained a military and governing elite, aloof from their conquered populations,
- Some of the Umayyads found themselves charmed by the cultures which they had conquered,
- Baghdad became the setting for a new institution of higher learning which, from its foundation in 832, came to outshine the schools of Nisibis and Gondeshapur.
- Taoism, after all, had a vision of the original goodness of human nature which was congenial to Dyophysites emphasizing the whole humanity of Christ's separate human nature alongside his divinity

Part IV: The Unpredictable Rise of Rome (300–1300)

9 The Making of Latin Christianity (300–500)

- first pope to use the distant language favoured by the imperial bureaucracy in his correspondence.
- it was in Damasus's time that Peter came to be regarded not merely as the founder of the Christian Church in Rome, but also as its first bishop.
- In 382 he persuaded his secretary, a brilliant but quarrelsome scholar called Jerome, to begin a new translation of the Bible from Greek into Latin,
- This Vulgate version (from the Latin vulgata, meaning 'generally known' or 'common'),
- Damasus and his new breed of establishment Christians. They wanted to annex the glories of ancient Rome,
- A Christianity fit for the Roman aristocracy now
- encouraging the rich to give generously out of their good fortune to the poor,
- bishops were aware of the advantages to themselves and to the prestige of the Church in general of being able to dispense generous charity to the poor.
- emperor, the poetry of Virgil.
- Elite culture was unthinkable without it.
- pride shines through the poetry of Prudentius, which
- saw the office as the only way to protect what survived of the world they loved.
- Bishop of Milan: Ambrose.
- It was an extraordinary transformation of fortunes for Christianity that a man who might easily have become emperor himself now wielded the spiritual power of the Church against the most powerful ruler in the known world.
- Ambrose was well prepared for self-assertion, or the assertion of the Church's power, against the pious Nicene Emperor Theodosius I.
- appeared in the 390s that the future lay with a Christian empire under strong rulers like Theodosius and strong bishops like Ambrose:
- Western Empire was overwhelmed by a series of invasions of 'barbarian' tribes from beyond the northern frontier;
- sack of the city of Rome itself by a Visigoth army led by Alaric in 410.
- emperor in Constantinople, recognizing him as sole emperor.
- his impact on Western Christian thought can hardly be overstated;
- revealing self-analysis in his Confessions,

9 The Making of Latin Christianity (300–500)

- saved to send him to the School of Carthage, he was increasingly drawn by the excitements of university life to the philosophy and literature of Rome.
- tormented by anxieties which remained his theological preoccupations
- What was the source of evil and suffering in this world?
- gnostic religion of Augustine's day, Manichaeism, which first won his allegiance and held it for nine years.
- turned to Neoplatonist belief, but in Milan he also became fascinated by Bishop Ambrose.
- To add to his pain, on his mother's urging, in 385 he broke with his mistress in order to make a good marriage.
- voice of a child overheard in a garden
- 'tolle lege' – 'take it and read'.
- Epistles of Paul,
- his plans for marriage were abandoned for a life of celibacy.
- in his theology all humans have inherited from the sin of Adam and Eve, he saw it as inseparable from the sexual act, which transmits sin from one generation to another.
- His plan was to create a celibate religious community with cultivated friends back in his home town: a monastery which would bring the best of the culture of old Rome into a Christian context.
- In 391 Augustine happened to visit the struggling Catholic congregation in the city of Hippo Regius (now Annaba in Algeria), the most important port of the province after Carthage.
- From Valerius's death until his own in 430, he remained Bishop of Hippo.
- Catholic Church was a Church not so much of the pure as those who tried or longed to be pure.
- now he tried to bring the Donatists back into the Catholic fold by negotiation.
- Christian government had the duty to support the Church by punishing heresy and schism,
- How could God's providence allow the collapse of the manifestly Christian Roman Empire, especially the sack of Rome by barbarian armies in 410?
- (De Civitate Dei). It was his most monumental work

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- what is the nature and cause of evil, and how does it relate to God's majesty and all-powerful goodness? For Augustine, evil is simply non-existence, 'the loss of good', since God and no other has given everything existence; all sin is a deliberate falling away from God towards nothingness,

- the theme of two cities: 'the earthly city glories in itself, the Heavenly City glories in the Lord'.

- fierce controversy over the teachings of a British monk called Pelagius.

- newly Christianized at the end of the fourth century, were anxious for spiritual direction and a number of 'holy men' hastened to supply the demand.

- Augustine's preoccupation with God's majesty seemed to leave humankind helpless puppets who could easily abandon all responsibility for their conduct.

- seemed to Pelagius to provide a false excuse for Christians passively to avoid making any moral effort.

- 'Holy Church' was based on the holiness of its members: exactly what the Donatists said about the Church, and so particularly liable to arouse Augustine's fury.

- Pelagius's followers pushed the implications of this further, to insist that although Adam sinned, this sin did not transmit itself through every generation as original sin, but was merely a bad example, which we can ignore if we choose. We can choose to turn to God. We have free will.

- This misses the point that Pelagius was a stern Puritan,

9 The Making of Latin Christianity (300–500)

- Augustine's pessimism started as realism, the realism of a bishop protecting his flock amid the mess of the world.
- The sack of Rome in 410 produced a scatter of refugees throughout the Mediterranean
- Augustine's fury against the group of propositions which came to be labelled as Pelagianism;
- Augustine's crusade against the Pelagians eventually resulted in their defeat and the dismissal from Church office of all their highly placed supporters.
- dismissal from Church office
- predestined group of the elect.
- pointed to Augustine's personal history and his involvement with the Manichees, with their dualist belief in the eternal struggle between equally balanced forces of good and evil. 51 Such critics said that this was the origin of both Augustine's pessimistic view of human nature and his emphasis on the role of sexual reproduction in transmitting the Fall.
- Augustine's pessimistic view of human nature
- he was heir to the world-denying impulses of Platonists and Stoics.
- references to the heritage of Plato (of whose actual works he had in fact read little), and Platonic modes of thought, shape much of his writing.
- God in Platonic mode was transcendent, other, remote.
- That created all the more need for the Church to recognize a myriad of courtiers who could intercede with their imperial Saviour for ordinary humans seeking salvation or help in their everyday lives. These were the saints.
- saints.
- Now the martyrs were joined by a growing array of hermits, monks, even bishops,
- Court of Heaven with its hierarchy of angels and saints looked rather like the Court of Constantinople or Ravenna.
- patrons
- friendship, amicitia, was a prominent aristocratic value for Romans,

9 The Making of Latin Christianity (300–500)

- The convenience of such saint-patrons was that their demands were likely to be infrequent, while their good turns could be called on at any time.

- In fact it is a logical outcome of the Platonic cast of Augustine's theology, and an echo of the hierarchies which Plato and his admirers saw as existing in the cosmos around the supreme God.

- treatise on the Trinity,

- doctrine of three equal persons in one substance, which in its subtlety and daring both shaped the Western Church's thinking

- memory, understanding and will

- association. Father and Son relate to each other in a different way from their joint relationship to the Spirit.

- Augustine decided that it would be wise to preserve the Spirit's equality by asserting that the Son participated in the Spirit's 'proceeding' from the Father.

- Nicene Creed of Constantinople of 381 said only that the Spirit 'proceeds from the Father'. Should this not be extended, on Augustine's analogy, to say that the Spirit 'proceeds from the Father and the Son'?

- the alteration became a matter of high offence in the East

- Modern Western readers may find it hard to understand Greek anger over the Augustinian view of the Trinity,

- What we need to remember is that Augustine's bleak view of human nature and capabilities was formed against a background of the destruction of the world he loved. In one of the greatest disappointments ever experienced by the Church, the Western Roman Empire of the 390s, which had promised to be an image of God's kingdom on earth, disintegrated into chaos and futility.

- inspired Western Christians to imitate the monastic life of the Eastern Church. Among the first was Martin, who became one of the most important saints

- monk, and his second monastic foundation near Tours

- Jerome took a significant step in the long process, particularly pronounced in the Western Church, by which the celibate state came to be considered superior to marriage.

- the monk John Cassian,

- founded new monastic communities,

9 The Making of Latin Christianity (300–500)

- Evagrius Ponticus
- develop an Evagrian theme of 'purity of heart' as the goal of monastic endeavour.
- but Augustine's view of grace offended Cassian's theology of salvation, grounded as it was in the rival tradition of Origen and Evagrius.
- Much as Cassian admired the Egyptian hermits, he felt that their life represented a way of perfection which was not for all, and that most ascetics should live in community.
- This monk, Benedict, admiring what Cassian had written, created a Rule which became the basis of Western monastic life.
- those individual monks who wandered from place to place – the Rule regards them as parasites on settled communities. This attitude set a pattern which made Western monasticism distinctive, because the wandering holy man remained a common and widely honoured figure in the Eastern Churches.
- construct a single community, living in obedience to its abbot and under the same Rule as communities round it, yet fully independent of any other. That remains the characteristic of Benedictine monasteries to this day.
- corporal punishment
- Discipline,
- Because of its simplicity, it has proved very adaptable,
- Benedict's twin commands to 'labour and pray' so that labour might include scholarship.

10 Latin Christendom: New Frontiers (500–1000)

- Something recognizable as Classical society survived in the western Mediterranean well after the Western Empire itself, only decisively changing in the later sixth century.

- North Africa, leaving it weakened before Muslim onslaughts in the seventh century

- 'barbarian' kingdoms, mostly ruled by Arian Goths,

- One suspects that capable and energetic men who would previously have entered imperial service, or who had indeed started out as officials in it, now entered the Church as the main career option available to them, when in the East they still had the option of imperial bureaucracy.

- interested in clear rules and tidy filing systems. Western canon law was one of the West's intellectual achievements long before its systematization in the twelfth century

- chose a middle path which was to prove of huge significance for its future. It continued to stand aloof from the Arianism of the Gothic peoples, but it increasingly distanced itself from Constantinople, and it developed an increasing focus on the Bishop of Rome.

- 493, the Arian Ostrogoth military leader Theoderic seized the city of Ravenna,

- his own palace chapel,

- seems to emphasize the Arian view of the nature of Christ.

- Theoderic thus proclaimed his Arian faith to the world

- glimpse the splendour and richness of Arian Christianity, elsewhere so successfully obliterated by the medieval Latin Church of the West.

- Boethius wrote in prison while awaiting execution, The Consolation of Philosophy. There is not much that is Christian about the Consolation: it is the work of a man whose intellectual formation has been in Neoplatonism. Yet that was part of its value. It embedded Plato in Western thought for the next few centuries

- he asserted that the emperor ought to defer to the clergy in all matters concerning the faith. 4

- turned his allegiance to Catholic Christianity.

- Clovis;

- 'Merovingians'.

- However, he married a Catholic wife, and he developed a devotion to the saint of the Catholic Church who had been first a soldier and then a bishop, Martin of Tours.

10 Latin Christendom: New Frontiers (500–1000)

- after Clovis's conversion, eighteen monarchs of what became the kingdom of France were christened with his name, which in its French mutation of the Latin Ludovicus became 'Louis'.

- The way in which the history of Catholic Christianity has been told obscures just what a near-miss Arian Christianity proved in the West. If the balance of preferences among barbarian monarchs had been swayed by the Spanish Visigoths rather than by Clovis of the Franks, European Christianity could have remained a decentralized Arianism rather than a Roman monarchy;

- bishop-saint Martin of Tours, now a trophy saint for the Merovingian dynasty. He had become a potent symbol of the triumph of Catholicism over Arianism as far away as Byzantine Italy and the late Arian Ostrogothic kingdom of Ravenna.

- It was a significant little gesture to demonstrate that the Western Church was not going to be digested into Eastern Christian practice, even after such a significant victory for Byzantine

- Denis);

- Geneviève),

- a woman who had pioneered the monastic life and also shown the qualities of a soldier. Geneviève

- The alliance between these saints and a Christian Catholic monarchy of France

- intense consciousness of the ancient French alliance between Church and Crown.

- Justinian began his programme of reconquest in Italy, and in 536 publicly proclaimed his programme of reuniting the Mediterranean under Byzantine rule.

- Pope Gregory I (590– 604),

- Gregory was the first monk to become pope,

- offer pastoral care and preach to laypeople: a very different clerical duty from the contemplative life of a monk,

- difficult to maintain contemplative serenity and an ability to expound good news amid the messiness of everyday life:

- crucial stage in the Western Latin Church's change of direction away from Byzantium and towards the north and west.

- The English mission was the first in which a Bishop of Rome had made any effort to extend the existing frontiers of Christianity.

- initiatives of Celtic Britons, who were Catholic Christians, strongly influenced by the vigorous Catholic Church of Gaul.

10 Latin Christendom: New Frontiers (500–1000)

- into Hibernia (Ireland) and territories and islands to the north of Hadrian's Wall,

- British eccentric called Patrick,

- when the great theologian Augustine was Bishop of Hippo.

- after the death of Martin of Tours,

- Patrick was to become Apostle to Ireland and eventually, through the worldwide wanderings of the Irish, a saint inspiring veneration throughout the modern Catholic Church – but his posthumous sway was to extend even further, since his years as a slave across the seas

- his reputation for having expelled snakes from Ireland) inspired countless Africans who also found themselves victims of enslavement by Europeans

- the bishops realized that the Church could be rooted in Irish society by founding monasteries and nunneries.

- manuscripts illuminated and written in a beautiful and individual Latin script, bronze bells, metal crosiers,

- Celtic Christian culture made a great deal of such sacred objects in its devotion.

- derive from the travels to Scotland and Ireland of a long-lost copy of a Syriac manuscript of the Gospel Harmony called the Diatessaron.

- resonated at whatever distance with the tradition of Origen and Evagrius. Celtic monasteries took the same line as their fellow monks John Cassian and Vincent of Lérins in the struggle against Augustine of Hippo over grace

- The Irish clergy developed a series of 'tariff books' for their own use. These were based on the idea not only that sin could be atoned for through penance, but that it was possible to work out exact scales of what penance was appropriate for what sin: tariffs of forgiveness.

- the whole system directly contradicted Augustine's theology of grace, and that was to become an issue which helped permanently to split the Western Church in the sixteenth century Reformation,

- this remote corner of Europe could have such a profound influence on the whole Church is testimony to the restless energy of Celtic Christians,

- In the later sixth century one of the greatest of their monastic leaders, Columba or Colmcille (' Dove of the Church'),

10 Latin Christendom: New Frontiers (500–1000)

- Columbanus's first journeys (probably in the 580s) were into Christian Gaul,
- foundational Celtic Christian decision to keep Latin as the language of its public worship and its Bible.
- Columbanus had set a pattern of mission from Ireland and Scotland, and other Celtic monks extended his initiative still further
- Augustine's English mission because of the brilliant and engaging Ecclesiastical History of Bede, a Northumbrian monk who lived a century after Augustine's mission
- Bede was the greatest historian of his age in all Europe,
- Augustine was not coming to a land empty of Christians. There was already a bishop in Canterbury, a Frankish chaplain of Queen Bertha's, and a functioning church, dedicated either by Franks or by earlier British Christians to St Martin of Tours.
- Augustine's mission? Chiefly, but crucially, its emphasis on Roman obedience.
- Gregory sent Augustine a special liturgical stole, the pallium, a piece of official ecclesiastical dress borrowed from the garments worn by imperial officials.
- Archbishops of Canterbury should receive their power from Rome ever after.
- splendid hospitality, the traditional mode of asserting one's social status.
- the way in which Bede had depicted a single race called the English; his book, after all, was called 'The Ecclesiastical History of the gens Anglorum' – 'people of the Angli'.
- Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine as one of the 'Big Four' theologians of the earlier West, the four Latin Doctors.
- personal conversion
- a people or a community 'accepted' or 'submitted to' the Christian God and his representatives on earth.
- imperial Rome. The Latin-speaking Church became a curator of Romanitas,
- the memory of the empire stood for wealth, wine, central heating and filing systems, and its two languages, Latin and Greek,
- As the Anglo-Saxons travelled east into mainland Europe, so did their devotion to the papacy and their memory of how Augustine had brought them their faith.
- ruthless nobleman called Pippin and maybe also his elder brother, Carloman.

10 Latin Christendom: New Frontiers (500–1000)

- sons of the great former mayor Charles Martel who had won the crucial victory against the Arabs at Poitiers
- Accordingly, the Frankish bishops invested the installation of the new King Pippin III with an unprecedented degree of ceremonial. Pippin paid especial devotion to the Merovingian royal saints, Martin of Tours and Denis,
- saw their chance to increase their power as the Merovingian monarchy disintegrated, and who were happy to ally this project with the renewal of the Church, linking their own interests to the glory of God.
- Bishop Chrodegang also started an ambitious programme of church building and reconstruction in his city of Metz, aiming at making it a centre of sacred power,
- Charles's reign was long, 768 to 814, and history soon christened him Charles the Great, Carolus Magnus – Charlemagne.
- he was obsessed with ancient Rome –
- persuade posterity that the conquered were either all pagans or Christian deviants needing renewal by the Frankish Church,
- On Christmas Day 800, Pope Leo III crowned Charles as a Roman emperor, in Rome itself.
- stress the role of his coronation by the Pope as the basis for his new imperial power. Equally, the Byzantines had little eventual choice but to recognize
- he posed as the defender of Christianity like the Byzantine emperor.
- In the middle of the twelfth century, emperors began referring to it as the 'Holy' empire and later as the 'Holy Roman Empire',
- there emerged one of the most significant forgeries in history: the so-called Donation of Constantine.
- it grants the Pope and all his successors not merely the honour of primacy over the universal Church but temporal power in the territories of the Western Empire, reserving to himself the empire ruled from Byzantium
- saw it as a manifesto for a world in which Christ's Church would be able to rule all society.
- it suggested that the papacy could construct Church law for itself, without references to the deliberations of bishops gathered in general councils of the Church,
- When he made Aachen his capital,
- special script for fast writing and easy reading, 'Carolingian minuscule'.
- 'information explosion'

10 Latin Christendom: New Frontiers (500–1000)

- Charlemagne encouraged the Benedictines to reform older monastic communities which to his eyes were chaotic and decadent.

- clergy brought these brutal politicians and warlords to a healthy sense of their own need for repentance and humility:

- This new regime of penitence caused a problem for Carolingian warlords.

- in early medieval eyes, God would not mind who actually performed the penance demanded, as long as it was done.

- The highest and most powerful form of prayer the Church could offer was the Eucharist.

- Monks had rarely been ordained priests in earlier centuries, but now they were ordained in order to increase the output of Masses

- adapting its Latin liturgy to provide Masses which would give particular mention of the dead,

- There is nothing in Orthodox liturgy quite like the purposeful concentration on the passage of death to be found in the developed Latin service of requiem Mass, with its black vestments, its dark-coloured candles and its sense of negotiating a perilous path.

- During the early medieval period, the monastic life offered a golden opportunity for talented women of noble or royal families to lead an emancipated, active life as abbesses, exercising power which might otherwise be closed to them and avoiding the unwelcome burdens of marriage.

- Princess Aethelthryth

- None of the roles of a Benedictine monastery just described – scholarship, eucharistic intercession or social engineering – had played any part or received any mention in the Rule of St Benedict. Nevertheless, because of them, the ninth to eleventh centuries were a golden age for monasteries of the Rule; the survival of European civilization would have been inconceivable without monasteries and nunneries.

- The vision of order and regularity which the Benedictines represented was just what the rulers of the Carolingian age were looking for.

- Indeed, anyone possessing or seeking power continued trying to annex the power of the Church in great monasteries for their own political purposes.

- principally Charlemagne's addition of the Filioque to the Nicene Creed

- A formal break between Rome and Constantinople in 1054 (see p. 374), not seen as significant at the time, signalled not simply a new era in relations between the two, but the culmination of a process in which the papacy made its claim to a primacy in the whole Church ever more formal.

11 The West: Universal Emperor or Universal Pope? (900–1200)

- Cluny in Burgundy
- At the beginning, Cluny Abbey had not been unique.
- devote huge resources in land and wealth to the creation of ever more splendid Benedictine houses.
- One should never underestimate the significance of architecture in Christianity
- to rebuild a church building was regarded as a sacramental sign of institutional and devotional renewal in the Church: each new church was a reform in stone.
- From all over Europe, devout people now sought to make the long and difficult journey to the remote Iberian city, and Cluny, strategically placed in Burgundy, began organizing these crowds along the roads of
- The expansion of pilgrimage was only one symptom of profound changes in Church and society which Cluny Abbey embodied.
- Economic productivity dramatically rose as a result. There were better food supplies and more wealth.
- The backbone of the early medieval Church had been the select group of monarchs and nobility who financed the growth of Benedictine monasteries and had themselves generally directed Church affairs.
- Church now spread its pastoral care throughout Europe in a dense network of what it called parochiae: parishes. Each of the new villages was expected to have a church.
- its area should be such that a parish priest could walk to its boundaries in an hour or two at most.
- The parish system covering the countryside gave the Church the chance to tax the new farming resources of Europe by demanding from its farmer-parishioners a scriptural tenth of agricultural produce, the tithe.
- monasteries like Cluny were in the forefront of imposing serfdom on their tenants. But the clergy also became more alert to the possibilities of sin which wealth produced, and sought to protect their people from the consequences.
- theology of the afterlife had given it a name: Purgatory.
- centres of military operations and refuges for noblemen.
- relieved as the poor that the Church was providing an institutional setting where disputes could be resolved without the possibility of violence.

11 The West: Universal Emperor or Universal Pope? (900–1200)

- Married clergy might well found dynasties, and might therefore be inclined to make Church lands into their hereditary property, just as secular lords were doing at the same time. The result was a long battle to forbid marriage for all clergy, not just monks: to make them compulsorily celibate.

- Celibacy set up a barrier between the clergy and laity, becoming the badge of clerical status;

- the Latin West had come to use unleavened bread (azyma in Greek) at the Eucharist. Azyma had the advantage of not dropping into crumbs when it was broken, a matter of some importance now that eucharistic bread was increasingly identified with the Body of the Lord – yet the Greeks (rightly) regarded this as yet another Western departure from early custom. Was such bread really bread at all?

- Gregory VII (reigned 1073– 85).

- centred on a definition of the pope as universal monarch in a world where the Church would reign over all the rulers of the earth.

- 'Vicar of Christ'. Not merely the successor of Peter, the pope was Christ's ambassador and representative on earth.

- dispute between King Henry II of England and his former Chancellor the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Becket, about whether the King's newly developing royal legal system could claim full jurisdiction over English clergy,

- A party of Henry's knights took the initiative in murdering Becket at the altar in his own cathedral in 1170.

- The monks of Christ Church Canterbury, who had never liked Becket in life, had plenty of reason to be grateful to him after his death, since he attracted a considerable pilgrimage cult to their cathedral, magnificently rebuilt to highlight his shrine.

- A universal monarchy, however notional, needed a complex central bureaucracy. The popes had earlier built up

- Bishop of Rome found that he needed a Court (Curia);

- systematic form as canon law.

- The chief collection of existing laws and papal decisions which codifies canon law comes from mid-twelfth-century Bologna,

- Gratian's Decretum

11 The West: Universal Emperor or Universal Pope? (900–1200)

- 'The Church is essentially an unequal society, that is, a society comprising two categories of persons, the pastors and the flock, those who occupy a rank in the different degrees of the hierarchy and the multitude of the faithful.' 26

- Kings and noblemen in Europe saw the usefulness of competent bishops to improve their own administration and drafted them into their own governments. Often this might take a bishop away from his duties in his diocese,

- bishops were increasingly trapped in a world of fixed routine – faced with demands from pope and lay rulers, and remote figures to their flocks.

- growing episcopal power also left a staggering heritage of architectural beauty: the cathedrals of medieval Catholic Europe.

- between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the cathedrals of Latin Europe were rebuilt on a huge scale,

- 'the age of the Cathedrals'.

- Durham Cathedral, far to the north of England, and a rebuilt royal Abbey of St-Denis to the north of Paris,

- architects began tackling the technical challenge of engineering buildings which would reach to Heaven with an audacity

- quality of physical light with the experience of spiritual enlightenment.

- Stained glass became one of the most compelling though also one of the most vulnerable media for conveying the doctrine of the Western Church

- twentieth-century architects had 'not been able to create anything anywhere both as elegant and as powerful as a late medieval steeple'.

- most perfect of all is the cathedral of Chartres,

- models provided by Chartres and St-Denis (see Plate 32). In their wake, the humblest parish church was likely to provide its own little local exuberance as far as its means would allow.

- ultimately also the most tragic of all adventures within the life of the Western Latin Church: the Crusades.

- pilgrimage to St James in Compostela, it was offering ordinary people the chance of access to holiness,

- now the Church came to see warfare as something it might use for its own purposes.

- It was stimulated by the general growth in pilgrimage, but especially by the opening up of a new land route to Jerusalem

11 The West: Universal Emperor or Universal Pope? (900–1200)

- Christianity won a great victory in the central Mediterranean, in the island of Sicily, which had been contested between Muslims and Christians since the early days of Islam.
- Normans seemed to be a good investment for the papacy, and in Sicily they made spectacular conquests from 1060, setting up a Norman kingdom there which was to prove one of the most productive frontiers of cultural exchange between Byzantines, Muslims and Catholic Christians in the Mediterranean world.
- looking back on the Norman seizure of Sicily as a precedent for the greater campaign for the Holy Land itself.
- Western indignation about the Holy Land
- Urban II
- Urban described renewed but completely imaginary atrocities against Christian pilgrims by Muslims in Jerusalem, so that he could arouse appropriate horror and action would follow.
- the culmination of Cluny's glory can never be separated from the launch of the Crusades
- Pope's promise that this was a sure road to salvation. Urban made it clear that to die on crusade in a state of repentance and confession would guarantee immediate entry to Heaven,
- currents of apocalyptic excitement
- indulged in hasty and vicious slaughter,
- it was savage enough to arouse astonishment and fury in the Islamic world.
- in 1291 Islamic armies pushed Westerners out of their last strongholds in Palestine.
- One of the effects of the Crusades was to establish an extraordinary new variant on the monastic ideal.
- there emerged monastic orders of warriors dedicated to fighting on behalf of Christianity, principally the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller.
- Between 1307 and 1312, the entire Templar Order was suppressed, once it was clear that the Templars had no chance of contributing to a reconquest of the Holy Land.
- The Hospitallers managed to survive this crisis, and through the heroism of some of their rearguard actions against Islam from their bases in the eastern Mediterranean

11 The West: Universal Emperor or Universal Pope? (900–1200)

- A further military order, the Teutonic (that is, German) Knights,
- Thus a form of holy warfare which had begun with Islam as its enemy ended up with Christians fighting Christians.
- from 1209, the Pope summoned crusaders against a threat to the Western Latin Church in southern France from a movement known as the 'pure' (in Greek, Katharoi or Cathars).
- in southern France from a movement known as the 'pure' (in Greek, Katharoi or Cathars).
- the essence of Cathars' beliefs was dualist; they believed in the evil of material things and the necessity to transcend the physical in order to achieve spiritual purity.
- The campaign to wipe out the Cathars soon turned into a war of conquest on behalf of the king and nobility of northern France. In its genocidal atrocity, this 'Albigensian Crusade' (the city of Albi was a Cathar centre, with its own Cathar bishop), ranks as one of the most discreditable episodes in Christian history; mass burnings at the stake were
- What still did galvanize people to support crusades was the continued reality of threats from Islam, and as late as the sixteenth century there was real popular enthusiasm for crusading
- emphasizing simplicity and self-denial.
- Benedictine houses did not disappear – they were too powerful and well established
- new religious orders, seeking to change the direction of monasticism.
- An explicit return to Benedictine roots came in the Cistercian Order,
- they sought lands far from centres of population, in wildernesses.
- This ruthlessness in the service of Christ is a mark of the militancy which the Cistercians brought to the religious life. They exhibited the new aggressiveness also to be seen in the crusading movement.
- Bernard of Clairvaux, and his electrifying preaching was influential in launching the Second Crusade in 1145.
- 530 Cistercian houses throughout Europe, tightly organized into a single structure centred on Cîteaux. This was as much of an international corporation as the Cluniacs
- built in the same austere style,
- moving from the circular-arched style of the Romanesque to the more efficiently load-bearing pointed arch of Gothic engineering,

- they opened the monastic life once more to illiterate people. The Cistercians began to decline at the end of the thirteenth century,
- Cistercian monumental austerity tended towards sheer architectural magnificence
- Another late-eleventh-century religious order made a permanent success of monastic simplicity: the Carthusians.
- a rediscovery of the monasticism of the East which had provided the first models for Western monasteries.
- resolve to preserve each monk in solitude
- The Augustinian Rule appealed because it was even more general and brief than the Rule of Benedict, and thus could be adapted for community life in a wide range of circumstances.
- Their priestly duties took them to places where they could provide pastoral care for the laity,
- extraordinary degree of choice for a twelfth-century man or woman seeking to fulfil a monastic vocation, to find a community best to express his or her personal
- An hour or two's walk would bring virtually everyone in East Anglia to the gates of a religious house.
- all their monasteries were dedicated to Mary, the Mother of God.
- beyond Eastern devotion to the God-bearer (theotokos).
- Mary's perpetual virginity
- general rise of devotion to Mary,
- because her conception was immaculate, unspotted by sin, so was her flesh.
- doctrine of the bodily Assumption of Mary was born,
- huge success of a theological innovation
- no abstract theological issue; it was fired by a popular hunger to love the Mother of God.
- The very absence of Mary's corpse from this sinful world was useful,
- statue of Our Lady,
- Our Lady could upstage lesser saints even when their relics were present,
- ordering every parish church in his large diocese to make sure that they displayed an image of the Blessed Virgin

12 A Church for All People? (1100-1300)

- developing parish system and the finance on which the parish was based operated best in the more stable life of the countryside.
- marginalized by circumstance. Such were the Waldensians,
- preaching that individuals could meet God through an inner light; it might be that God's Spirit could be found in all things, in a form of pantheism.
- form of commentary on that endlessly fascinating and diverse library of texts, the Bible. This organized exploration was christened 'theology',
- Paris theologian Peter Abelard
- they copied in a remarkably detailed fashion the institutions of higher education which Muslims had created for their own universal culture of intellectual enquiry, especially the great
- University in Paris became the leading centre of theological exploration in twelfth-century Europe,
- scholars in the Islamic world and the Jewish communities whom the Muslims sheltered had direct knowledge of Aristotle, whose writings had been preserved largely by scholars of the Church of the East (see pp. 245– 6 and 266). Gradually, Aristotle's texts reached the West.
- Western thought, enriched afresh by manuscripts containing Classical learning, experienced another movement of renewal, which has been called the twelfth-century Renaissance. Despite much initial official hostility, Aristotle and his analytical approach to the world, his mastery of logical thought, confronted the Platonism of Christian theologians.
- Aristotle's categorizations might suggest that the world could be understood without that special divine grace of knowledge otherwise closed to human intelligence.
- the movement can be summed up in the term 'scholasticism':
- building up knowledge through discussion: a method of quaestiones, assertion, denial, counter-assertion, and a final effort to harmonize the debate.
- Scholasticism was disputatious, sceptical, analytical, and that remained the characteristic of Western intellectual exploration long after most Western intellectuals had parted company
- By the end of the twelfth century, the Western Church was thus facing challenges both from heresy and from the potentially uncontrollable nature of scholastic thought, bred in new institutions, the universities.
- a startling new movement began in the troubled year of 1260: flagellants,
- potential threat to good order: principal among such groups were Jews, heretics, lepers and (curiously belatedly) homosexuals.
- Dominicans, and otherwise Blackfriars, from the black hood which they wore with their white robe. They avoided holding property so that they would not build up wealth like the monastic orders; instead, they lived by begging from people in ordinary society
- defenders of orthodoxy
- dominated inquisitions as they became the chief weapon against religious dissidence wherever it appeared in Europe.
- The trigger was his attitude to lepers.
- this playboy son of an Italian millionaire threw away his money, shouted the Christian message at birds in a graveyard, and threw the Church into a turmoil by saying that Christ was a down-and-out with no possessions.
- Against the Cathars, who said that the world was evil, he passionately affirmed that all created things – Brother Sun, Sister Moon – were good,
- In the last weeks of his life in 1226 he dictated a Testament expressing his fears that his commitment to poverty would be sidelined by the newly institutionalized 'Franciscans'. In particular he warned against their large-scale campaign of building convents for themselves.
- Within little more than a decade of his death, a grand and expensive basilica had been built over his tomb in Assisi,
- of a man whom many saw as an alter Christus, a second Christ bearing the same stigmata,
- the Dominicans, his followers did embrace apostolic poverty; their cheap, roughly dyed clothing earned them the English nickname Greyfriars,
- Francis and his followers survived because they won the sympathy of one of the most statesmanlike of medieval popes: Innocent III (Pope 1198–
- It was Innocent who rallied noblemen and the King of France to attack the Cathars, although he did in the end blanch at the indiscriminate violence which he had unleashed.
- This fourth Lateran Council embodied the Gregorian aim of imposing regulated holiness on the laity and ensuring uniformity in both belief and devotional practice.
- the faithful should understand what they were doing when they received the Eucharist.
- This 'elevation of the host' became a focus for the longing of the Catholic faithful to gaze upon the body of Christ: the dramatic high point of the Western Latin Mass.
- 1208 Juliana of the nunnery of Mount-Cornillon near Liège
- Already in Pope Urban's decree, the feast was called Corpus Christi (' the body of Christ'): bread/ body seemed to upstage wine/ blood in this liturgical celebration,
- The festival was popular because it provided a wonderful excuse to combine great services in church with public processions amid what was normally likely to be a season of good weather.
- secular courts were much more likely than inquisitors to impose death penalties.
- mendicants.
- Waldensians
- Humiliati,
- Carmelites or Whitefriars.
- group of hermits living on Mount Carmel
- Jerusalem was first recaptured by the Muslims in 1187.
- in the time of the Prophet Elijah, a much earlier enthusiast for Mount Carmel.
- stubborn adherence to their story of Elijah:

12 A Church for All People? (1100-1300)

- Order of Apostles,
- Segarelli
- Dominican inquisitor.
- The Spirituals took up the teachings of a mystically minded south Italian Cistercian abbot of the previous century, Joachim of Fiore,
- Joachim's thought continued to fascinate a great variety of Christians and ex-Christians down to modern times, including W. B. Yeats and D. H. Lawrence.
- Like the Dominicans, Franciscans became deeply involved in the universities,
- welcomed laypeople into their communities for spiritual counsel and discussion,
- so that crowds could listen to sermons. Popular enthusiasm for mendicant preaching meant that the style spread beyond the friars to produce a large crop of 'hall churches' all over Europe,
- If Gregory was the most decisive personality of the eleventh-century Church and Bernard of Clairvaux its greatest preacher in the twelfth, then Aquinas's system of thought, Thomism, in the thirteenth represents a defining moment in the theology of the medieval West.
- Aristotle
- vigorous debating method of scholasticism which was a century old by Aquinas's time. It was in the process of approaching faith through reasoned argument that Aquinas found Aristotle so useful,
- Aquinas's great work
- Summa Theologica).
- all language about God had to employ the sideways glance, the analogy, the metaphor. So Aquinas's judgements on truth are presented as a summary of probabilities,
- brings the consecrated bread out of its tabernacle and uses it to bless the worshippers before him.
- from around 1200, the climate of the northern hemisphere generally got colder. Europe's farming was inefficient, its food supplies unequally divided
- distinctively Western devotional pattern which concentrated on God as person, actively intervening in his creation, and on a more personal exposition of the human reality of Christ and his Mother.

12 A Church for All People? (1100-1300)

- greater concentration on the specific details of the life and death of Christ. New themes emerged:
- sufferings of Christ,
- Without the deepening worries of so many about their sheer physical survival,
- But rather than perceiving God as this self-sufficient divine being, Francis saw a person: his Lord.
- It was Francis who built the first Christmas crib,
- Italian Franciscan theologian Bonaventure
- Italian Franciscan, John de Caulibus
- Meditations on the Life of Christ
- commentary and exhortation which all imaginatively extended the Gospel narratives, so that the reader might be inspired to imitate Christ in her or his own daily life.
- Giotto.
- sequence of frescoes in the basilica in Assisi
- Infancy and Passion privilege the role of Mary, both in Christ's birth and in her agony at his final sufferings.
- Indeed from the early fourteenth century she was commonly depicted throughout Europe as 'Our Lady of Pity' or Pietà, cradling her dead son in her arms after he had been taken down from the Cross.
- 'Man of Sorrows', with the wounds of his crucifixion exposed and his face twisted in pain.
- liable to make worshippers turn their attention to those whom the Bible narrative principally blamed for causing the pain: the Jews.
- excluded from positions of power or mainstream wealth-creating activities.
- the heirs of the apostle of love, Francis, were among the chief sustainers of the growing hatred of Jews in medieval Western Europe.
- lepers and homosexuals
- witches.
- intensification of personal mysticism,
- twelfth-century female mystic was Hildegard of Bingen, Abbess of Rupertsberg,
- the first universities were taking shape,
- mysterious and subversive fount of Eastern spirituality, Dionysius the Areopagite,

Part V: Orthodoxy: The Imperial Faith (451–1800)

13 Faith in a New Rome (451-900)

- Orthodox Christianity prides itself on its faithfulness to tradition: its majestic round of worship, woven into a texture of ancient music, sustained with carefully considered gesture and choreography amid a setting of painting following prescribed artistic convention, can be seen as reflecting the timelessness of Heaven.

- hymns of hate remained,

- The Church of Constantinople and the Churches which sprang from it were wedded to imperial politics and the politics of the empire's successor-states:

- Justinian and Theodora were the last Christian monarchs before the nineteenth-century British Queen Victoria to wield an influence throughout all

- it was Theodora who provided patronage for those who secretly built up a Miaphysite Church hierarchy to challenge the Chalcedonians

- Justinian's rebuilding of Hagia Sophia

- the dome, a recreation of the canopy of Heaven.

- What Hagia Sophia did do was decisively to promote the central dome as the leading motif of architecture in the imperial Church of the East and in those Churches which later sought to identify with that tradition.

- Hagia Sophia, often simply known as the 'Great Church',

- monstrous array of sacred courtiers

- Christ the Ruler of All (the 'Pantocrator'), in glory and in judgement.

- ordering of saints in Byzantine church interiors

- Moreover, from an early date, Eastern Christians seem to have concluded that it was enough for worshippers to be present at the Eucharist without receiving bread and wine.

- The ordered worship of God was the means by which holiness could enfold everyone, under the protection of the great helmet of the dome above.

- The tradition allowed for voices alone,

- basic to Christian Orthodox spirituality: union with the divine, or theosis

- The concept was likely to take the Christian believer in a very different direction from Augustine's Western emphasis on the great gulf between God and humanity created by original sin.

13 Faith in a New Rome (451-900)

- constant round of sacred ceremony around Hagia Sophia was to make himself and the imperial Court the focus of a society where every public activity which formerly had been part of the non-Christian structure of the empire was now made holy and consecrated to the service of God. The first major project of Justinian's reign, the codification of half a millennium of imperial legal decisions, might at first seem remote from the agenda of sacralizing Byzantine society,
- There was no future for Latin in the empire of Justinian's successors, for in the eastern Mediterranean it had only ever been an interloping language imposed by colonial administrators from the West.
- The draining of what was Roman or non-Christian from New Rome was one of the irreversible effects of Justinian's reign and its aftermath: in the century and a half from his death in 565, a new identity was created for society in the Eastern Empire which can be described as Byzantine.
- 529
- only Alexandria was left as a centre of ancient non-Christian learning until the Islamic conquest.
- hagiographies
- Heraclius had missed the importance of the new invaders from the south, the Muslim Arabs. After the defeat of a Byzantine army in 636, all its southern provinces were soon lost, Jerusalem included.
- bishops should always be monks, and so it has remained in Orthodoxy.
- continued to follow the practice of the early Church; they have been married men with families,
- The founder Sabas, a monk from Cappadocia,
- spirituality distinctive to the Orthodox world. St Catherine's was home to one of the most important shapers of Byzantine monasticism: its abbot John of the Ladder (tis Klimakos, Climacus),
- Its metaphor of progress in the ascetic life through the steps of a ladder is a characteristic feature of Christian mysticism in both East and West.
- Climacus's texts resonate with pronouncements of Egyptian ascetics,
- Climacus takes the concept of apatheia, passionlessness or serenity, as one of the main ladder steps into the union with the divine in theosis.
- mourning is the beginning of a Christian's divine joy:

13 Faith in a New Rome (451-900)

- greatest theologian in the Byzantine tradition: Maximus or Maximos (c. 580– 662), known as 'the Confessor'
- One of his sources was Cyril of Alexandria – whom he chose to see as a firm defender of the theology on the natures of Christ which the Council of Chalcedon had later affirmed – and, once more, Origen and Evagrius
- Dionysius the Areopagite. 24
- Pseudo-Dionysius is remarkable: he is a constant presence behind the mystical writings of Orthodox Christianity,
- Dionysian theology was also Neoplatonic in its view of the cosmos as a series of hierarchies; it viewed these hierarchies not as an obstacle to God, but as the means of uniting the remoteness and unknowableness of God with the knowable particularity of lower creation,
- For him, theosis or deification was the destination for human salvation,
- God's creation contained multiple 'words', logoi, which were God's intentions for his creation, and the source of differentiation behind all created things:
- he for our sakes, who are coarse in respect to our mentality, accepted to become incarnate and to be expressed in letters, syllables and words, so that from all these he might draw us to himself.' 29
- Maximus escaped any later censure and has remained a voice of authority in the Eastern Church.
- Church's liturgical ceremonies served as a chief means of deification:
- be true to Chalcedon in acknowledging that two natures (human and divine) came together in Christ, but in order to accommodate the Miaphysites, they suggested that once these natures had thus met, the natures gained a unity of activity or will (energeia or thelēma).
- Maximus suffered appallingly on the orders of Emperor and Patriarch: the Confessor is said to have had his tongue cut out and his right hand amputated, to stop him speaking or writing.

13 Faith in a New Rome (451-900)

- It was natural to wonder whether elements in the faith and practice of such successful warriors represented God's will for the Christian Church;
- close proximity to Islamic territories, he
- impressed with one aspect of Muslim austerity, the consistent rejection of pictorial representations of the divine.
- Islamic iconophobia, hatred of images, confronted Byzantine iconophilia,
- Iconophobia could easily turn to destructive action: iconoclasm. Accordingly, Leo began to implement iconoclast policies.
- great fault lines within Christianity itself,
- graven-image prohibition stood as Commandment Two. Self-evidently, this had not inhibited the Easterners from creating a wealth of sacred art, but what they did was to observe the Commandment to the letter: their figural art was characteristically not graven (that is, sculpted) but was created on flat surfaces
- Iconoclasts said that we meet holiness in particular situations where the clergy represent us to God, such as in the Church's liturgy, so icons are at best irrelevant;
- the sacred can be freely encountered by everyone, because all that God has created is by nature sacred. Everyone can reach God through icons whenever they feel that God calls them.
- the little wooden tablets could take refuge in the privacy of people's homes, and in this domestic space, it would often be mothers or grandmothers who exercised their customary power within the home to take the decision to save the image,
- Monks and nuns who loved icons could ally with a movement rooted among laypeople to save images from the consequences of high clericalism and imperial policy.
- Constantine V, further action was taken.
- The Cross meant a great deal to iconoclasts: it was a symbol not merely of Christ's death and resurrection, but of the conquest of the Churches in the East by Islam
- The iconoclast emperors of the eighth century enjoyed a run of luck in their military campaigns, which must for the time being have vindicated their policies.
- high level of destruction; there are very few surviving icons in the Byzantine world dating before this period,
- iconoclastic controversy badly damaged the empire. The policy caused deep offence in Rome, driving popes into increasingly close alliance with the Frankish monarchy

13 Faith in a New Rome (451-900)

- greatly respected John of Damascus (see

- how did they justify the veneration of a black stone in the Ka'aba? 47 John proved one of the most damaging propagandists against iconoclasm:

- as a poet that he treasured images of all sorts, verbal and visual. They illuminate and intensify our vision of God, and indeed in relation to God they are essential, because of the ultimately unknowable quality of God.

- Latreia, worship as adoration, is appropriate only when offered to God; the veneration appropriate to God's creations is proskynēsis,

- intervention of the Empress Irene,

- The council made official the distinction already set out by John of Damascus between latreia and proskynēsis.

- second Council of Nicaea.

- Charlemagne's hostility to the imperial power in the East was sharpened by a disastrous Latin mistranslation of one part of the council's Acts:

- Charlemagne was impelled to condemn the theology of the East which promoted images, and he authorized theological statements which minimized the value of images;

- profound unease in Western circles about images.

- drawing the conclusion from Muslim success that God disapproved of images.

- We are viewing iconoclast art.

- The iconophobic mood soon passed in the West, because the later Carolingians became alarmed at the extreme versions which their patronage had encouraged.

- popular mood in his diocese: pilgrimages and shrines were going to survive

- The medieval Western Church became as fixated on visual images as Easterners, and given its alternative numbering of the Ten Commandments, it had no inhibitions about continuing to develop a vigorous tradition of figural sculpture.

- Thomas Aquinas to formalize a further refinement: the concept of an exceptional sort of veneration, hyperdulia, offered to the greatest of God's creations, Mary,

- Theodora as regent ordered the Patriarch Methodios to restore the icons to the churches. The occasion of this restoration, the first Sunday in Lent, 11 March 843, is commemorated as one of the most significant feasts of the Eastern Church, the 'Triumph of Orthodoxy'.

13 Faith in a New Rome (451-900)

- This Synodicon theatrically includes a list of the chief personalities who could be seen as the defenders of icons, each followed by the acclamation 'eternal memory!'
- that there was one quite exceptional class of art: acheiropoieta, images of Jesus not made by human hands, the archetype of which was the now-mysterious Mandylion given
- they raised the status of the work of art to that of theology and the status of the artists to that of the theologian.' 61 Art had become not a means of individual human creative expression, but an acclamation of the corporate experience of the Church. It was something to be approached with meditation and an acute sense of tradition.
- the renewal and enriching of worship and its music in Constantinople.
- experiments with the ceremonies and texts of the worship from the monasteries of Palestine.
- What the Palestinian monasteries offered the Church of Constantinople was a tradition of music and hymnody which has remained at the heart of Byzantine liturgy;
- Previously the music of churches in Constantinople had been dominated by the set sung narrative sermon in verse known as the kontakion, a dialogue between chanter and choir or congregation who sing a
- The liturgical form of hymn which replaced the kontakion was the canon, a set of nine hymns. These sets of hymns originated in Palestinian monasteries as meditations on themes from the Bible which were performed in the liturgy; the nine climaxed in an ode to the Theotokos.
- a very different strand of Christianity persisted both in the empire and to the east in the Armenian lands.
- They were dualist in belief,
- they built up their theologies of a deep gulf between flesh and spirit.

13 Faith in a New Rome (451-900)

- Paulicians,
- cut down the canon of the New Testament by dropping the two epistles attributed to Peter.
- Paulicians despised fleshly aspects of imperial religion such as the cult of Mary or of a physical ceremony of baptism. Naturally they were also iconophobes – unlike the Byzantine iconoclasts, they extended their hatred to the Cross itself
- development in tenth-century Bulgaria of a further dualist sect, much more ascetic in character, known from the name of their ninth-century founder as Bogomils
- The Bogomils rapidly spread through the empire, and it was a Bogomil, Basil, who around 1098 was one of the very few known victims of burning for heresy in Byzantium
- he was one of the most gifted and creative men ever to occupy the patriarchal throne. Photios was responsible for a literary work without parallel in the ancient world,
- Photios's periods of patriarchal power coincided fruitfully with the coming of a succession of capable emperors who did much to restore the fortunes of the empire after two hundred years of miseries.
- Their revival of Byzantine fortunes paralleled the imperial Church's moves to expand the bounds of Orthodox religious practice, Photios's lasting legacy.
- Pope Nicholas was only too ready to make trouble for the incumbent patriarch by listening to the complaints of ex-Patriarch Ignatios.
- convert them to Byzantine faith.
- the relationship between imperial and ecclesiastical power in the empire, proclaimed that it was the duty of the patriarch to win over all unbelievers as well as to promote orthodoxy in belief.
- in 867 when Photios and Nicholas personally excommunicated each other over the Bulgarian question. 76 Once more Eastern and Western Churches were in schism.
- two brothers born in the second most important city of the empire, Thessalonica

13 Faith in a New Rome (451-900)

- Constantine and Methodios would have known many Slavs,

- they devised an alphabet in which Slav language usage could be accurately conveyed.

- So it was probably in Bulgaria that, not long after the time of the two missionary brothers, another scholar devised a simpler alphabetic system, much more closely modelled on the uncial forms of the Greek alphabet. 79 It was named Cyrillic, in honour of Constantine, but in reference to the monastic name he adopted right at the end of his life, Cyril.

- Both alphabets were specifically intended to promote the Christian faith.

- They made it possible to create a liturgy in the Slavonic language, translating it from the Greek rite of St John Chrysostom with which the brothers Constantine and Methodios were familiar.

- Opponents objected that there were 'only three tongues worthy of praising God in the Scriptures, Hebrew, Greek and Latin',

- establish the principle that the Greek language did not have a monopoly on Orthodox liturgy.

- profound sense of common identity across cultures. They are bound together by the memory of the worship in the Great Church in Constantinople, by a common heritage in the theology of such exponents of theosis as Maximus the Confessor, and by the final crushing of iconoclasm in 843.

14 Orthodoxy: More Than an Empire (900-1700)

- Around the millennium, Constantinople was the biggest city in the world that Europeans knew, with around 600,000 inhabitants.

- very ready to employ mercenary soldiers who brought new tactics in warfare and helped Byzantium claw back territories long lost,

- In the 960s and 970s the Macedonian dynasty won another great military success on the western front, annexing Bulgaria and for two centuries putting an end to the independence of its archbishop along with its monarchy.

- pushed eastwards into territories much depopulated in Cilicia and Armenia, they peopled them with Miaphysite Christian settlers and were happy to see them establish their own bishoprics,

- There was great attention to recording the ceremonial used at Court and in church.

- Porphyrogennētos – 'born into the Purple'

- Court ceremonial could not be separated from that of the Church, since all Church festivals of any significance needed the imperial presence,

- the restlessness of the monastic spirit led to inspirational holy men moving out to find new wildernesses. This was a great age of colonization of 'holy mountains',

- Mount Athos,

- a peninsula thrusting into the Aegean Sea in Greek Macedonia.

- the Great Lavra, the most important among its monastic communities, was founded in 963,

- the Holy Mountain into one of the most important resources of Orthodoxy worldwide, now enjoying autonomy within the Republic of Greece. It is the only the state in the world with an entirely male population, including any animal or bird within human control.

- Symeon

- that 'ordination by men' was not the same as appointment by God through the Holy Spirit – not a comfortable theme for the Church hierarchy. Symeon was contemptuous of ordered scholarship in comparison with personal spiritual experience,

- Symeon the New Theologian's reputation as one of the most profound of Orthodox writers

14 Orthodoxy: More Than an Empire (900-1700)

- Emperor Basil II,
- he failed to produce an heir who might guarantee the long stability which his predecessors in the Macedonian dynasty had created.
- family of Turks called the Seljuks first overwhelmed the Muslim rulers of Baghdad and then swept into the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire; their Seljuk ruler took the title of Sultan,
- Alexios Komnenos,
- He repeatedly appealed to Western leaders for help against various enemies,
- triggered the First Crusade
- Second Crusade from 1147 to 1149 failed to achieve its objectives in Palestine and Damascus. The whole miserable expedition was characterized by acute suspicion between Latins and Greeks
- The growing claims of the papacy to universal monarchy were offensive not merely to the Oecumenical Patriarch, but to any Eastern churchman, since the East had remained closer to the older idea of the collective authority of bishops throughout the Church.
- new-found intolerance of any dissidence to the imperial Church. This contrasted with the more pragmatic attitude of the Macedonian imperial dynasty during the ninth century,
- new mood was a fatal weakening of the imperial policy of tolerance for Miaphysites in the eastern frontier provinces after Basil's death;
- John the Italian (Italos).
- particularly Plato, to illuminate Christianity. That aroused the same sort of fears which had dogged the Patriarch Photios in his enthusiasm for pre-Christian literature and philosophy (see p. 457). This same mood had surfaced in the anti-intellectualism of Symeon the New Theologian.
- On the eve of Western Europe's rediscovery of Aristotelian dialectic in scholasticism's creative exploitation of Classical learning (see pp. 398– 9), the Byzantine authorities were turning away from the same intellectual resources.
- attacks on Constantinople in 1203 and 1204,
- This flood of relics westwards affected all Europe.

14 Orthodoxy: More Than an Empire (900-1700)

- As display cabinet for the crown, Louis built the Sainte-Chapelle in the royal palace complex at the centre of Paris.
- though Constantinople was restored to Byzantine control in 1261,
- empire's political unity, that fundamental fact of Byzantine society from Constantine the Great onwards, never again became a reality.
- Certainly the emperors restored to Byzantium in 1261 kept an immense prestige despite their increasing powerlessness,
- Orthodox identity was no longer so closely tied to the survival of a political empire,
- increasingly curtailed ceremonial and financial embarrassment of the imperial Court next door.
- adventurous renaissance in Byzantine art.
- expulsion of the Latins in 1261.
- warlord leader was called Osman, and they took their name of Ottomans from him. During the fourteenth century,
- Already in the 1330s, the shift to Islamic dominance seemed so irreversible
- in 1423, the Athonian monks preferred the Muslim overlordship of the sultan to a chance which they were offered of rule by the Venetians: the thought of Latin overlordship by the conquerors of 1204 was repulsive to them.
- iconostasis, a wall-like barrier veiling altar and sanctuary area from worshippers.
- For Orthodox liturgy, the iconostasis encloses a set of actions rather than the whole area occupied by the clergy caste and assistants, although it does also mark a sanctuary area excluding laypeople without specific functions or permissions. It shelters and defines those liturgical actions only performed at the altar.
- Icons, by contrast, are of the essence of an iconostasis. Because each icon in its theologically appointed place reveals and refracts the vision of Heaven, the iconostasis becomes not so much a visual obstruction in the fashion of the Western rood screen, but is actually transparent, a gateway to Heaven, like the altar beyond it.
- basic to the structure is a central entrance – the 'Beautiful Gates'
- retains the processional quality so important in Byzantine worship from the earliest days of New Rome.

14 Orthodoxy: More Than an Empire (900-1700)

- Latin and Orthodox cultures were now closer and more regularly in contact than they had been for half a millennium.

- real separation came with the trauma of the complete Ottoman conquest in 1453, when a great divergence in musical practice began. In particular, the Orthodox were never seized by the enthusiasm for the pipe organ which, in the era of Constantinople's fall, began its long dominance of the musical imagination of Western Christians.

- Amid the dismally deteriorating political situation in Constantinople, the Church was convulsed by a dispute about the validity of a style of mystical prayer known as Hesychasm.

- simply comes from the Greek verb hēsychazö, 'to keep stillness' (or silence).

- mystical idea of light as the vehicle of knowing God, or as a metaphor for the knowledge of God.

- He pointed to the episode of transfiguration described in the Synoptic Gospels, where Jesus was with his disciples on Mount Tabor, and they could see that his face 'shone like the sun'. 37

- The Transfiguration, already commemorated with greater elaboration in Orthodoxy than in the Latin West, therefore became a favourite Hesychast choice of subject for icons

- Apart from contemplation of the icon, there are practical ways to structure still or silent prayer: appropriate physical posture and correct breathing are important, and one characteristic practice is to repeat a single devotional phrase,

- There was a real risk that Hesychasts would forget all the dangers to which Maximus had pointed long before, allowing mystical experience to run out of control, and even wholly rejecting the control of reason in their search for God.

- recent emergence of Western theology in Byzantium

- affirmation of Hesychasm brought Athos new prestige and a new wave of foundations there.

- theology which asserted that it was possible for Taborite divine light to be seen with bodily eyes appealed to a Church which had fought so fiercely to defend icons; icons had become precisely the vehicle for contemplation of divine light.

14 Orthodoxy: More Than an Empire (900-1700)

- open for Hesychasm to become embedded in Orthodox tradition, and it is certainly the case that its techniques of meditation and prayer, particularly the Jesus Prayer at its heart, have nourished countless Christians in travail and in tranquillity ever since.

- strength of their city walls, and because between repeated Ottoman sieges, from the end of the fourteenth century, they had agreed to become vassals of the Ottoman sultan.

- emperor, John V Palaeologos,

- By the 1430s, with Byzantium's second city of Thessalonica newly in Ottoman hands, the search for a settlement took on fresh urgency.

- In fact such a widespread representation of contemporary Christianity had not been seen since the Council of Chalcedon in 451,

- Filioque clause (this simple Latin word or three Greek words occupied discussions for six months), Purgatory, the use of unleavened bread, the wording of the prayer of consecration in the Eucharist and the powers of the papacy. Nevertheless, the emperor, worn down by the incessant wrangling and isolated by the death of the much-respected patriarch during the council proceedings, agreed to a formula of union in 1439.

- Ottoman breakthrough into the city

- The Emperor's head was stuffed with straw and paraded around the cities of the Muslim world; his dynasty was scattered from the city of Constantine.

- he took the old Greek name of the city Byzantion to create the term Byzantium.

- referred to a culture, not an empire.

- the Sultan wanted his new imperial capital brought to life;

- one of the most brilliant and original artists in sixteenth-century Christendom, Domenikos Theotokopoulos

- Born in Crete, Theotokopoulos trained on the island as an icon painter, but he exploited the fact that Crete was still a colonial possession of the Republic of Venice to travel west and establish a career first in Venice, then in Rome and finally in Spain –

- they simply called him 'the Greek'.

14 Orthodoxy: More Than an Empire (900-1700)

- Jews arrived here in their thousands from the 1490s after the expulsions from Spain and Portugal (see pp. 586– 7), and they were welcomed by the Muslim authorities precisely because of their oppression by Christians.

- Ottoman Empire retained an extraordinary variety of cultures and jurisdictions,

- When the Sultan recognized the Oecumenical Patriarch as head of all Orthodox Christians in the empire, it was a huge theoretical boost to the patriarch's power.

- from their residence in the Phanar quarter of the city around the patriarch's headquarters, they were known as Phanariots.

- radical confiscation of monastic estates,

- slow decline in the proportion of Orthodox Christians in the empire, perceptible from the late sixteenth century.

- relegation of Christians to second-class status.

- Both sides of the fractured Western Church were looking for allies among the Orthodox for their own purposes,

- the long memory of 1204 overshadowed contacts with Roman Catholics which did not result in full submission to the pope's authority, and Protestant detestation of images

- ultimately tragic career of Cyril Lucaris (1572-1638).

- Lucaris's sympathy for Reformed Protestant theologians,

- Lucaris published a Confession of Faith, which among other topics expounded a version of the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone

- His enemies fomented a poisonously anti-Protestant mood in the Orthodox Church, and the Jesuits sealed their triumph over Lucaris as Greek Orthodoxy moved closer to Roman Catholicism during the seventeenth century

15 Russia: The Third Rome (900-1800)

- Orosius's Christendom
- in England they were called Norsemen, Danes or Vikings. They murdered kings, raped nuns, torched monasteries
- the people of Constantinople also encountered Norsemen or Vikings, but knew them by a different Scandinavian word: Rus' or Rhos. 2 There too the word began as a name of terror; the Rus' were part of a single Scandinavian movement of restlessness, plunder and settlement which both sent the Norsemen to England and impelled these peoples into the plains of eastern Europe.
- Novgorod.
- 860 the Rus' streamed southwards and laid siege to Constantinople itself. That imaginative ninth-century Patriarch of Constantinople, Photios, has left vivid descriptions of the horror sparked in the capital by their unexpected arrival,
- Norse leaders seized a settlement on the borders of the Khazar territories. It was at a confluence of rivers, and its easily defended hills were useful storage places for weapons and goods in transit: its name was Kiev or Ky'iv. 6
- rulers, a clan group known in later histories as Rurikids from their supposed ancestor Rurik,
- So the Rus' and their Slavonic-speaking subjects were in touch not merely with Greeks, but with Bulgarian Christians, who with the encouragement of their rulers were at this time creating a Christian literature in a language and script which could be understood far to the north of their own lands.
- Sviatoslav had his own imperial ambitions, which led him to take an aggressive interest in the Christian khanate of Bulgaria.
- trading a promise of marriage to his sister, the imperial Princess Anna
- Prince Vladimir
- he abruptly ordered the conversion of his people to Christianity, himself taking the baptismal name Basil (Vasilii in Russian)
- Byzantine Christian culture had created the single most magnificent building in the European and West Asian world, and Kiev was now enthralled by Byzantine Christian culture.
- The churches of Kiev and its imitators sprouted multiple domes or cupolas in a fashion which went beyond their more sober Byzantine models,

15 Russia: The Third Rome (900-1800)

- The Virgin had allegedly given away her robe just before her death – what is in Eastern tradition called her Dormition, or falling asleep.
- Cathedrals of the Dormition appeared all over the Russian world, each taking its distinctive (and, it must be said, basically unimaginative) cuboid design from the original in Kiev.
- The first saints to be given honour in the newly created Church were Boris and Gleb, two sons of Prince Vladimir. A
- 'kenotic' emphasis on the example which Christ gave of his emptying of the self, his humiliation and compassion for others.
- was easier for the Eastern tradition of 'synergy', or cooperation with divine grace, to warm to the theme of self-emptying
- genre of Eastern saint enjoyed in the Christianity of Kievan Rus', and which has endured into modern Russian Orthodoxy:
- the Holy Fool.
- growing local devotion to innocence and unreason.
- Hesychasm and the Jesus Prayer became important elements in Russian spiritual practice.
- Prince Vladimir's son Jaroslav (reigned 1019– 54) married six of his children to Western princely families.
- the westwards sweep of the Mongols, or, as they were known in northern Europe, the Tatars.
- Mongol impact on Rus' was as catastrophic as in Asia. In 1240 they sacked Kiev in the course of a year's campaign in east-central Europe,
- followed the general drift of Mongol leaders into Islam.
- Tatars proved tolerant of Christianity,
- desperate for allies against the encroaching Ottomans,
- daughters of the Palaeologos emperors found themselves shipped off in marriage to Kipchak Khans.
- Novgorod
- unscathed,
- Novgorod valued literacy far more than anywhere else in the region, and a rich haul of birch-bark texts dating over four centuries has been rediscovered to testify to how widespread was literacy in city society.

15 Russia: The Third Rome (900-1800)

- Novgorod was so proudly conscious of its republican status
- One aspect of this contact with the west and south was that, in the fourteenth century, both Novgorod and Pskov became notably open to dissident religious movements which criticized the worldliness of the Church's leadership,
- Europe rulers began hearing of this distant realm called Muscovy.
- the eleven-year-old Queen Jadwiga, the Polish nobility agreed on her marriage to Jogaila (then approaching forty), and in 1386 they elected him king of Poland, after he had been baptized a Catholic Christian
- This was a significant turning point for Orthodoxy and for the future of Rus'. The claim of the Lithuanian grand princes to be natural successors to the princes of Rus' now looked much less convincing even to their Ruthenian Orthodox subjects, let alone to anyone Orthodox further east, and the way was open for the prince of Muscovy to take on that role.
- at the moment that Muscovy had broken with the ancient power of Constantinople in the name of preserving Orthodoxy.
- Byzantine Christianity, the longing of ordinary folk to find ways to reach God amid the frequent harshness of their lives, and the capacity of the human imagination to range freely in solitude over a spiritual inheritance.
- a people with no reason to take an interest in Classical culture.
- loneliness was part of everyday experience even more than is normal for human beings. Russian Christianity drew on the features of imported Orthodoxy which seemed valuable in such conditions.
- The emphasis of Orthodoxy on corporate life, expressed in its liturgy and sacred music, appealed to medieval Russian society, for here people needed to cooperate to survive at all.
- monk Sergei (Sergius) of Radonezh,
- Sergei's preference for the life of a hermit was not forgotten,
- wandering holy men represented a spirituality hardly in touch with the Church hierarchy. Such maverick figures had a personal charisma which, like that of prophets in the first days of the Christian Church
- encounters with such holy wanderers were the most intimate contacts with the Church experienced by the poor, not to mention by a wide variety of women in general across the social spectrum.

15 Russia: The Third Rome (900-1800)

- develop some surprising identities, in which ordinary people reinterpreted their faith and worship in ways which made perfect sense to them, but took them further and further from the spiritual order and liturgical correctness envisaged by bishops and abbots. That trend was already perceptible in the fifteenth century, as the monastic movement inspired by Sergei began to grow and diversify.
- the transition from hermit to abbot of a large community
- greatest of all monasteries, Sergei's Trinity Lavra
- It became one of a ring of monasteries around Moscow
- The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries also set the art of Rus' and Muscovy in patterns for the Russian future,
- Originality was not prized; genius was measured by the painterly eloquence and moral fervour with which the tradition could be presented. By the sixteenth century, a long-dead monk, Andrei Rublev (c. 1360-c. 1430), came to be seen as the greatest exponent of the style in fresco and in icon-painting – in 1551 his work was named in the Church legislation of the 'Council of a Hundred Chapters' (see p. 529) as definitive for Russian religious art.
- declared Rublev a saint
- proclamation of the centrality of sacred art to Russian Orthodox spirituality.
- The final collapse of the Byzantine Empire in 1453 had an ambiguous resonance in Moscow.
- autocratic system which presented the Grand Prince as the embodiment of God's will for the people of Rus'.
- Two years after the annexation of Novgorod, Grand Prince Ivan III formally announced an end to the tribute which he and his predecessors had paid to the khans for two centuries. This was part of a wider appropriation of Byzantine pretensions: Ivan married a niece of the last Byzantine emperor and adopted the double-headed eagle once the symbol of Byzantine imperial power.
- it strengthened Muscovites in their sense of a divine imperial mission specifically entrusted to their polity. 43 Church-building flourished as it had done in western Europe
- what was now the only major Orthodox Church not under an alien yoke, either Muslim or Western Catholic.
- The gables were named kokoshniki because of their resemblance to peasant women's headdresses
- the 'Third Rome'.

15 Russia: The Third Rome (900-1800)

- in none of his letters did Filofei identify the Third Rome specifically with Moscow, the home of the Tsar; it was the whole Church of Rus' within the grand prince's dominions

- 'Possessors' defended such monastic wealth, pointing out how monasteries could and did use it for the relief and support of the poor; 'Non-Possessors' pointed to the greater value of monastic poverty in forming the spirituality of monks,

- Nil Sorskii and Iosif Volotskii, two leading fifteenth-century monks.

- they were both advocates of Hesychasm, devotees of the great exponent of monasticism Sergei of Radonezh and firm advocates of the repression of religious dissidents,

- founded a hermitage in the classic Russian style amid the swamps and forests of the Sora river in the far north-east; later his Non-Possessor admirers would be styled 'Trans-Volga Elders'

- exceptionally learned for his time and deeply committed to the stillness of Hesychasm,

- The sixteenth-century Muscovite Church came to treat the 'Non-Possessors' as dissidents

- 'the Judaizing heresy', and as so often in Russian history,

- denied the reality of the Trinity, opposed icons and were critical of the existing clergy:

- plans to trim the wealth of the monasteries, a plan which would have strengthened the monarchy at the expense of the Church's independent power.

- Much of what the sixteenth-century Muscovite Church leadership condemned was simply the energy of popular devotion, creatively extending or modifying the liturgy to suit local needs, or experiencing its own unregulated encounters with the divine.

- local cults,

- city of Kazan of an icon which became one of Russia's most revered images of the Mother of God.

- Vasilii (Basil) the Blessed, has been so centrally honoured in Russian devotion that the image of Moscow now most familiar worldwide is that of the church in Red Square containing his shrine, the Cathedral of the Intercession, now commonly known as St Basil's Cathedral.

15 Russia: The Third Rome (900-1800)

- because the Church of the Intercession was commissioned by the man who came to symbolize the dismal extremity of what Muscovite autocracy might mean: Ivan IV, known to anglophone history as 'the Terrible'.
- prompted Ivan to be crowned in 1547 as Tsar, in a now permanent augmentation of the title of Grand Prince,
- Ivan IV won decisive victories over the remaining Tatar khanates in the 1550s, and it was to commemorate these, in particular the capture of the Tatar city of Kazan in 1552, that he ordered the building of the Red Square Cathedral of the Intercession.
- symbolism of the number eight and eight-plus-one already being exploited in the church architecture of Muscovy.
- intricately clustered honeycomb of shrines of thanksgiving. Sudden soaring interiors in their verticality assault the Heaven to which the insistent eightfold design is pointing the worshipper.
- violence which he now unleashed, but the scale of it all was insane,
- tens of thousands dying in a coldly calculated spree of pornographic violence.
- oprichniki,
- robed in black cloaks and rode black horses, to
- the Church of Muscovy gained a new title which mirrored the dynasty's assumption of imperial status; it became the Patriarchate of Moscow.
- Moscow was the only centre of power in the Orthodox Church which was free of Muslim rule.
- Poland-Lithuania's future looked very promising.
- Confederation of Warsaw of 1573, the nobility extracted from a reluctant monarchy an enshrined right of religious toleration for nearly all the varieties of religions established in Poland-Lithuania,
- renewed union of Catholicism and Ruthenian Orthodoxy in Poland-Lithuania.
- while the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania seemed uniquely powerful in eastern Europe, it was conceivable that Muscovy would disappear altogether as a political unit.
- In 1613 the teenaged Mikhail Romanov was declared tsar, the first in the dynasty which ruled until 1917.
- there could hardly have been a closer union of Church and throne. Deeply anti-Catholic after his Polish captivity, Filaret

15 Russia: The Third Rome (900-1800)

- A bitter personal grievance led to the devoutly Orthodox Cossack Bohdan Kmel'nyts'kyi rallying a revolt against Polish rule.
- renegotiation of the Union of Lublin.
- Kiev was finally in the hands of Muscovy
- The Ruthenian Orthodox people of Kiev who did not join the Greek Catholics still came from a very different cultural background to the Orthodox faithful of Moscow.
- causing lasting schism within Russian Orthodoxy.
- Tsar Aleksei (reigned 1645– 76) and Nikon (Patriarch 1652– 8).
- he proposed that the patriarch and not the tsar should be the chief power
- His defeat showed where the balance of power in Church and State was really going to lie between patriarch and tsar. This was about to be demonstrated all the more emphatically in the reign of Peter the Great.
- In Russia, the details of Christian doctrine mattered much less to people than the details of Christian practice in worship.
- Nikon was conscious that in many respects this drama had departed from the script set by the contemporary Church in Constantinople.
- Nikon ordering all Orthodox, clergy and laity alike, to make the sign of the cross with three fingers, symbolizing the Trinity, rather than with two, symbolizing the two natures of Christ.
- movement of resistance to centralized interference in personal devotion.
- Intellectual leadership in the Church increasingly went to clergy trained in the Ukraine and to those who had visited Greece; both these groups were irredeemably tainted by Roman Catholic deviance in the perspective of traditionalist-minded clergy.
- they came to be known as the Old Believers,
- Tsar Aleksei's son Peter I 'the Great', who defeated the rival northern power of Sweden, and humiliated and subverted the now declining Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.
- created one of the largest empires the world had seen,
- Peter's obsessive pursuit of Western skills and information,
- brand-new capital which he designated to supplant Moscow, St Petersburg,
- balance and value a distinctive Russianness
- unquestioning obedience to the tsar as the foundation of Russian identity, and second, the institution of serfdom,

15 Russia: The Third Rome (900-1800)

- With the memory of Patriarch Nikon's extravagant claims for power in his father's reign, he determined that never again would a tsar face a similar challenge from an ecclesiastical rival;

- College for Spiritual Affairs

- it became entitled the Holy Synod.

- Since the seminaries were only open to the sons of clergy,

- they were turning into a self-perpetuating caste, marrying into other clerical families.

- profound hold over the lives and emotions of ordinary people, which contrasted with popular attitudes to state power.

- degree of separation between its government and its people.

- left largely to their own devices and to their own traditions of making sense of their often desperately harsh environment.

- They preserved older traditions of worship and devotional styles which the authorities had repudiated, and their rejection of novelty was a rejection of all that they saw as not Russian.

- Some Old Believers refused to eat the tsars' recommended new staple food, the potato, because it was an import from the godless West – potatoes were generally hated among the Russian peasantry on their first arrival, before their value in making vodka became apparent.

- holy men and women continued to seek stillness in Hesychasm, and to bring what comfort they could to the troubled society around them.

- Serafim of Sarov (1759-1833),

- the Philokalia (' Love of the Beautiful'), compiled by monks of Mount Athos

- produced the first Slavonic translation of this work which became standard in the Orthodox world, and which was a major force in reuniting Orthodox spirituality after the stresses and divisions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Part VI: Western Christianity Dismembered (1300–1800)

16 Perspectives on the True Church (1300-1517)

- European universities, which mostly owed their formal existence to a specific papal grant, embodied in their name their claim to 'universality', the fact that they taught a range of disciplines in a common curriculum embodying a common Latin European

- united by the Latin language

- then appeared from the east a disease, now generally thought to be a variant of bubonic plague, which quickly came to be known as the Black Death.

- Through several years, 1348– 53, the effect of the Black Death in Europe was more thoroughgoing than any other recorded disaster:

- with perhaps as many as one in three of the population dying, and in some places up to two-thirds.

- equally powerful impulse to seek someone to blame for God's anger:

- renewed and much grimmer version of the flagellant movement

- forbade flagellant processions, specifically linking them to anti-Jewish violence;

- blood cults gathered momentum, and like so much else in Passion devotion they acquired an anti-Semitic edge,

- chantry, a foundation of invested money or landed revenues which provided finance for a priest to devote

- it suggested that there was indeed something constructive to be done for the dead.

- So God demands an action from a sinner to prove repentance for a sin.

- Christ's virtues or merits are infinite since he is part of the Godhead, and they are therefore more than adequate for the purpose of saving the finite world

- this combined 'treasury of merit' is available to assist a faithful Christian's repentance.

- very useful for fund-raising for good causes,

- obsession with Purgatory was not uniform within Europe. It seems to have been the north rather than the Mediterranean area,

- Purgatory-centred faith of the north encouraged an attitude to salvation in which the sinner, lay or clerical, piled up reparations for sin;

- There were many good reasons why Pope Clement V should choose Avignon in 1309:

- move brought the papacy closely under French influence,

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- One of the most distinguished of Franciscan philosopher-theologians, the Englishman William of Ockham, was among those leading the campaign. He had no hesitation in declaring Pope John a heretic

- it was a careful dialogue with Thomas Aquinas, and through him with Aristotle,

- from 1378 there were two rival popes, both lawfully elected by the College of Cardinals.

- There could be no clearer statement that papal primacy was to be put firmly in its place in favour of a general council,

- wishing to develop this conciliar mechanism and successive popes seeking to build on the papacy's newly restored integrity.

- From 1446 popes were once more permanently based in Rome,

- deposits of alum were discovered

- 1490s Italy became the cockpit of war and the obsessive concern of the great dynastic powers of Europe.

- Valois dynasty of France, when in 1494– 5 Charles VIII intervened in the quarrels of Italian princes with a major military invasion;

- project was the demolition of the monumental basilica of St Peter built by the Emperor Constantine, so that it could be replaced with something even more spectacular. This was a particular enthusiasm of Julius II,

- what happens when bread and wine are consecrated in the Eucharist?

- Aquinas who drew on the vocabulary provided by Aristotle, could do so in terms of 'substance' and 'accidents'

- Ockham and nominalist philosophers or theologians denied the usefulness of this language of substance and accidents,

- ultimate divine truths, could only be treated as a matter of faith, relying on the authority of the Church.

- came to dominate the universities of northern Europe during the fifteenth century, wherever the Dominicans could not defend the standing of their hero Aquinas.

- So God in his infinite mercy ascribes value to human worth, and makes an agreement with humanity to abide by the consequences and let it do its best towards its salvation.

- When nominalism removed the human relationship with God from the sphere of reason, it came close to the mysticism which flourished from the thirteenth century. it broadened into a style of personal piety known as 'present-day/ modern devotion', Devotio Moderna.

- a new style of piety arose in that increasingly large section of society which valued book-learning

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- exclusive characteristic of the Devotio.

- Brethren of the Common Life,

- Its promise was that serious-minded laity could aspire to the high personal standards which had previously been thought more easily attainable by the clergy:

- programme of practical action and organization of one's thoughts and life which was summed up in the title of Kempis's famous devotional treatise The Imitation of Christ. The idea of imitating Christ was not much older in the Western tradition of Christianity than the twelfth century; it sat uneasily with Augustinian assumptions about fallen humanity.

- the comparability of layfolk and clergy, and the calling of all to the highest standards

- Wyclif deeply loathed not merely the eucharistic doctrine of transubstantiation which was now standard within the Western Church, but the whole notion of divine bodily presence in bread and wine.

- He plunged the University of Oxford into bitter divisions;

- Wyclif's followers, first Oxford academics, then a wider circle of clergy and laypeople influenced by the first university enthusiasts, were given the contemptuous nickname of 'Lollards':

- the supply of vernacular Bibles hugely increased:

- huge increase in Bibles

- Hus preached a series of increasingly outspoken sermons in Prague,

- Hus's movement became an assertion of Czech identity against German-speakers in the Bohemian Church

- they began offering consecrated wine as well as bread to the laity in their Eucharists, for the first time in centuries.

- frequent communion for the laity,

- the crowd hurled thirteen Catholic loyalists from an upper window to their deaths, the first 'Defenestration' of Prague.

- an independent Hussite Church structure still survived, grudgingly and incompletely recognized by Rome. After

- its use in worship of Czech, the language of the people, rather than Latin, and its continuing insistence on reception in both kinds or species (sub utraque specie).

- more radical Hussites,

- sense of irony has not left Western theology since.

- but he still desperately tried to avoid decisively taking sides in the storm which was now tearing apart the world

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- (Unitas Fratrum).
- they condemned all types of violence,
- They rejected the idea of a separate priesthood, as well as the belief (still so dear to the Utraquists) that the Eucharist was a miracle in which bread and wine became the body and blood of Jesus.
- they came to be known as the Moravian Brethren.
- Bohemia became the first part of Latin Europe to slip out of its medieval papal obedience.
- The vast majority of humanists were patently sincere Christians who wished to apply their enthusiasm to the exploration and proclamation of their faith. They were trying to restore a Christian perfection to humanity.
- ruinous confrontations between popes and Holy Roman Emperors played out in the peninsula between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the factional warfare of papal 'Guelphs' versus imperial 'Ghibellines'.
- Few scholars had any more than the vaguest knowledge of the Greek language.
- great Greek philosopher Georgios Gemistos Plethon
- charismatic exponent of Plato.
- Now Plato's attitude to the ultimate problems of philosophy, his sense that the greatest reality lay beyond visible and quantifiable reality, disposed humanists to disrespect the whole style of scholastic learning, its careful distinctions and definitions.
- humanists appreciated Cicero's
- his reputation as the ideal model for powerful and persuasive Latin prose.
- one can tell a humanist prose composition from a scholastic text merely by seeing how the sentences are constructed and the sort of vocabulary used.
- purporting to have been written by a divine figure from ancient Egypt, Hermes Trismegistus.
- Corpus Hermeticum,
- forms of magic, medicine or astrology to sort out the problems of everyday life; some appealed to the same fascination with secret wisdom about the cosmos
- Ficino to translate into Latin the available sections of the Corpus Hermeticum.
- increasing attention that Christian scholars paid to Cabbala,
- cabbalistic and hermetic ideas together might complete God's purpose in the Christian message by broadening and enriching it.

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- Ad fontes, back to the sources, was the battle-cry of the humanists, and Protestants took it over from them. An individual, equipped with the right intellectual skills, could outface even the greatest and most long-lasting authority in medieval Europe, the Church.

- humanism represented a refocusing of old learning.

- the nontheological parts of their arts curriculum, especially poetry, oratory and rhetoric.

- a humanist was someone whose cultural roots were in Western Latin culture,

- Humanist excavation now went behind the Vulgate text to the Tanakh and its principal Greek translation, the Septuagint.

- Increasingly, the Bible would be perceived as a single text and read as other texts might be

- Now the humanist perception of the Bible as a text written and then to be read like any other book

- culminated in the capture of the Islamic kingdom of Granada, in the extreme south of the peninsula; the news was celebrated all over Christian Europe.

- Aragon and Castile could be regarded for external purposes as a single Spanish monarchy.

- First Portugal and then the Spanish monarchs launched expeditions across the seas westwards and southwards,

- turned Christianity into the first worldwide religion,

- ('New Christians'

- conversos:

- occasionally erupted into violence. 51 Such tensions remained particularly lively in Castile, the area still on the front line against Islam.

- Pope Sixtus finally yielded to royal pressure in 1483 and appointed the Dominican friar Tomás de Torquemada as Inquisitor-General

- forming a European-wide dispersal which has been called Sephardic Judaism (since the Jews had applied the Hebrew word Sefarad to Spain).

- Francisco Ximénes de Cisneros,

- In the aftermath of the fall of Granada the Inquisition became central to the programme of eliminating the rival civilizations of the peninsula. It was not going to let up on the converso population just because conversos claimed to be Christian.

- limpieza de sangre,

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- The Spanish version of Catholicism thus presents a complex set of features. It fostered deep personal yearnings for closeness to God, linked to mystical spirituality in Judaism and Islam and later bearing rich fruit in the mystical experience of Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross

- Spanish Christianity as a major exponent and practitioner of ethnic cleansing.

- mystical and spiritual enthusiasm in which friars, conversos and pious women (beatas) came to be styled by their admirers as alumbrados (' enlightened ones').

- The alumbrados were formally condemned in September 1525,

- A terrifying and hitherto unknown disease also broke out.

- syphilis.

- The Medici family's grip on the former republic was faltering,

- divine action would bring a total transformation in existing society:

- concept of 'republic'

- In 1498 the friar's power collapsed: he was tortured and burned at the stake with his chief lieutenants.

- group known as the Piagnoni sprang up in Florence to preserve his memory;

- A literary fashion emerged for imagining ideal societies and how they might work.

- Utopia – in cod-Greek, that means 'nowhere'.

- He constructed a salon of the imagination, embracing the entire continent in a constant flow of letters to hundreds of correspondents,

- he invented himself out of his own imaginative resources.

- enter a local Augustinian monastery at Steyn,

- he fell in love with Servatius Rogerus, a fellow monk

- the roving international man of letters who lived off the proceeds of his writings

- He wrote the first best-seller in the history

- collection of proverbs

- This work, the Adagia or Adages (1500), offered the browsing reader the perfect short cut to being a well-educated humanist;

- he moved from a preoccupation with secular literature to apply his humanist learning to Christian texts.

- painful task of acquiring the specialist skill of Greek;

- parallel new Latin translation, tacitly designed to supersede the Vulgate and the commentary which Jerome had created around it.

- The characteristic medieval way of making sense of the frequently puzzling or apparently irrelevant contents of the Bible was to allegorize them in the manner pioneered by Origen

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- This was the universally held belief in Mary's perpetual virginity – that she had remained a virgin all her life. Much of the traditional case for this belief, which has no direct justification in scripture, was based on allegorical use of Ezekiel 44.2, which talks about the shutting of a gate which only the Lord could enter.
- faced all those who called for Christianity to go back 'ad fontes'. Did the Bible contain all sacred truth? Or was there a tradition which the Church guarded, independent of it?
- Erasmus wanted to end the excesses of clerical privilege, particularly the clergy's pretensions to special knowledge,
- For him this was fleshly religion, ignoring the inner work of the Spirit which comes to the faithful through the mind and through pure use of the emotions:
- Outward ceremonies and ritual mattered much less than quiet, austere devotion springing from inner contemplation.
- philosophia Christi, the learned wisdom of Christ.
- impressive pioneering advocacy of pacifism, springs out of the proverb Dulce bellum inexpertis (' war is sweet to those who have not experienced it').
- belief in the potential of princely power for good
- 'What is the state [' civitas'] but a great monastery?'
- behave as purely as monks were supposed to do under a monastic rule. Third, the person to make sure that they did so was the prince.
- when governments began to regulate public morality and tried to organize every individual in society in an unprecedented fashion
- reasoning faculties of the human mind and through the acquisition of education.
- So Augustinian pessimism was not for Erasmus.
- Erasmus's esteem for Origen is already evident in the Enchiridion.
- passing phrase in Paul's letter to the Thessalonian Church: a human being was made up of three parts, flesh, spirit and soul.
- Of the three components of humanity, Origen had said, only the flesh had been thoroughly corrupted,
- humanist optimism in the face of Augustine.
- discussion of the legitimacy of war which Augustine had pioneered and which Aquinas had then developed into a theory of 'just war'.
- he might not have been entirely convinced of the adequacy of the views of God, Christ, salvation and Trinity which the Council of Chalcedon summed up back in 451.
- he brought an ironic smile to the contemplation of the divine and the sacred, and he discerned an ironic smile on the face of the divinity. That

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- that he came through a spiritual crisis to new faith while sitting on a latrine – his 'Tower Experience' or Turmerlebnis.
- Caught in a thunderstorm in 1505, the young man was so terrified that he vowed to St Anne, the mother of Mary, that he would enter monastic life if he survived. When the storm was over, he kept his vow to that apocryphal lady (a useful ally against any parental opposition, since she was the patron saint of his father's mining industry,
- Increasingly openly, he despised the scholastic tradition both Thomist and nominalist: he loathed the presence of Aristotle in scholastic theological discussion,
- Paul's letter to the Romans, so central a text for Augustine's message
- proclamation of justification by faith:
- a turnabout in the whole Western Christian scheme of salvation (soteriology) which had constructed that great theological success story, the doctrine of Purgatory, with all its attendant structures of intercessory prayer for the dead – chantries, gilds, hospitals – that comforting sense that through divine mercy we humans can busy ourselves doing something to alter and improve our prospects after death.
- Finally in 1520 Luther found himself excommunicated, cut off by the Pope from the fellowship of the whole Church. He publicly burned the bull of excommunication in Wittenberg, cheered on by the students and townsfolk, to whom he had become a hero.
- he kept a passionate sense of the presence of the Lord's body and blood in the eucharistic bread and wine, but he scorned the scholastic and non-biblical explanation of this miraculous transformation which the Church had provided in the doctrine of transubstantiation.
- Holy Roman Emperor. Charles V,
- gave Luther a formal hearing within the boundaries of the empire at the first available meeting of the Diet, the regular imperial assembly, at Worms in April 1521.
- acknowledged a long list of books as his own.
- careful and dignified speech. His books
- Luther was in peril, and the best solution was for him to vanish; the Elector Friedrich duly arranged that. Luther occupied those months in the Wartburg,
- beginning a translation of the Bible

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- text has shaped the German language. Luther was a connoisseur of the vernacular,
- Luther's talent was for seizing the emotion with sudden, urgent phrases.
- 'Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott, Ein gute Wehr und Waffen'.
- seized on the fears of ordinary folk in a world full of evils and terrors, and helped his congregations roar away these terrors in song.
- in the storm now spreading throughout the continent,
- 1525 large areas of central Europe were convulsed by revolts against princes and Church leaders: the Bauernkrieg,
- 'Let everyone obey the superior powers, for there is no authority except from God'.
- Teutonic Order
- creating the first evangelical princely Church in Europe. 19
- Nuremberg authorities allowed evangelical preaching in 1521.
- Zürich
- had little more than an indirect debt to Luther, and whose chief reformer, Huldrych Zwingli, created a rebellion against Rome with very different priorities.
- A charismatic preacher at Zürich's chief collegiate church, the Grossmünster,
- not Rome but Zürich city council would decide Church law, using as their reference point the true sacred law laid down in scripture.
- this Protestantism would be called Reformed,
- differed from Luther's Reformation – much to his fury – in several key respects, principally its attitude to images, to law and to the Eucharist.
- Now Zürichers started pulling down images from churches and from the roadside.
- omitting all reference to the Commandment prohibiting images.
- Luther produced a formula to convey the usefulness of images: 'zum Ansehen, zum Zeugnis, zum Gedächtnis, zum Zeichen' (' for recognition, for witness, for commemoration, for a sign').
- successfully demanded the satisfaction of singing hymns or psalms in their services, since by then all other Reformed Churches allowed sacred music.

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- So the sacrament of Eucharist was not a magical talisman of Christ's body. It was a community pledge, expressing the believer's faith

- baptism. This was a welcome for children into the Lord's family the Church; it did not involve magical washing away of sin.

- Moreover, he saw sacraments as intimately linked with the shared life of a proud city.

- In fact from princely support came a new label for the movement, when a group of the princes supporting Luther made a protest against the decisions of the Imperial Diet at Speyer in 1529. They were accordingly nicknamed Protestants, the first time this word had been thus used;

- imperial Diet, at Augsburg in 1530, the party of Luther's supporters presented a statement of doctrine to Charles V, drafted by Philipp Melanchthon, which in its studied moderation was intended to win the Emperor's assent.

- 'Lutheran' retained this 'Augsburg Confession' as their flagship statement of faith.

- Instead a 'magisterial' Reformation was created:

- Protestant movements led by the magistri, the theologically educated masters, and magistrates of all descriptions – kings, princes, city councils.

- many radical Christians, who proposed their own versions of religious revolution,

- surely Christian baptism ought to be a conscious act of faith by the person baptized – 'believers' baptism'.

- Because the radicals sought to give a new and genuine baptism to those who had been baptized as infants, their enemies called them in cod-Greek 'rebaptizers' or Anabaptists.

- neutral term which German uses for them, Taüfer (baptizers).

- So from 1526 Zürich, embittered by the recent Farmers' War, persecuted Anabaptists to the extent of drowning four of them in the River Limmat,

- allowed them to take over the Moravian town of Nikolsburg and form an established Church professing believers' baptism,

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- So in the early 1530s, groups from the Low Countries began joining with other radicals in converging on the western German city of Münster.
- their charismatic leaders proclaimed the new Jerusalem. A joint force of Lutherans and Catholics besieged them.
- ('John of Leyden'), lived as their king in insane luxury, surrounded by his harem, as his followers starved and died defending him.
- Münster Anabaptists were sadistically suppressed.
- It was a general conviction among radicals that over the previous millennium the Church had made a grave error in entering into alliance with the powerful,
- Some went further and came to the conviction that the Bible was not the ultimate guide to divine truth: they called it a 'paper Pope',
- The magisterial Reformers went on battling for the minds of rulers,
- he used the organizing skills of a newly recruited royal minister, Thomas Cromwell, to secure legislation in his Parliament enacting a break with Rome.
- William Tyndale, one of the geniuses of the English Reformation; after Henry's agents secured his kidnap while he was in exile in Antwerp, he was strangled at the stake before his corpse was burned near Brussels. He bequeathed the English nothing less than the first translation of the New Testament and Pentateuch in their own language
- And in one of the religious ironies with which Henry's reign was replete, the King came to authorize the translation made by the man whose murder he had in effect arranged.
- It is the ancestor of all Bibles in the English language,
- all monasteries, nunneries and friaries in England and Wales (1532-40).
- The Catholic cantons of Switzerland defeated Zürich's armies on its border at Kappel in 1531, and among those who died there was Zwingli himself, cut down in full armour on the hillside battlefield,
- developed in the city-state of Strasbourg
- Martin Bucer.
- in 1545 a council of the Western Church convened by the Pope at last began meeting at Trent,
- By the late 1540s, it looked as if the Reformation's opponents were triumphing.

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- Henry VIII's young son, Edward VI, after Henry's death in 1547 now had the chance to propel England into the leadership of the Reformation throughout Europe. Archbishop Cranmer, one of their number and now a hardened political operator, led a thoroughgoing destruction of the traditional devotional world in England.

- Book of Common Prayer of 1549,

- has remained an extraordinarily flexible vehicle for a form of Western Christianity which, in its development as 'Anglicanism', has sometimes looked with some distaste on its Reformation inheritance from the Cranmer years.

- One incomparable aspect of the book is the language in which it was written,

- Besides its prose, Cranmer's Prayer Book has left one liturgical legacy to all Western Christendom: an evening service or 'office' called Evensong.

- it is there that Cranmer's superbly dignified prose is still most frequently appreciated in its proper context.

- creating the short prayers known as 'collects',

- small jewels of prayers

- Anglican Evensong has proved such a dignified and compelling approach to the divine that it has brought spiritual consolation way beyond the borders of the Anglican Communion, to Protestant and Roman Catholic alike.

- dead king's Catholic half-sister, the Lady Mary.

- She returned an entire kingdom to Roman obedience and the possibility of innovations in Catholic reform. In the process she burned at the stake some of the leading English Protestant reformers, Thomas Cranmer included.

- led Protestantism out of stagnation in the 1550s was an exiled French humanist legal scholar who had wandered Italy and Switzerland and ended up by accident in 1536 on the margins of the Swiss Confederation in the city of Geneva: John Calvin.

- When the Genevans faced chaos and in desperation called him back, he was ready to build a better Strassburg in Geneva.

- he put into practice a scheme to restructure the Church which Bucer had envisaged for Strassburg: a fourfold order,

- described four functions of ministry, pastors, doctors, elders and deacons.

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- It was government by committee; in other contexts, the committees were called presbyteries, so the system is generally labelled presbyterian.
- Servetus, with the Islamic and Jewish heritage of his country in mind, denied that the conventional notion of the Trinity could be found in the Bible;
- So the Genevan city authorities burned Servetus at the stake,
- 1536 Calvin published and repeatedly rewrote a textbook of doctrine, the Institution of the Christian Religion – commonly known as the Institutes.
- 'Nearly all the wisdom we possess, that is to say, true and sound wisdom, consists of two parts: the knowledge of God and of ourselves'.
- This is Augustine restated,
- God's plan of predestination. After reading Bucer's commentary on Romans of 1536, Calvin discussed this in increasing intricacy in the Institutes' enlargements.
- then logically God took decisions on individual salvation without reference to an individual's life-story.
- The good news was that the elect of God could not lose their salvation.
- He never received ordination from either old or new Church, but his self-image was as teacher (Doctor), and he relentlessly preached and wrote biblical commentary around the ever-growing Institutes.
- Christ was one person in two natures inextricably linked – God the Son and so fully part of the Divine Trinity, while at the same time Jesus the human being, born in Palestine.
- Chalcedon had a particular significance for magisterial Protestants, who saw it as the last general council of the Church to make reliable decisions about doctrine
- gave Calvin a model for a general principle which became very important to him: distinction but not separation (distinctio sed non separation).
- confusing reality and sign,

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- God does not come down to us to sit on a table; but through the sign of the breaking of bread and taking of wine, he draws us up to join him in Heaven.
- his plan to replace papal Catholicism by something that he saw as being more authentically Catholic.
- Calvin was a theologian of Romans 13.1 – of obedience.
- keep Church structures separate from the existing city authorities.
- revolutionary Reformed leaders were actually noblemen rebelling against their monarchs;
- destructive enthusiasm of Protestant mobs who wanted physically to smash the old Church. Crowds determined to fight the Antichrist shattered stained-glass windows and hurled down statues,
- 'Geneva psalms'. Music was the secret weapon of popular reformation.
- Reformed Protestants began challenging the French monarchy, and it took fifty years of warfare and royal treachery for the monarchy to bring them to heel. In France they gained the nickname 'Huguenots',
- Elizabeth's hands, her new religious settlement of 1559 restored a fossilized version of Edward VI's half-finished religious revolution as the Church of England.
- crushingly defeated the Turkish fleet at Lepanto (the Gulf of Corinth or Nafpaktos); this was one of the most decisive checks on Islamic expansion into western Europe.
- confessionalization – creating fixed identities and systems of belief for separate Churches
- official arrangements were made for religious coexistence
- the Transylvanian Diet
- In 1568 it met in the chief church of the town of Torda
- This was the first time that radical Christian communities had been officially recognized in sixteenth-century Europe
- the Torda agreement obstinately left its mark on Transylvania's religious landscape.
- Amid the competitive religious market which was Poland-Lithuania in the mid-sixteenth century,
- enshrine religious pluralism in the constitution of the commonwealth.

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- 1572 of shocking news from France; in the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre, Catholics had turned murderously on Huguenots

- Warsaw in 1573, at which a clause on religious freedom was unanimously approved in the agreement (' Confederation')

- Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

- proud Polish claim (almost but not quite true) to be a land without execution of heretics:

- achievement of a wider toleration.

- The Reformed were confronting Lutheran Churches which, amid an enormous diversity of traditional practice, seemed to have become the shelter for traditional religion as it had been before the Reformation upheavals. The Lutheran Mass (still so called) continued to be conducted partly in Latin, by clergy in vestments, who even elevated the consecrated bread in the service in traditional style.

- European powers both Protestant and Catholic were deeply worried by the Habsburg triumph.

- intransigent terms of Ferdinand's Edict of Restitution in 1629, which restored lands to the old Church lost even before the Peace of Augsburg, and virtually outlawed Reformed Christianity in the empire:

- James I of England, he found himself enthusiastic for the Church of England.

- 'High Church'.

- emphasized the solemn performance of public liturgy

- 'sacramentalist'.

- Arminians defined all who disagreed with them, all the way up to bishops and noblemen, as 'Puritans',

- he persuaded both sides to cooperate in a new venture of biblical translation,

- vital for anglophone culture worldwide: the 'King James' version

- Charles promoted Laud to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Archbishop Laud used his talents to disastrous effect.

- Many of these angry people sailed for the hitherto languishing English colonies in North America, rather than stay in an increasingly tainted English Church,

- Charles and Laud alienated leaders in the three kingdoms to such an extent that rebellions broke out,

17 A House Divided (1517-1660)

- Scotland
- Ireland,
- the trigger for war was stark disagreement as to whether Charles could be trusted to lead armies against Irish Catholics, after his support for the deeply unpopular ecclesiastical policies of Laud
- The question was now whether a strict version of Scottish presbyterianism would be set up in England,
- a radical group among the victorious Puritans forced the King's trial and then his beheading in 1649:
- They created an English Republic, or 'Commonwealth',
- The successive Puritan regimes were too straitlaced for the people of England and they could find no popular political substitute for the monarchy.
- The de facto ruler through most of the 1650s, Oliver Cromwell, former military commander turned reluctant dictator in the name of godly Reformation
- authorized the abolition of Christmas and tore down the maypoles
- folk called 'Ranters':
- God had sent them a particular revelation, an 'inner light',
- God's free grace was the only source of salvation. That freed all the saved from any law, human or divine, or (if God were truly to be glorified) from good behaviour at all. This was the 'antinomian' conclusion (nomos is a Greek word for 'law' – hence antinomianism is 'against law') which had haunted the respectable magisterial Reformation from its earliest days.
- 'Friends',
- 'inner light' led them to disrupt public worship and refuse to doff their hats to social superiors,
- in 1658, but after two years of increasing disorder, maypoles, Christmas and King Charles II were all summoned back from exile. 80 The Church of England which Charles restored, episcopal and ceremonial, complete with expensively refurbished cathedrals,
- Anglicanism is a religious outlook which has kept its distance from the rest of the Reformation, but also from Rome,
- Probably the best formulation, which suggests the internal dynamism of what happened, is 'Catholic Reformation'.

18 Rome's Renewal (1500-1700)

- The Ursulines considered their options and began concentrating on working among the poor and teaching children in settings which men either did not want to or could not enter.

- sought to discipline the Ursulines under his jurisdiction by forming them into an order of nuns,

- Juan de Valdés

- respected promoters of reform: Pole, Contarini, Carafa, Jacopo Sadoleto and the imprisoned English bishop John Fisher.

- Carafa and other reformers to a commission to consider faults in the Church, and although this commission, De emendanda ecclesia,

- Carafa's mistrust of their religious agenda and by his conviction that any concession to Protestants was a blasphemous betrayal of the Church. Senior clerics sympathetic to Carafa's bleakly rigorist and authoritarian style of Catholic reform have often been described as the Zelanti (' the zealous ones').

- one of the greatest forces for revival in the Roman Church, the Society of Jesus.

- founded by a Basque gentleman who had been a courtier of Charles V

- like Valdés, had to take refuge from the Spanish Inquisition. Iñigo López de Loyola (see Plate 15) has become known to history as Ignatius

- opposite direction to Luther: not to rebellion against the Church, but to a courtier's obedience.

- spiritual experiences. This was raw material for a systematically organized guide to prayer, self-examination and surrender to divine power.

- final form in print in 1548 as the Spiritual Exercises, one of the most influential books in Western Christianity,

- what came to be known as 'making the Exercises'.

- the Jesuits were part of that multiform movement of spiritual energy, the Spirituali,

- Contarini's peace-making efforts gained warm backing from the Holy Roman Emperor, but the Cardinal failed to clinch an ambitious scheme of reconciliation proposed in discussions with Protestant leaders (a 'colloquy') around the Imperial Diet at Regensburg (Ratisbon) in 1541.

- The new Roman Inquisition's opinion of it (and therefore Carafa's) can be gauged

- eloquent symbol of the exclusion of the Spirituali from the future of the Catholic Church.

18 Rome's Renewal (1500-1700)

- authority, which emphasized the importance of seeing the Bible in a context of tradition, some of which was unwritten and therefore needed to be exclusively expounded by an authoritative Church.

- justification

- Duke Cosimo de' Medici continued to extend patronage and protection to disciples of Juan de Valdés,

- and Cardinal Carafa, who became Pope Paul IV in 1555.

- Their frescoes were an open declaration of support for evangelical reform in the Catholic Church.

- what it did not depict: any emblem of Purgatory, sacraments, institutional Church or Trinity.

- images which clearly pointed those with eyes to see to the doctrine of justification by faith.

- It is no coincidence that they remained aloof from the work of the Inquisitions, conscious of the harassment which their founder had suffered in Spain;

- secondary and higher education. They quickly set up 'colleges' in certain university towns,

- In time, Jesuits allied with another unconventional religious organization, the Ursulines, and steered Ursuline energies towards parallel female education,

- Moreover they refused to require a distinct dress or habit for members,

- their non-clerical style (given that laymen were among their numbers) did address the excessive pretensions of clergy which had provoked much of the passion behind the Protestant revolution.

- They did not wish to become an enclosed monastic order because Ignatius passionately wanted to affirm the value of the world, and believed that it was possible to lead a fully spiritual life within it.

- the Superior-General and not the pope was responsible for directing Jesuit mission policy.

- 'Counter-Reformation', the aftermath of the Council of Trent's final session.

- The work was sealed with a uniform catechism of the Catholic faith, and a uniform liturgy: this uniformity of worship had no precedent in the history of the Western or indeed any other branch of Christianity,

- deploring the assertion that liturgy should always be in the vernacular.

18 Rome's Renewal (1500-1700)

- The equally muted tone in the council's commendation of obligatory celibacy for the clergy
- Everything nearly collapsed over one issue: where ultimate authority lay in the Church.
- it took some masterly drafting to create a formula which would not definitively place exclusive divine authority in either the papacy or the general body of the episcopate.
- Vatican Council of 1870 formally made the resolution in favour of papal primacy which had been impossible in the 1560s
- in the reign of Queen Mary, after her unexpected accession in 1553
- She did not improve her historical legacy by sponsoring the burning of Protestants as heretics, a campaign whose intensity was, in comparison with other parts of Europe, a decade or two out of date.
- England undertook a remarkably efficient operation to discipline clergy who had married in King Edward VI's reign, in no more than a couple of years separating them from their wives
- English Catholicism now faced a disaster, since Philip could only have succeeded to the English throne if Mary had borne him an heir,
- Instead, the new queen, last of the Tudors, was Protestant Elizabeth, who did not expend great energy in responding to some rather unconvincing courting from her half-sister's widower.
- In Elizabethan Ireland, Franciscan friars led a parallel mission which was able to enjoy far wider success, partly because the Protestant Reformation there quickly became fatally identified with Westminster's exploitation of the island
- Mary's early death and Protestant Elizabeth's accession made it increasingly easy for both the Gaelic-and English-speaking Irish to identify Catholicism as a symbol of Irish difference from the English.
- Charles V on his abdication as emperor in 1556, exhausted by the effort of governing his vast empire, had divided his family inheritance: his younger brother Ferdinand had been elected Holy Roman Emperor and took the other Habsburg territories of central Europe, while Charles's son Philip had received Spain and all its overseas dominions.

18 Rome's Renewal (1500-1700)

- Ferdinand I was mindful of the Habsburgs' recent defeat at the hands of Lutheran princes of the empire which had forced him to sign the Peace of Augsburg

- Both Ferdinand and his son Maximilian II sought accommodations with Lutherans, wheedled a reluctant pope into allowing Catholic laity into receiving the Eucharist Hussite-style in both bread and wine, and maintained a Court in Vienna sheltering a remarkable variety of religious belief.

- King Philip II of Spain,

- Ruling from a monumental but bleak new monastery-palace, the Escorial,

- Philip and his government committed themselves to the proposition that there was only one way to be a Spaniard: a traditionalist Catholic, untainted by unsupervised contact with alien thought, now Protestant as well as Islamic or Jewish.

- Also troubled by Spanish officialdom were two religious later to become among the most famous personalities in the history of Christian mysticism, Teresa of Ávila and Juan de Yepes (John of the Cross).

- They both joined the Carmelite Order

- walk barefoot (Discalced).

- allow the women who joined her to engage in a Carmelite balance of contemplation and activism.

- Teresa is often remembered now in the dramatic and highly sexualized statue of her ecstasy which Gianlorenzo Bernini sculpted for the Church of Our Lady of Victory in Rome.

- she made sure that she breathed her last posed as the penitent Mary Magdalene was commonly seen in paintings.

- She was very conscious of the tightrope which any woman walked in the Spain of her time when putting herself forward to speak on spiritual matters,

- For both Teresa and Juan, the erotic biblical poem the Song of Songs became a key text for the divine revelation.

- now sound startlingly homoerotic:

- He spoke not only of love in such very physical modes, but also searingly explored the ultimate loneliness of humanity

- The Ascent of Mount Carmel. The Ascent described this 'dark night' as the third stage of the soul's experience after its early sensuality and subsequent purification,

18 Rome's Renewal (1500-1700)

- The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day in 1572 was the worst incident, and illustrated just how deep the passions in France now ran.
- five thousand Protestants were murdered and many more terrorized throughout the realm.
- symbol of Catholic savagery and duplicity,
- Henri IV of France, is often said to have mused, 'Paris is worth a Mass.'
- In its weary rejection of rigid religious principle, the phrase echoes what many of Europe's politicians and rulers felt after seventy years of religious warfare across Europe.
- We have met Henri in Poland, as the distinctly unwilling agent in 1573 of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's remarkable enactment of religious toleration, the Confederation of Warsaw
- Protestant societies which had rejected the power of the saints observed few or no saints' days, so holidays ceased to be the 'holy days' of the saints and some (usually not many) were reinvented as Protestant feasts.
- In most Reformed Churches, it quickly became the norm to lock church buildings between services to discourage superstitious devotions by individuals who did not have the benefit of community instruction from the pulpit
- Their most prominent piece of furniture was not an altar but a pulpit.
- By contrast, Catholic churches continued as in the pre-Reformation past to be open and available for private devotions between the frequent communal liturgical acts.
- Counter-Reformation clergy and their architects, anxious to harness and concentrate the devotional enthusiasm of its people, swept away the screens of medieval churches which obstructed congregations' view of the high altar in church.
- Catholics realized that splendour was one of their chief assets. Worship in Catholic churches became ever more expressive of the power and magnificence of the Church, as a backdrop to feast and fast.

18 Rome's Renewal (1500-1700)

- The city of Rome, enhanced by its newly discovered martyrs and receiving crowds of pilgrims to its ancient holy places, was the greatest of all these Catholic theatre sets. It now became ever more stately after centuries of decay, through a huge investment in building.

- completion of the new St Peter's Basilica.

- the Society began drawing on every device of dramatic sensation to capture the imaginations of people

- The Jesuits became actors and showmen: their visit must be a heart-stopping special occasion, bringing God's circus to town. This was carnival,

- The Church offered the remedy: its contact with the divine, summed up in the consecrated Host exhibited amid a blaze of candles, promised hope and salvation.

- An energetic and intellectually curious pope, Gregory XIII, took it upon himself, with the newfound papal confidence of the Counter-Reformation, to reform the deficiencies of the existing Julian calendar,

- Galileo's trial also happened during the Thirty Years War, a destructive battle for the soul of central Europe between Catholic and Protestant, and a time when the Pope was feeling unusually vulnerable.

- For there was much to unite the Church of Rome and the magisterial Reformations, both Lutheran and Reformed.

- One motive for this had little to do with the Reformation and much to do with that newly rampant sexually transmitted disease syphilis,

- Both sides stepped up the pressures to suppress male homosexuality,

- parsonage children

19 A Worldwide Faith (1500-1800)

- In 1500 they made their first landing on the east coast of what later became their colony of Brazil.

- for good measure they despised and severely harassed the heretical 'Nestorian' Dyophysite Christians of India.

- discuss amongst yourselves

- historian Garrett Mattingly once unkindly but accurately commented that by the mid-sixteenth century the King of Portugal had become the proprietor of 'a bankrupt wholesale grocery business'.

- In 1492, the same year that the Muslim kingdom of Granada fell, the adventurer Christopher Columbus

- partition the map of the world vertically between the two powers in 1493,

- the kingdoms revised this agreement in 1494 with the Treaty of Tordesillas.

- established their transatlantic colony of Brazil. Nevertheless, the bulk of westward activity was Spanish

- An important part of this militantly Latin Christian enterprise was the promotion of its faith among peoples now encountered,

- Western conquests and missionary work outside continental Europe were in the Canary Islands off the west coast of Africa,

- the Canaries were the first place in which medieval Europeans encountered the Stone Age.

- missionary friars in the Canaries,

- military adventurers who undertook Spain's forward movement in America: notably Hernán Cortés against the Aztecs in Central America and Francisco Pizarro against the Inkas of Peru.

- From 1500 there were Franciscans in America, and within a decade Dominicans had also arrived. Very soon the Dominicans began protesting against the vicious treatment of the natives.

- As early as 1500 Fernando and Isabel formally forbade enslavement of their subjects in America and the Canaries.

- created a set of 'rules of engagement'

- a so-called Requirement,

19 A Worldwide Faith (1500-1800)

- The friars' fury at the injustice continued. Their most eloquent spokesman was a former colonial official and plantation owner, Bartolome de las Casas, galvanized out of making money by hearing a Dominican sermon about the wickedness of what he and his fellow colonists were doing. The shock turned him to ordination, and he made it his especial task for half a century from 1514 to defend the natives – he became a Dominican himself in 1522.

- equally important for Latin Europe's future relations with other world civilizations, was the work of a Dominican who never saw the 'New World'. Francisco de Vitoria, for the last two decades of his life highly influential as the leading theologian in Salamanca University,

- 'just war' theory. Conventional Christian legal wisdom saw nothing wrong in enslaving non-Christians captured in a just war,

- War was only justified as a response to inflicted wrong, and the various peoples of America had offered no wrong to Spaniards before the Spaniards decided to move in on their territory.

- Pope Alexander had no right to grant sovereignty in America to Spaniards in 1493,

- Vitoria's discussions had a wider application. He was pioneering the concept of a system of international law, based on the older idea of ius gentium (' the law of peoples/ nations'), the legal principles applicable to humans everywhere.

- Western European political thought was to develop a relativistic concept of dealing with other cultures

- half the population of the Americas died in the first wave of epidemics.

- their gods were useless and that the God of the conquerors had won.

- The Spaniards were very ready to distinguish between tribal societies and the sophistication of city-based cultures with recognizable aristocracies like their own. In such urban settings, they might very willingly strike marriage alliances with members of the local elites,

- sacred city of Cholula,

- largest man-made pyramid in the world, is now crowned by the Church of Our Lady of Succour:

- deliberate replica of the Grand Mosque of Cordoba,

19 A Worldwide Faith (1500-1800)

- Back home, Spanish Catholics had crushed Islam and turned mosques into churches. Now in New Spain they had crushed other false gods and conquered the native princes. So, here in Cholula, they celebrated a new victory in the same way by building the princes a church which looked like a mosque.

- each centring on a church. This redrew the map of Central America,

- Nothing could be further from the clergy's minds than any need for Christianity to develop a long-term strategy of coexistence with other world faiths;

- anxious to banish the worship of the sun, priests appropriated sun imagery to the Christian Eucharist. One result seems to have been a notable stylistic innovation affecting the entire Tridentine Catholic world: eucharistic monstrances (vessels for displaying the consecrated wafer) which place their Host-container at the centre of a golden sunburst.

- been burying figures of the old gods next to crosses so that they could go on publicly worshipping them undetected,

- Spanish clergy radically limited their trust in the natives.

- Jesuits treated their hunter-gatherer converts almost as children, organizing them into large settlements

- benevolent European-led dictatorship of estates, the 'Reductions'.

- Protestants would demand vernacular Bibles, but for Tridentine Catholics, not even vernacular preaching mattered as much as safeguarding the confidentiality of sacramental confession:

- vibrant indigenous tradition of music in church;

- great deal of this activity was sustained by catechists, native or mixed-race laymen without any right to preside over sacraments, but devoted to repeating in their own communities what they had learned of the faith from clergy, interpreting, visiting, leading prayer.

- Virgin of Guadalupe. This apparition of Our Lady is supposed to have been experienced by an Aztec lay convert with the Spanish name Juan Diego.

- As Diego was affirming his experience to his bishop, her image became miraculously apparent in the cloak he was wearing;

- affirmation of divine motherhood

19 A Worldwide Faith (1500-1800)

- Portuguese weakness meant that there was little or no military backing for Christianity, particularly against far stronger native empires in India and China.
- Only in the Philippine Islands, a Spanish colony named after King Philip II, did Christianity eventually secure a substantial foothold among a large population in Asia
- Augustinian friars leading the Church's mission could rely on backing from colonial authorities with substantial military force.
- Italian Jesuit, Robert de Nobili (1577-1656). He took the unprecedented step of living in southern India as if he were a high-caste Indian, adopting
- The Jesuits quickly decided that missionaries must adapt themselves to Chinese customs.
- Their first great missionary, the Italian Matteo Ricci,
- he and his fellow Jesuits began dressing as Confucian scholars,
- The Chinese upper class was indeed impressed by the Jesuits' knowledge of mathematics, astronomy and geography,
- 'Chinese virgins': laywomen consecrated to singleness but still living with their families, teaching women and children.
- circumstances in China consistently promoted lay activism
- Francis Xavier and his fellow Jesuits arrived as early as 1549, only seven years after the first Portuguese visit to Japan, and Jesuits continued to dominate the Japanese mission.
- 300,000 Christian converts in Japan, aided by a determined and imaginative effort to meet Japan on its own terms.
- They had then to abolish the official imposition of 'Christ-stepping', a test of rejection of Christianity in which those suspected of Christian allegiance were forced to walk on pictures of Christ or the Virgin.
- disastrous flaw in European Christian mission in Africa, its association with the Portuguese slave trade.
- from the late sixteenth century the Portuguese were (unwillingly) sharing this trade with the English and Dutch, and hundreds of thousands of slaves were taken to new plantations in Protestant colonies in North America.

19 A Worldwide Faith (1500-1800)

- The city of Loanda in what is now Angola was the main departure point for enslaved people from the south-west, and the clergy's main role in the city became to baptize them before departure;
- drew attention to official Christianity's entanglement with the slave trade.
- Ethiopians clearly enjoyed the Jesuits' pictures more than their theological instruction.
- drawing on the Catholicism which surrounded the people imported to the colonial world.
- The Catholic Church allowed slaves confraternities and, as everywhere else in Catholic societies, confraternities proved to have a life which it was not necessarily easy for officialdom to control.
- Vodou (voodoo) of French Haiti, the Candomblé of Portuguese Brazil, the Santería of Spanish Cuba.
- panoply of saints which the enslaved might encounter in their confraternities was that the saints could stand in for the hierarchy of divinities who in West Africa were offered devotion in the place of the supreme creator god Olurun
- orishas, subordinate divinities in African religion connected with the whole range of human activities.
- The Virgin Mary could hardly be ignored in Catholicism and in the interiors of churches, and it was not a problem to identify her omnipresent image with the Taino goddess Atabey or the Yoruba orishas Oshun and Yemaya.
- popularity of St Barbara among the altars and paintings of Cuban churches.
- Equally surprising is to find St Patrick so prominent in many Vodou shrines (see Plate 61), until one remembers that he too had been a slave who had twice crossed the sea, the second time to freedom, and that he had particular power over snakes, like the loa (Haitian equivalent of orisha) Dambala Wèdo. And so the evangelist and patron saint of Ireland, that land so ruined and distorted by English colonial rule, found new hospitality among other peoples whose lives had been stolen by colonial regimes.
- Fon/ Yoruba deity Ogou, a warrior with a strong sense of justice, joining identities with the warrior St James of Compostela
- When it was forbidden to speak of Dessalines in nineteenth-century Haiti, it was always possible triumphantly to process around the town with an image of the original St-Jacques. 5