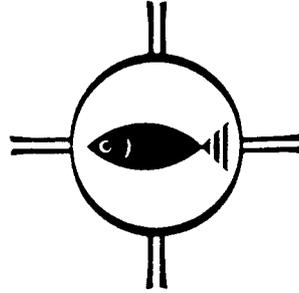


THE LIBERAL CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF STUDIES



CHURCH HISTORY

PART 2
VOLUME II

THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES

(800 TO 1449 A.D.)

BY THE REV. DUDLEY GOWER, M.A.

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THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES

PART II, VOLUME II FROM THE CROWNING OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE COUNCIL OF BASLE (800 · 1449 A.D.)

by
The Rev. Dudley Gower, M.A.

CHAPTER

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CHAPTER 1 GENERAL HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 800 · 1449 A.D.

PRELUDE TO THE CRUSADES

It has been observed that every institution, however noble, bears within itself the seed of its inevitable destruction. Islam proved no exception to this observation. The decay of its Caliphate proves the point. The first two Caliphs, Abu Bakr and Omar, were fine men, but the third, Othman, introduced the political ambition and greed of an irreligious monarch. Muhammed had left behind a harem full of quarrels, jealousies, and intrigue, and these now began to assume prominence. The Prophet had a daughter, Fatima, who had married his nephew, Ali, who considered he had the right to be Caliph. This was complicated by the fact the Abu Bakr, Omar and the third ruler Othman were all Meccans; none had come from Medina, the leading families of which resented the elevation of the Omayyad dynasty. The Prophet's favourite wife, Ayesha, disliked Ali's wife intensely and when the rivalry between Ali and Othman came to a head, she supported Othman. Such trivial acts of spite split Islam into two factions: the followers of Ali, called *Shiites* (*Shi'at* means *party, faction*, referring to Ali), and *Sunnites* (*Sunnah* means *traditional precedents*). The *Shiites* inserted the cause of Ali into the Islamic faith and the *Sunnites* objected to that addition.

Yet conversion among unbelievers was still proceeding apace. One of the races that were to show itself most obedient to the faith was the Turkish, one powerful clan, the *Seljuks*, embracing the *Sunnite* teachings. Islam was thus no longer a united Empire. The reigning *Sunnite* Caliph, ruling in a much-diminished State of Baghdad, was surrounded on all sides by *Shiite* heretics. The *Seljuks* gathered their forces, invaded *Shiite* territories and declared themselves protectors of the true Caliphate. Such was the strength of the revival that Arab armies were soon on the march again with the Turks. The main victim was the Byzantine Empire. Asia Minor was quickly overrun and even Constantinople was threatened. Jerusalem was captured around 1075.

The Byzantine Emperors were consequently in dire straits, as this attack from the east coincided with troubles on the north and west frontiers of the empire. In this grave predicament, the Byzantine Emperor, Michael VII, appealed to Rome for assistance. The Pope, then Gregory VII (Hildebrand), was entirely occupied by the struggle with the German Emperors over the investiture controversy (see History of the Church). In 1088 Pope Urban II took office, at which time a second appeal was made. Here was the great opportunity for Rome to attain religious leadership over the entire Christian world and Urban eagerly seized it. A Church Council was assembled at Clermont in 1095 at which it was decided to prepare Europe for war against Islam. The Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem must at all costs be regained.

The response was quite extraordinary, not only by royalty and nobility, but by common folk as well. A strange, prophetic figure, Peter the Hermit, fanned the flame by lurid reports of the appalling state of affairs in the holy places.

THE FIRST CRUSADE

The religious fervour generated by the First Crusade was infiltrated with elements of exploitation of the event by the less scrupulous members of European society of that time. Both Gregory VII and Urban II had plans to supersede the Eastern Greek Church. As for the common folk, their instincts of hatred and revenge had been thoroughly aroused, so they were ripe for the massacres and atrocities that were later to stain the Christian record. A further ingredient was the protest of Italian businessmen whose main trade routes to the East had been closed by the enemy.

The First Crusade divides itself into the unorganised, practically leaderless migration in 1096 of those who were more the product of the emotional propaganda of Peter the Hermit, and the organized armies of 1097. The latter were the product of papal planning, with aristocratic

leadership and strongly reinforced by Normans. The former were little more than ignorant masses who had no clear idea of aim or direction and either never reached Asia Minor or were slaughtered there. The latter were led by Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin, Raymond of Toulouse, and Bohemund of Otranto, in three armies. A rough calculation of their strength is 30,000 men.

Nicaea fell in 1097 and Antioch in 1098. The march to Jerusalem followed and the horrors of its capture in 1099 are better left undescribed. The main object of the Crusade now accomplished, a large number of its members returned home, leaving the leaders to divide up the spoils. Four Latin States were formed. The government was not theocratic, but feudal, Godfrey ruling as king with the other three States as fiefs. The return of so many Crusaders left them seriously undermanned and only the weakness of the Moslems, caused by their religious differences, enabled the States to remain viable. Moslem unification in Syria brought about the recapture of Edessa in 1144, when a new and powerful leader, Saladin, emerged to take command.

The religious fervour of the First Crusade was never to be repeated, though others took place.

THE SECOND CRUSADE

Bernard of Clairvaux, who had allowed himself to be persuaded by Pope Eugenius III, rather unwillingly preached the Second Crusade. This time two monarchs assumed the leadership; the German Emperor Conrad III, and the French King Louis VII. The operation lasted for two years, 1147-1149. Nothing of importance was accomplished. From this time Crusading began to lose its glamour.

THE THIRD CRUSADE

Saladin (*Salah-ad-din*) commenced a Holy War against the Christians in 1187 and retook Jerusalem. It is of outstanding credit to Islam that on this occasion, in spite of former Christian terrorism, no atrocities were allowed. The Latin States were, however, reduced to little more than the three cities of Antioch, Tyre and Tripoli.

The Third Crusade was led by the three greatest monarchs of Europe; the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, King Richard I of England and King Philip II of France. No papal planning was permitted to influence this project, which was entirely secular, notwithstanding the efforts of the Pope to gain control of it.

The Crusade started disastrously when the Emperor was drowned crossing a river. The German contingent thereafter disintegrated. Richard and Philip quarrelled incessantly until the latter decided to return to France. Richard, thus left alone, decided to negotiate with Saladin, a result of which Christians were given access to Jerusalem during a three-year truce.

THE FOURTH CRUSADE

The Fourth Crusade was the most dishonourable of the official eight expeditions and bears the stigma of being the only Crusade that was wholly excommunicated. Enmeshed in political machinations from the beginning, it included plans to unite the Greek and Latin Churches by force. Pope Innocent II employed the excommunication when, in spite of his protest, the Greek city of Zara was sacked in 1202.

The Army then proceeded to Constantinople in the following year and became heavily implicated in Byzantine dynastic intrigues. In 1204 these pseudo-Crusaders stormed the city and sacked it with horrifying thoroughness. Cartloads of its precious relics and treasures were removed to be distributed over Europe. A Latin Patriarch replaced the Greek Head of the Eastern Church.

The Fourth Crusade thus never reached the Holy Land, but was deliberately diverted and employed for nefarious ends. Such a gross abuse of the Crusading ideal stunned Europe and shamed the

whole movement and the papacy that had played such an infamous part in it.

THE SIXTH CRUSADE

The spirit of Crusading having by this time been so cheapened and disgraced and since Jerusalem was not finally taken out of the hands of the Turks until 1914 and nothing of note was accomplished, it has been thought better to omit the remaining Crusades with the exception of the Sixth. This was selected in order to serve as an introduction to a most extraordinary man-the Emperor Frederick II. He was called by his contemporaries' *stupor mundi* (the wonder of the world).

He was learned beyond all other monarchs, spoke six languages, including Arabic, was a patron of Arts and Letters, survived several excommunications and had a breadth of outlook quite unusual in his day. Leader of the Sixth Crusade in a much delayed fulfilment of a promise made to Innocent III when papal support was given to his election as Emperor, he inaugurated the bloodless expedient of the Crusade by treaty-but only because he had not sufficient forces to risk war. Able to converse with the Sultan of Egypt in his own tongue, these two eminent men, discovering their mutual, rather advanced and cynical views, met and discussed current topics. The bargain was completed, the outcome being a treaty (1229) giving the Christians a guaranteed peace for ten years, a grant of Nazareth and Bethlehem as well as Jerusalem and a strip of land giving access from the coast.

Unfortunately for him, the treaty displeased many on both sides, and he soon found that little or no gratitude was to be expected for his remarkable efforts by which an excommunicate had won back the holy places for Christendom without spilling a drop of blood or even striking a blow.

THE ALBIGENSIAN 'CRUSADE'

As a further instance of the decadence of the Crusading ideal there are on record "Crusades" that had no connection with the Holy Land and thus are not included in the accepted list of eight. One of these was the Albigensian "Crusade" in the south of France, demanded by Innocent III in 1208 and lasting until 1213. This is partly linked with the Waldensian "Crusade". The Albigensians were Catharists of Alti and the Waldensians followers of Peter Waldo. The latter movement is thought to have arisen originally as a protest of the lower classes against the corrupt clergy of that era.

The Catharists doctrines show descent from the ideas of the Paulicians and have close association with the dualism of Mani, whose teachings (*Manichaeism*) interested St. Augustine in his early years. They considered that there were two principles-good and evil-and that matter was evil. Man was therefore a dweller in an evil world and his duty was to free his spirit from it. There appear to have been two degrees: the believers and the perfect. The perfect were expected to maintain the highest moral standards. Discipline for them was strict, with rules for fasting, restraint from sexual intercourse and abstention from meat. Beliefs concerning the Incarnation were so unorthodox that they were condemned as heresy. Persecution ensued with military ravaging and massacre. Later the Inquisition was instituted to assist. A second persecution was undertaken in 1244, when the Cathari stronghold of Montségur near the Pyrenees was destroyed and the sect was driven underground.

ASSESSMENT OF THE CRUSADES

The hard fact that has to be taken into account is that, though the Crusades were organized to save the Eastern Christian Church and the holy places, when they ended, the whole area was in the hands of Islam. Not only did the Turks occupy the lands of the Byzantium Empire, but were on the verge of taking Constantinople itself. The forces of Christendom thus ignominiously failed and it was not by a combined Christian effort that the invaders of Europe were checked in their eventual advance into the Balkans; this was a political concern of those whose existence was most severely threatened by Moslem arms, namely the Hapsburg Empire and Venice.

The Fourth Crusade was the turning point in the series, for the formation of a Latin Empire in

Constantinople revealed to Europe at large that the Popes were more eager to keep the Greek Church under their overlordship than to save Jerusalem. As Runciman expresses this in his *History of the Crusades*, *The crusade had become a movement not for the protection of Christendom but for the establishment of the authority of the Roman Church.*

The harm done to Europe by the sack of Constantinople was immense, for it was considered to be the centre of Christian civilization. It was the good fortune of Europe that the Italians, who had fostered better relations with Byzantium, provided an asylum for its scholars after the decline and fall of Constantinople. A major assessment of the Crusades must be that it was the Crusaders themselves who deliberately smashed the last line of defence between Christian and Moslem, thus opening the way to the later Turkish advance to the very gates of Vienna.

THE MILITARY ORDERS

The Knights of the Teutonic Order, or the Order of the Hospital of St. Mary, was an organization of the German Crusaders founded in Acre about 1190. It commenced as a charitable Order with a hospital attached. In 1198 it assumed a military character. In 1225 it accepted an invitation from Poland to subdue and Christianise the Prussians. In 1233 the invasion of Prussia began. During the next fifty years of warfare, control of the country was obtained. The Knights then built themselves castles as military and administrative centres and encouraged the immigration of peasants to settle in the depopulated areas. Poland and Lithuania, feeling threatened by the Order's increasing strength, joined forces against the Knights and defeated them in 1410. This broke their military power, after which their wealth and influence swiftly declined.

The Templars, or Poor Knights of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon, were also established in the Age of the Crusades, being founded at the commencement of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. At that time only a few strongholds were held by the Christians and pilgrims to the holy places were often attacked by roving gangs of Moslems. Around 1120 a few French knights dedicated themselves to the protection of Christian pilgrims and formed a community for that purpose. The King of Jerusalem provided accommodation in the royal palace where the Jewish Temple had been and this gave the order its name.

St. Bernard was enough interested in them to construct their Rule. As the years went by the Order acquired wealth and property scattered throughout Europe. The Templars were extremely secretive about their internal affairs, and this, with their possessions, inspired fear and greed in the King of France, Philip IV, who accused them of heresy and immoral conduct. At length he persuaded Pope Clement V to suppress the Order in 1312. In 1314 its Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, was burned at the stake; an event which has great significance for Freemasons, with which the Order must have had connections.

The Sovereign and Military Order of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, also known as the Knights of Malta, had its origin in a hospital for sick pilgrims close to the Church of St. John the Baptist in Jerusalem. After the success of the First Crusade, the superior of the hospital founded other hospitals along the route to the Holy Land. Nobles returning from a Crusade showed gratitude for the care of their wounds by leaving the Order valuable estates. The Order was military from its inception and its development included the maintenance of a powerful army with which it helped to wage war on the Moslems. At the fall of Acre in 1291 their work came to an end and this induced them to move to Cyprus. In 1309 the island of Rhodes was added to their possessions and this they fortified in the hope of making it impregnable to the Turkish attacks. After several attempts, the Turks, with enormous losses, managed to storm the triple fortifications of the city in 1522. The Knights were allowed to capitulate with honour and retire to Malta, which was presented to them by the Emperor Charles V. The Order now possesses no territories, but remains with us in such movements as the St. John's Ambulance Association.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

As mentioned above, the history of the German Emperors is so closely interwoven with that of the papacy that it has been relegated to the section on the History of the Church. In order not to leave a gap in the historical background, a general resume of the Holy Roman Empire will be given.

The reasons generally given for its resurrection are:

1. the outstanding strength of character of Charlemagne;
2. the proof of that strength by his conquests;
3. the special bond of the alliance between the Franks and the papacy;
4. the throne at Constantinople was temporarily vacant.

Yet these reasons do not suffice to solve the problem as to why Charlemagne's successors strove to maintain what seemed to be a worthless title, and why Italians were willing to accept strangers and barbarians as rulers.

The answer lies along the lines of the recognition of the Mediaeval mind. The classical age had bequeathed to its inheritors two related ideas: a World Monarchy and a World Religion. Rome had given the nations under her dominion a common speech and a common law and, later, the State religion of Christianity, which acknowledges but one God in whose sight all are equal. The unity instilled by the worship of one God instead of many gods reflected itself in the unity of races and nations instead of a multiplicity of independent city states and principalities.

In the year 800, when Charlemagne was crowned as the first Holy Roman Emperor, the frontiers of Christianity were not greatly different from those of its political prototype, so that the terms Roman and Christian seemed, through collective religion and political status, to indicate a united community. In the Mediaeval concept the existence of the Catholic Church was indeed the outward and visible sign of an eternal truth.

The periodic assembly of Church Councils, when, from far and near, the Empire's chief officers, lay and spiritual, met together to confer, could give no better example of the union of World Church and World State. Here there appeared to be verifying itself St. Augustine's prophecy of The City of God—a book that had a profound influence on the resurgence of Rome in what Toynbee calls its *Ghost Empire*. To preserve religious unity was therefore of vital importance to such an ideal, so every effort was made by the Roman Church to exclude heresy and dangerous innovations. This should be remembered when considering the not always laudable acts of certain churchmen of indomitable will who occupied the chair of St. Peter.

To carry out that dual task there must be, then, only one interpreter of the faith, one way to God through well-established channels—a process that necessitated a dogmatic approach to religion. As Bryce points out so clearly in his history of the Holy Roman Empire, such a dogmatic approach to religion is the result of the ignorance of large masses of people by whom ideas are not able to be easily apprehended. Concrete facts are their mental terrain, so their teachers just treat every Biblical parable and event as a literal statement, apply every doctrine in a literal manner and conceal every symbol behind a literal acceptance of the minutiae of ceremonial. The mediation of Our Lady and the saints must be crystallized into actual pictures and statues in the churches. Man is tempted by a materialized Satan and assisted by materialized angels.

One can perceive the abyss of difference that exists between the Mediaeval view of religion and our own. The independent National Church of today would have been anathema to such a background and its self-sufficiency instil the horror of separative loneliness and fear. The binding together of Church and State had its drawbacks, however, in that the ruler of each aspect frequently found himself trespassing in the sphere of influence of the other. We find, for example, bishops in

command of troops in time of war and monarchs appointing their own ecclesiastical officers and summoning their own ecclesiastical councils. Yet, as God is one, these two aspects, spiritual rule and temporal rule, should also be one. To a Mediaeval cleric it seemed in the nature of things that as the salvation of man depended on obedience to hierarchical governance in the Church, so should his political life also. In other words, the Universal Church demanded the Universal State and the perfect example of it was the Roman Empire. This was the Divine Order, which should not be questioned or opposed.

When Christianity was inaugurated as the State religion, it moulded itself on the constitution of that State. The chair of St. Peter became the imperial throne of the Church, with the connotation that the Popes were rulers of far more than earthly territory. When Constantine the Great transferred the capital from Rome to Constantinople, the splendour that was Rome remained to exercise its charisma upon those who still regarded her with the awe due to the Eternal City. At length the hour struck for complete liberation from the Eastern Emperors and it seemed only right for the Bishop of Rome to take over in completeness the leadership of the entire Christian world.

In the early days of the Holy Roman Empire an obsession grew in the Roman Church that the Church must in every respect equal, but not surpass, the State. The gorgeous ceremonial of the papal court must be on the same scale as that of the imperial court; the Canon Law must rival the law of the State. In all things the two components of the ideal Christian community must conform to each other, since the decline of one would endanger the whole. The weakness of Charlemagne's descendants was therefore a genuine anxiety to the papacy and this was not relieved until the imperial title fell into the hands of the German line.

As originally planned, the Holy Roman Church and the Holy Roman Empire were to be regarded as two aspects of the same thing, differing only in their special work. The Pope is entrusted with the souls of men and the Emperor with their bodies and acts. But history has to record that this highly ideal conjunction of Church and State hardly ever worked. The argument arose that man's life in the spiritual world is surely of more importance than his life on earth, hence the Pope, as the Vicar of God, should be his sole representative. It is only logical to deduce from this that the Pope in that capacity delegates the imperial power to the Emperor, the temporal thereby becoming the servant of the spiritual. On such a basis did the struggle for supremacy commence. As a consequence, though each contestant enjoyed a period of triumph, both eventually were weakened.

The Christian community envisaged by Pope and Emperor was in its essence, anti-national. Since the succeeding age was to emphasize nationalism ad nauseam, the Holy Roman Empire could not last except as the *ghost of a ghost*.

In its last years the Holy Roman Empire, being, as Voltaire exclaimed, *neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire*, quietly declined, the actual moment of its decease being the change made in the German constitution by Napoleon in 1806.

CHAPTER 2 THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH 800 TO 1449 A.D.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE FRANKISH EMPIRE

H.A.L. Fisher has this most striking passage in his conclusions on the reign of Charlemagne:

When the great Emperor passed away, his vast dominions fell asunder and in their severance gave rise to the nations of the west. He did not succeed, fortunately perhaps for Europe, in creating a centralized government strong enough to function in the absence of a dominating mind. His permanent achievements must be sought

elsewhere. Mounting the throne at a time when the political future was dark and troubled, when the idea of authority had grown faint and the lamps of learning and literature were flickering to extinction, he called a vigorous halt to the forces of paganism, anarchy and ignorance. To him the domain of Latin Christianity owes the geographical shape, which it has since retained. To his vigorous impulsion is due a remarkable revival of intellectual activity. The idea of a strong civilized government, concerned to promote religion, to secure justice, to listen to the complaints of all its subjects, to spread education, and to conserve learning, was brought back into western Europe by this eager, vital and capacious spirit.

(A History of Europe, p. 163)

After Charlemagne's death the worst results of the partitioning of Empires among the family were seen. Civil war could never be avoided when Kingdoms were treated like private estates and willed to heirs regardless of the feelings and traditions of their populations. All that can be said in this particular case is that out of this disastrous practice the modern nations of Europe were formed.

THE GERMAN MONARCHY

Germany was divided into the lands of the Franconians, Swabians, Saxons, Thuringians and Bavarians. These had no national feeling to unite them, their union depending on two institutions that were not of their own making; the Holy Roman Empire and the Roman Catholic Church. The nobles were all but independent, and no attempt as yet to assert royal authority over them had succeeded. Conrad, King of Franconia, had failed largely owing to the stubborn resistance of Saxony.

Realizing this, he saw that the future lay with this energetic warrior nation, and bequeathed his crown to the Duke of Saxony, Henry the Fowler, who reigned as King of the Confederation of States from 919 to 936. Through founding the German Kingdom on Saxony, his son, Otto the Great, was able to construct a strong mediaeval state.

OTTO I AND HIS RELIGIOUS POLICY

On the whole, Otto favoured the clergy by donations of large estates, granting them privileges and creating ecclesiastical fiefs. In return he gained their valuable aid in a kind of civil service and from their influence came whatever basis of unity existed in his Kingdom. But Otto was firm on keeping the rights of presentation in his own hands, so that the Church was dependent on him.

The first sign of open resistance was the refusal of the Pope to recognize the establishment of a new Archbishopric at Magdeburg. Otto then perceived that if he was to consolidate his Church policy he must aim for the submission of the Pope. This was mainly the cause of his first unsuccessful invasion of Italy in 951.

In 960 Pope John XII appealed to Otto for assistance against a recalcitrant noble of Ravenna. This provided an excuse for a second invasion of Italy. Otto had no difficulty in obtaining his nobles' support, as the Germans regarded themselves as the heirs of the Carolingian tradition and looked upon the maintenance of the Empire as a duty. In 962 Otto was crowned Emperor by John XII. This bestowed added prestige in ecclesiastical affairs and strengthened his authority. During his reign John XII was deposed and the popes elected were his nominees and dependent on him. But the Popes could not indefinitely remain submissive to the Emperors and Italy could never be relied upon to stay subject to German rule.

The results of Otto the Great's reign were mixed. He had indeed re-established the Holy Roman Empire, but it was no longer "universal", as France and Spain did not belong to it and Italy was intensely anti-feudal. The subjugation of the papacy could endure only while its weakness allowed an Emperor to preserve that situation. Otto thus sowed the seeds of the ensuing struggle for supremacy between the Popes and the Emperors, which was destined to be a continually disturbing element in European politics. His treatment of the papacy prepared for its reaction by

means of a succession of strong Popes.

THE CLUNIAN REFORM

Since the times of confusion after the barbarian invasions the Church in France and Germany had been compelled to seek the protection of the nobility, thus making the clergy vassals of some lay lords. Consequently the lords expected to appoint bishops and abbots as suited their plans and politics. According to canon law, Bishops should be elected by the clergy and people of their Diocese, but in actual fact only the cathedral clergy performed that function. Yet it was the lay lord who was really in command and his choice had to be sanctioned.

In the monasteries the abbot was usually a man chosen by the lord for political reasons. The Rule of Benedict was subscribed to but not often carried into effect, the monasteries harbouring many with no proper vocation, but merely refugees from the turbulence of the outer world.

A party of supporters of the Church in France were determined to find some way of liberating themselves and others from the harmful influence of lay interference in purely religious concerns. They consulted William, Duke of Aquitaine, noted for his true piety and persuaded him to found a new type of monastery at Cluny.

To avoid the past evil of ecclesiastical fiefs, it was laid down that its monks were never to hold land in return for services - the only services permitted being masses and prayers for those who made donations. Benedict had ruled that idleness must be discouraged by working in the fields. But gifts to the monasteries had usually been in the form of estates, with their own tenants on them who provided all manual labour. Cluny accepted this situation, replacing work in the fields with additional time to be spent on church services.

Another evil that had to be counteracted was laxity due to the want of effective supervision. It was therefore decided that Cluny must have only one abbot; any other houses that might join the Order would each be ruled by a prior. The abbot would be responsible for discipline and ensure it by frequent visits.

The ideals of Cluny spread swiftly over France and Germany, some of the largest Benedictine monasteries joining the mother-house. Others reformed themselves on the Clunian model without joining. This was especially the case with England where Dunstan revived not only monasticism but the whole Church.

PRELUDE TO THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

Germany was still a confederacy. The emperor, Henry II, did not inherit the title by right but by election. The nobles were strengthened by the return to the electory procedure. Henry now had to rely on the Church to restore the balance, so he used some of the clergy as his chief ministers, supported the Clunian reform movement and abolished some of the ecclesiastical abuse. Henry died without an heir.

Conrad II was next elected. He had the backing of those among the clergy who wanted a ruler willing to use his influence against the Clunian reform movement that Henry II had encouraged. By no means a spiritual man, he continued the evil practice of selling benefices, which increased simony and was directly against the principles of Cluny. In 1024, he was crowned Emperor by John XIX in Rome. His son Henry III succeeded him. An able and potent ruler, he all but united Germany, and, for the last time in the history of the Empire, worked in harmony with the papacy. A valued supporter of Clunian reform, he knew that the reform of the papacy should come first.

In 1046 he received a call for help from a synod in Rome where a grave scandal had occurred. Pope Benedict IX had sold the holy office to one who had taken the name of Gregory VI, whilst the

Romans had elected a third Pope, Sylvester III. Now Benedict was attempting to regain his position. Henry travelled immediately to Rome, deposed all three and secured the election of a German, Clement II. Clement crowned his benefactor and his wife as Emperor and Empress on Christmas Day. A synod was then held at which Henry was given the right of nominating the Pope. He appointed a succession of five German Popes in order to safeguard the pontifical throne for some years to come.

The power of the Emperor was now supreme. But his triumph was not complete for he made a powerful enemy in Matilda, daughter of the Marquis of Tuscany, as she and her widowed mother were imprisoned on Henry's orders on the charge of the mother having contracted a marriage with his leading opponent in Germany. On the Emperor's death, Matilda, now Countess, was able to see the honour of her House restored and revenged herself by supporting the papacy with all the resources of her prominent family against Henry IV in the investiture dispute.

THE MEDIAEVAL MIND

In order to understand how a Holy Roman Emperor could so humble himself as Henry IV was compelled to do, one must know the state of mind of his people. The Teutonic mind in mediaeval times lent itself easily to the belief that the Pope, as the divinely appointed successor of St. Peter, was all-powerful in the Christian world. Even in the case of weak and dissolute Popes, the awe and mystery surrounding the papacy was not dispersed. Moreover, the authority of the Popes was enhanced by the existence of carefully forged documents that extended their power over matters both ecclesiastical and secular. These *Decretals* were the spiritual weapons employed to discipline the clergy and fight against the laity when necessary.

To this must be added the historical pattern, that there occurs in a more civilized stage of society what may be called a tribal *hangover*, in which the punishment for an individual offence must be suffered by all; that is, it is the influence from the ancient tribal idea that all must suffer for the neglectful or rebellious behaviour of the leader. In this the tremendous efficacy of the use of anathema and excommunication become apparent. The Emperor has trespassed against the divine law, so all his people must pay the price of temporary deprivation of the means of salvation until he has made good his deviance. Such an attitude in a population means either the deepest repentance in sight of all or the deposition and abandonment of the offending leader.

THE GROWTH OF PAPAL POWER

A reform party perceived that the status and organization of the whole Church must be improved and was eager to see it start at the top. As mentioned, the Emperor Henry III was interested and he was the most influential person to bring about reform in the papacy. At that period the Pope was not elected by the clergy and people of Rome as was supposed to be the law, but chosen by the strongest faction of the Roman nobles. Only the presence of an imperial army had the power to interfere with that choice. The plan of the reformers was to avoid unlawful pressure from either the Emperor or the Roman nobility. This object was achieved through the establishment of a permanent body of electors, the College of Cardinals. When a Pope died, the College was to assemble and elect his successor. No pressure from outside the College was to be exerted upon it, otherwise the election would be declared invalid. A process was evolved to keep all possibility of external influence away from an election.

This process is still in use today. Henry accomplished a noble work by his actions not realizing that it reacted also upon himself as Emperor as well as on the nobles. It was his unfortunate successors who were to suffer.

The Popes had come to realize that to carry out efficiently their functions in the Church beyond their own boundaries, distance constituted a serious impediment. A Pope must have correct information on local circumstances to decide how to act. A system of papal agents was therefore

inaugurated and these were given the name of legates. Some were empowered with orders to reform in a general way and others, the legates *a latere*, were sent on specific errands. These messengers were to be a force for papal control over the whole Church. A further significant development was connected with the presentation of the *pallium* (a white band of woollen material bearing four purple crosses). This was for those of the rank of Archbishop and the prelate so honoured was expected to travel to Rome so that the Pope could present it to him. More often than not, by Henry's day, the *pallium* had been transported by a papal agent. This procedure was now ordered to cease, as by insisting on the personal presentation of the *pallium* by the Pope, the papacy could have far more control over the election of Archbishops.

A further reform was the edict concerning the celibacy of Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons. In some countries married clergy passed on their offices by inheritance and in others there were cases of clergy endowing their children with church property. There was also the problem of the concentration of interest. The dilemma here was due to the clergy being usually the only literate men in the vicinity. The lay lords wanted them as administrators, whereas the Church required their spiritual services. Should the influence of the reformers win the day, what would happen to the administration of the country? One cannot wonder at the emphasis placed by some monarchs on the choice of prelates being in their hands, since they depended so much on them for work of the highest importance.

In 1061 a Pope, Alexander II, was appointed in the new way without any reference to Henry IV.

GREGORY VII AND THE INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY

When a principle is involved, which was in this connection the supremacy of either the Emperor or the Pope, there has to be a test case in which a trial of strength can be undertaken. Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand) was an experienced statesman who had been in the papal service before his own election in 1073. He knew that if his plans for the freedom of the Church from lay interference were to succeed, he must break once and for all with the old conception of the Church depending on the Emperors for protection. Protection must be found elsewhere, then the papacy would never again be at the mercy of the imperial will. The first necessary action was therefore to ensure that it had no powerful enemies in its immediate neighbourhood. Gregory's predecessor had taken a big step towards this goal by a reconciliation with the Normans who had been settled in the South of Italy since 1030.

The revengeful Countess Matilda answered for the friendliness of Tuscany. His next step was not only to liberate the Church from the Empire, but to secure dominance.

The test case chosen was investiture of the clergy. In 1075 Gregory, through a synod in Rome denied the right of any layperson of whatever rank to invest the clergy with a religious office; all offenders would be excommunicated. This was the equivalent of a declaration of war on the Empire. The main difficulty was the feudal system itself, for through its laws the bishops were landholders, and all landholders, lay and ecclesiastical, must swear fealty to their monarch. But the bishops were spiritually under the Pope. The argument of the reformers was that all Church property had to be given to God, therefore the giver had no longer any rights over it, so the Church owed no homage to any lay person. As the Church owned a vast amount of property, to expect rulers to give up their feudal rights over it was like requesting them to change their entire system of government.

The struggle started with Henry IV's appointment of the Archbishop of Milan without papal consent. He was summoned to appear before Gregory to account for this illegal act. Henry struck back by holding a synod at Worms in 1076 which deposed Gregory. A synod at the Vatican then excommunicated and deposed Henry. By this decree all Christians in the Empire were released from any oaths of fealty they had sworn to their King, as he was no longer their ruler.

The severity of such a decree caused Henry to be abandoned by a majority of his subjects. Without any adequate support he was helpless and was forced to agree to the terms of the Diet of Tribur, which were: to submit to the Pope or to be permanently deposed. Henry and his wife whereupon set out in the depths of winter and crossed the Alps into Lombardy, where they were welcomed on the misunderstanding that they were about to oppose the Pope. Gregory, expecting an attack from that direction, fled to Canossa, a fortress belonging to the Countess Matilda. But Henry had faced up to his abject submission and waited barefoot in the snow outside the castle for three full days before being permitted to enter the Pope's presence. There absolution was given provided that the penitent accepted Gregory's judgment of whether he should still be King and Emperor or not. In this manner did a Pope establish the precedent of executing judgment on monarchs.

But Gregory underestimated the reaction of the Germans who were now resentful of the humiliation of their King. Henry was able to carry out an invasion of Italy in 1081 when Tuscany was laid waste on account of Matilda's enmity and Rome besieged. Gregory took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. An Antipope, Guibert, was then elected as Clement III and he re-crowned Henry on Easter Day, 1084.

In that same year the Normans came to the relief of Gregory, rescued him, took him to Salerno and sacked and burnt Rome. Gregory, from his new abode then excommunicated Henry again, but died the following year, still in exile.

The controversy, however, was still not satisfactorily settled. After additional trouble with Clement III, now regarded as an Anti-pope, Urban II was elected by a few reform cardinals in 1088. With consummate statesmanship he preached the First Crusade and with its amazing success placed himself in the position of leader of Europe.

In 1105 the Emperor had to face the rebellion of his son, which compelled him to abdicate. As Henry V, the son proved to be stronger and more unscrupulous than the father and the investiture quarrel was renewed in full force. Henry invaded Italy in 1110, where the new Pope, Paschal II, was too weak to offer any resistance. He came to terms with the Emperor. Paschal, having none of the courage of Gregory, yielded the right of investiture to Henry and crowned him Emperor. But Henry had overplayed his hand, since Paschal could now claim that the resignation of the right of investiture had been extorted by force, so he could now repudiate it. In 1112 a synod in Vienna excommunicated the Emperor and deprived him of that right.

Fortunately for Europe, a compromise argued by two French clerics was available, namely, that both disputants had their rights; the Pope to invest with the spiritual insignia and the Emperor with the temporalities.

In 1222, negotiations between the Emperor and Pope Calixtus II resulted in a Concordat being signed at Worms on the above basis. By the agreed consultation between Emperor and Pope, the papacy at least won the advantage that a bishop or an abbot must be acceptable to both parties before appointment.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

Cluny had an immense success, but its success had at length resulted in luxurious living. In France, a monk of the monastery of Montier, Robert by name, anxious to restore the lost asceticism, founded in 1098 a monastery of his own in Citeaux. Here the strictness of the discipline surpassed the Rule of Benedict. In 1109, an Englishman, Stephen Harding, became abbot, and the influence of the Cistercian Order swiftly increased. The Abbot had supreme authority over all their monasteries, with the aid of an annual convocation of their heads. The Cistercian objectives were agriculture, contemplation and poverty.

About 1112, Bernard, a most saintly man, destined to be the greatest religious force of his age, entered the mother house. Three years afterwards, he left to found another monastery of that Order in Clairvaux. He was appointed its abbot and resolutely refused to accept any higher office outside, dying there in 1153. Such was his spirituality that all men admired him, including Luther and Calvin. His love of Christ and his mystical contemplation of Him had great influence on the religion of his time and the spiritual power of his nature lent force to all he gave out, since he was considered the best preacher in Europe. His knowledge of current problems was the cause of a voluminous correspondence with those requesting advice. Eugene III, who was Pope from 1145 to 1153, was one of his monks. Bernard's famous treatise, *De Consideratione*, was dedicated to Eugene. It consisted of a criticism of papal ambitions.

From his teachings various extremist movements attacking the worldliness of the clergy took their rise, the most outstanding being that of Arnold of Brescia, who was hanged by order of Hadrian IV, the only English pope, in 1155.

DOMINICANS AND FRANCISCANS

Dominic was a Castilian. In 1203, travelling through the south of France on political business with his Bishop, he encountered the Cathari, who were treating the Roman missionaries as their inferiors. The Bishop pointed out that only men equal in learning to the Cathari and as disciplined by poverty as they were could hope to lead the wanderers back into the Roman Catholic Church. Three years later, the Bishop died and Dominic was left to carry on his work. With St. Paul as his example, he determined to win these people by preaching.

In 1215, he and a small group of followers were presented with a house in Toulouse, from which he sent forth his preachers to the most important educational centres - Paris, Rome and Bologna. The Dominican Order soon increased in numbers and was able to hold its first general chapter in Bologna in 1220. By this date, the Franciscan Order had made progress and its ideal of mendicancy strongly influenced the Dominicans. In 1221 they constituted themselves as an Order of Preachers. Their leader was called a master-general and was elected for life. Their field of activity was divided into provinces with a provincial prior in charge of each for a four-year term of office. The monasteries also worked on the four-year electoral system with a prior. In this manner Dominic combined the necessary authority with a kind of representative government. He died in 1221.

The policy of working in university towns persisted and Dominicans were seen on some of their faculties. Their roll of honour included such famous names as Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Eckhart, Tauler and Savonarola. That Dominicans were later selected as Inquisitors, due to their high intellectual ability, was no fault of their founder, who recognized no other method save preaching. In this manner of approach, the Dominicans were an out-in-the-world Order; withdrawal from the populace was not their aim.

The Franciscan Order was founded by the son of a wealthy cloth merchant of Assisi who voluntarily renounced the gay life of his set for poverty and service to humanity. It took a severe illness to change his way of life and he went on a pilgrimage to Rome. It was during this journey that he claimed to have heard a divine voice telling him to restore the House of God. In 1208, during a church service, Francis heard read out the passage in St. Matthew (10: 7-14) in which Jesus instructed his twelve Apostles to go out into the world and preach and heal the sick. Taking these words as spoken to himself, Francis resolved to set forth, exactly as they did with *neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in his purse, nor scrip for his travels, neither two coats, nor shoes, nor yet staff; for the labourer is worthy of his food.*

For the men who joined him he composed a guide consisting of relevant divine commands. In 1276, the group adopted the title of Minor Brethren and were known as Minorites. It was a group pledged to be imitators of Christ in every possible way. Going out two by two, preaching the

Kingdom of Heaven, song was part of their approach; a method that greatly attracted the peasants. Not even the poorest were excluded from their aid. Lepers and outcasts received help and labourers were assisted in their toil. When the movement grew, the net was cast more widely and Francis, in 1219, managed to reach Egypt in the wake of the Fifth Crusade, where he preached before the Sultan.

But soon the following increased to such an extent that Francis' hastily drawn-up guide was inadequate. He possessed no talent for organisation, but he had the good fortune to receive the friendship of Cardinal Ugolino, later to be Pope Gregory IX, whom he asked to be protector of his association. The Cardinal's influence and advice brought about a transformation of this large group into a monastic Order. Francis was in Egypt and Syria in 1219 and 1220 and from then onwards his leadership declined. The originally free association developed a novitiate, distinctive clothing and solemn vows. Francis may have looked back with regret to the early days of the venture, but he never opposed the changes and withdrew more and more from active participation, concentrating with ever increasing emphasis in his last years upon his oneness with all life, more especially with that of the lower kingdoms of nature.

The Dominicans (Black Friars) and the Franciscans (Grey Friars) worked mostly in cities, where begging was easier. Their influence strengthened religion among the people, whilst that the Bishops and ordinary clergy grew less, as friars could preach and give absolution everywhere they went.

An interesting expansion was the Tertiaries, meaning Third Order (the nuns being the Second Order). This was to allow those living an ordinary working life, of either sex, to live in a kind of monastic way, using fasts, prayers, and good deeds. Such a fact denotes the high place occupied by monasticism in the popular mind.

A split in the Franciscan Order grew after Francis' death, those on one side following their founder's love of Christ in poverty and simplicity, those on the other preferring power and influence. Soon the latter were receiving gifts of property in a back-door fashion saying that the donations were held by friends of the Order and not by the monks. John XXII, who was Pope from 1316 to 1334, intervened in the quarrel when it centred round the question as to the actual degree of poverty of Christ and his disciples. As no definite answer to this problem was available, John decided in favour of the *power and influence* party. Later still, the Franciscan Order was recognized officially as having two divisions, the Observant, who were the strict friars, and the Conventional, who were the lay brothers. Each division had its own constitution.

THE CULT OF THE VIRGIN

Typical of the strongly emphasized duality in man that prevailed during the Middle Ages, the cult of the Virgin Mary was intimately interwoven with the growth of chivalry and the generally held views on the position of women.

The historian that comes to mind is Eileen Power, who, in her contribution to *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, writes:

"The subjection of women was...one side of mediaeval theory, accepted by the Church and by the Aristocracy. On the other hand, it was they who also developed with no apparent sense of incongruity the counter-doctrine of the superiority of women, that adoration (Frauendienst) which gathered round the persons of the Virgin in heaven and the lady upon earth and which handed down to the modern world the idea of chivalry. The cult of the Virgin and the cult of chivalry grew together and continually reacted upon one another; they were both, perhaps, the expression of the same deep-rooted instinct, that craving for romance which rises to the surface again and again in the history of mankind; and just as in the 19th century the romantic movement followed upon the age of common sense, so in the

Middle Ages the turmoil and pessimism of the Dark Ages were followed by the age of chivalry and of the Virgin. The cult of the Virgin is the most characteristic flower of mediaeval religion and nothing is more striking than the rapidity with which it spread and the dimensions which it assumed. She was already supreme by the 11th century and supreme she remained until the end of the Middle Ages. Great pilgrimages grew up to her shrines and magnificent cathedrals were reared and decorated in her honour, while in almost every church not specifically her own she had a lady chapel. In the 13th century...Albertus Magnus debated the scholastic question whether the Virgin Mary possessed perfectly the seven liberal arts and resolved it in her favour. Her miracles were on every lip, her name was sown in wild flowers over the fields and the very fall of humanity became a matter for congratulation, since without it mankind would not have seen her enthroned in heaven.

Ne hadde the appil take ben,
The appil taken ben,
Ne hadde never our lady
A ben hevene queen
Blessed be the time
That appil take was
Therefore we moun singen
'Deo gracias'.

The commencement of what is leading to the equality of male and female in the age now dawning may be seen, not in the Mother-goddesses of the ancient time, for inequality between the sexes existed then too, but back in the times of the early Church. Irenaeus then suggested that the Mother of Christ was the second Eve. In Heresies, 3.18.1, appears: *The knot of Eve's disobedience was loosened by the obedience of Mary. For what the Virgin Eve had bound fast through unbelief, this did the Virgin Mary set free through faith.* The trail may be followed through the Christological disputes, for the further away the divinity of Christ is removed and stressed at the expense of His purely human aspect, the more the Virgin Mary assumes the power of the mediator between God and man. With the institution of the monastic system the Virgin became the chief of all the saints.

SCHOLASTICISM, REALISM, AND NOMINALISM

The educational trend of monasticism eventually blossomed into universities, but its main disadvantage was its repetitive nature, since it copied the teachings of the Church Fathers, more particularly those of Augustine and Gregory the Great. But at a later date the Scholastic movement came into being; Scholastic because it originated in the schools. It arose from a few existing translations of some of Aristotle's works and was therefore of a logical type, employing dialectics. To make this clear, a quotation from Walker is inserted:

The development of Scholasticism was inaugurated and accompanied by a discussion as to the nature of "universals" -that is to the existence of genera and species... Three positions might be taken. The extreme "realists", following Platonic influences, asserted that universals existed apart from and antecedent to the individual objects - ante rem, i.e., the genus man was anterior to and determinative of the individual man. The moderate realists, under the guidance of Aristotle, taught that universals existed only in connection with individual objects in re. The "nominalists", following Stoic precedent, held that universals were only the abstract names for the resemblances of individuals and had no other existence than thought -post rem. The only real existence for them was the individual objects. This quarrel between realism and nominalism continued throughout the scholastic period and profoundly influenced its theological conclusions.

(History of the Christian Church, p. 238)

It was not long before a larger amount of Aristotle's writings were discovered and this, combined with the increasing influence of the universities and the devotion to learning of the monastic orders, brought scholasticism to its peak.

ABELARD, ALBERTUS MAGNUS, & AQUINAS

Abelard came from Brittany. Renouncing his inheritance, he gave his whole attention to study. It was during his instruction in dialectics in Paris that he met the learned theologian William of Champeaux, Bishop of Chalons. Abelard was a highly intellectual man and his sharp critical ability soon brought him into conflict with authority. He treated both Realism and Nominalism with contempt and infuriated the worthy Bishop by gathering round himself an opposing group of students and delivering lectures to them.

Abelard's reputation continued to grow until his fame spread beyond Paris, and crowds of eager learners thronged his classes, giving the city a greatly enhanced prestige among the schools of Europe. It is difficult to classify his religious philosophy as it occupied a median position between Realism and Nominalism. Scholars have labelled it Conceptualism, which, as expressed by Walker, means that *only individuals exist, but genera and species are more than names*.

In 1115, when only 22, he was a Canon of Notre Dame. As part of his duties he was asked to be tutor to the young niece of a fellow canon. This was Heloise, with whom the name of Abelard will forever be associated in history. The two fell passionately in love and a secret marriage took place. The uncle, in ignorance of the marriage, believed the worst and Abelard was emasculated to satisfy outraged honour. Such a fate, at that time, was an obstacle to any clerical promotion. Abelard felt compelled at this juncture to take the vows of a monk at the monastery at St. Denis, but was later forced to leave.

In 1122 he started a philosophic community that was not under monastic discipline and was named 'the Paraclete'. But his theological views had roused the enmity of Bernard of Clairvaux and he was unable to stand up against the immense influence of that stern defender of orthodoxy. Heloise had meanwhile taken her vows and was residing in a nunnery at the Paraclete. It was then that the world-renowned Letters between him and Heloise were composed.

In 1140, Bernard was present at the synod of Sens, where Abelard's views were condemned as heresy, the verdict being, *Peter Abelard makes void the whole Christian faith by attempting to comprehend the nature of God through human reason*. His appeal to Pope Innocent II failed, due to Bernard's intervention, and Abelard, broken in spirit, travelled to Cluny, where he made his submission and at last found a good friend in its Abbot. His death occurred in 1142 in a monastery attached to the Cluniac Order.

He was one of the Church's greatest teachers but it was the spirit that inspired his teaching that won him fame. He was revolutionary but yet zealously religious, his beliefs being founded on the use of reason. His own estimate of his method was, *A doctrine is not to be believed because God has said it, but because we are convinced by reason that it is so*. He never rejected the Church Fathers or the accepted Creed, but held that, no matter how sacred the dogma, it should be examined philosophically and not just taken for granted.

Albertus Magnus was a German Dominican born around 1193. He approved of the work of the Englishman Alexander Hales, a Franciscan, and his valuable contribution to Scholasticism being an application of Aristotelianism to all theology, thus opening a far wider horizon of intellectual appreciation of religion. Hales was recognized as a moderate realist. To him universals existed *ante rem* in the Divine Mind, *in re* in themselves and *post rem* in our understanding of them. Aquinas also agreed with this exposition.

Albertus was the most learned man of his time and had a good knowledge of science as it then existed, not only knowing his Aristotle, but also being acquainted with the commentaries of Arabian scholars. He was therefore able to probe more deeply into these matters than Hales. A fine

commentator himself and a great fact-gatherer, he was, although unoriginal in his work, the ideal teacher for Aquinas.

Aquinas, 1225-1274, was born in Italy of good family, having connections with the Hohenstaufen house. He joined the Dominican Order in 1243 and was sent to Germany to study under Albertus, subsequently becoming a teacher under him.

So widespread was the fame of his learning that he was often consulted on Church and lay matters of the highest importance. His voluminous masterpiece, *Summa Theologica*, was commenced about 1265 and even at his death was not quite finished. He was yet another of those really great men who sum up all that has gone before in his field of knowledge in order that it may prove a firm basis on which to construct the new. The clarity of his teaching was admired to such an extent that a special papal declaration was made by Leo XIII in 1879 to the effect that the writings of Aquinas should form the groundwork of modern theological instruction.

It was this famous teacher's contention that knowledge of God and man comes through reason. But reason is not enough; it must be illuminated by the revelations to be found in the Scriptures. These have been interpreted by the Fathers and the various Councils, so to understand them one must study the teachings of the Church. It will then be perceived that, though reason cannot fully explain these revelations, the truths disclosed by them are not contrary to reason, hence philosophy and theology are not antagonistic, as both come from the same divine source. His views on theology, including observations on the soul and Divine Grace fill many volumes. It is an epoch-making work, as through its pages Aristotelian philosophy was firmly and lastingly grafted on to Christian doctrine. Nevertheless, it did not escape severe criticism from two outstanding Franciscan scholars, Duns Scotus and William of Occam. These two argued that it is impossible to reconcile logic and religion because logic is founded on reason and religion on faith.

FREDERICK II AND THE PAPACY

In 1198 Innocent III was elected pope. He insisted that the papacy was supreme over the empire. It was during his term that the infamous Fourth Crusade occurred, and he found himself powerless against the forces he had invoked. His support of the monastic orders contributed to the strengthening of the Church and the papacy and to the cause of orthodoxy against heresy. The Lateran Council of 1215 demonstrated his sincere desire for clerical reform, especially in the case of the laxity of the monasteries. Although the most powerful of the popes, he placed the emphasis upon politics rather than on the spiritual life.

Frederick was the son of the Emperor Henry VI, the conqueror of Sicily, and its King. As the infant was still a minor at his father's death in 1197, his mother, eager to secure the crown of Sicily for her child, asked Pope Innocent III for his protection, which was granted provided that homage to the papacy was paid for it. At the age of four the boy was left an orphan and the guardianship of the Pope was assured.

In 1198, the youth of Frederick precluded him from succeeding his father as Emperor, after a disputed election. Otto of Brunswick was crowned as Otto IV by Innocent.

In 1211, at the age of 27, Frederick, as head of the Hohenstaufen, was offered the Empire by a group of notables opposed to Otto. Frederick made conciliatory promises to the Pope in return for his support. In 1214 war broke out and at the Battle of Bouvines, Otto was defeated. Owing to the double election and this victory, the papacy was able to lay claim to the right of deciding contested elections.

The complete success of Frederick's campaigns in Germany after Bouvines caused new papal fears of the danger of the union of Germany and Sicily in Frederick's person, so the latter promised to

make his son, Henry, King of Sicily, thus separating the two territories, and to lead a Crusade. The failure, at that time, to keep either promise, opened the way for the old dispute between Empire and papacy to be renewed.

Honorius III, now Pope, crowned Frederick as Emperor in 1220, but it was not until 1227 that the Emperor redeemed his promise to command a Crusade. Frederick's famous Crusade by treaty has already been described but he was under one of his periodic excommunications for his long delay. Utterly regardless of this favourite weapon of the Popes, he urged all the monarchs of Europe to unite against papal oppression. Pope Gregory IX then attempted to stir up trouble in Germany but the efforts of some of the German nobility and clergy to obtain a peaceful solution resulted in a truce between Emperor and Pope in 1230.

In 1232, the cities of Lombardy formed a League to protect their privileges against the Emperor's incursions. Frederick defeated the League to the consternation of Gregory, who foresaw his opponent's consequent mastery of Italy. He therefore excommunicated him again on trumped up charges. Frederick again appealed to the Christian monarchs to unite against the papacy. Gregory replied by deposing him and offering the Imperial crown to the brother of the King of France. But the French King refused the offer, denouncing the pride of a pope who had the audacity to attempt to dethrone an Emperor.

In the war that then took place Frederick had little success in Lombardy and failed to capture Rome, where Gregory summoned a General Council at the Lateran for 1241 to condemn him. The Council was baulked, however, as Frederick's fleet caught the Lombard, French, and Spanish contingent of bishops en route by sea for Rome and imprisoned them, at the same time confiscating the papal money that was discovered on their ship. The death of Gregory at the age of 93 saved what had been regarded as the imminent fall of Rome.

Innocent IV was now elected. He fled from Rome to Lyons. No unconditional support was forthcoming from France, Aragon, or England. He remained long enough in Lyons to summon another General Council to deal with several important problems, including a reiteration of the charges against Frederick. The Emperor was again excommunicated and deposed. The Pope was able to raise a Crusade against the Emperor and for five years war was waged in the Empire between its legal ruler and other claimants elected by his rivals. Frederick defended his title courageously, but he died in 1250.

With Frederick's death the Hohenstaufen family lost its power and the differences between Empire and papacy were no longer of interest. Germany and Italy were henceforth separate and the right of electing Emperors was delivered into the hands of Seven Electors, who could be trusted not to choose a man who had sufficient strength to deprive them of the measure of independence they had seized. The papacy seemed triumphant in the arrogance of Boniface VIII and his assertion of the absolute supremacy of the Pope in his Bull *Unam Sanctam* of 1302 but his death in 1303 ended the era of successful claims. Three new forces entered the arena against the papacy; the Conciliar movement, the Great Schism and nationalism.

THE GREAT SCHISM¹

The great Schism is intimately connected with the transfer of the Papal residence from Rome to Avignon, or what has been called the *Babylonian captivity*.

During the time of Boniface VIII's attempt to assert the complete supremacy of the Pope in European affairs, Philip IV was King of France. Though named *le Bel*, Philip's character was far from

¹ The term is used in two senses: 1. As signifying the breach between the Churches of the East and West, traditionally dated 1054 A.D., and 2 for the period 1378 – 1417 when the Western Church was divided by the creation of Anti-Popes.

beautiful; being unscrupulous, hypocritical and cold-bloodedly cruel. His answer to the Pope's pretensions was to take advantage of some political trouble in Italy that concerned the town of Agnani in which Boniface was staying, occupy it with French troops and take the Pope prisoner.

His successor, Benedict XI, now found himself in the unenviable position of either condoning the outrage committed at Agnani or lodging a protest that would offend Philip. He took refuge in flight and withdrew to Perugia. Thence he issued a Bull against the perpetrators of the illegal invasion, as a consequence of which, according to contemporary opinion, he was poisoned.

For ten months the College of Cardinals was unable to elect a new Pope, so irreconcilably was it divided between Italian and French alignments. The one finally selected was the Archbishop of Bordeaux. He was, by common opinion, a declared enemy of Philip, so no vital objection was raised to his coronation as Pope Clement VI. For the whole of his pontificate he never dared to enter Italy and therefore decided to reside at Avignon. This town was held by the house of Anjou, but only the river Rhone separated it from Philip's lands and the Papacy was thus fully exposed to strong French pressure.

In 1377, however, Pope Gregory XI allowed himself to be persuaded to reside in Rome, where he died. The next election therefore had to take place there and this time an Italian was chosen as Urban VI. The French cardinals then seceded and elected their own Pope, Clement VII.

Clement, relying on his French support, took up residence at Avignon. This constituted the Great Schism, which lasted for nearly forty years. Each Pope claimed to be the true successor of St. Peter and each excommunicated his rival. Such a scandal in the Church caused deep concern to all good Catholics who saw the prestige of their religion threatened.

THE CONCILIAR MOVEMENT AND THE COUNCIL OF PISA

It was obvious to many in the Christian community that administrative reform was essential but the difficulty lay in the widespread belief that the Pope was the vicar of God and therefore answerable to God alone. Yet the scandalous situation of the simultaneous existence of two heads of the Church and a decadent clergy could not be allowed to persist. It seemed that a system based on a General Council was the sole answer to the problem.

Neither Pope would withdraw and the schism showed no signs of terminating while the struggle for supreme ecclesiastical power continued. By 1408 even the opposing cardinals were convinced that a council was essential. Since there were two Popes in opposition, they had to issue a summons on their own responsibility for a meeting to be held in Pisa in 1409.

This met with sufficient general approval as to bring together not only Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, but also specialists in canon law, doctors of theology and representatives of several European monarchs. The two Popes did not attend or support the Council. The conclave deposed them both, thus declaring a General Council to be superior to papal power. The council elected a new pope, Alexander VI, and then dispersed.

The two contending Popes were, however, far from being actually deposed. The net result was thus three Popes instead of two. But progress had at least been made, in that tradition had been shattered by the summoning of an officially accepted council by Cardinals in their own name then an unprecedented emergency demanded it.

All supporters of the Council of Pisa now set about restoring the practices of the early Church by approaching the Emperor-elect, Sigismund, and striving to gain the consent of one of the Popes to another meeting. Alexander VI having died in 1410 and John XXIII having been elected, the Emperor expressed his support for him and also for the holding of another council for which this

pope's consent was obtained.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE

The Council of Constance took place in 1414, attracting the largest numbers in mediaeval history. Not only did the same diversity of representatives as at Pisa attend, but the Emperor Sigismund and Pope John XXIII were present. John attempted to procure his continuance in office by "packing" the meeting with a great number of his Italian dignitaries. It was found necessary to defeat his aim by arranging the members in nations: the English, German and French forming three, and the Italians being therefore compelled to be a fourth. Each nation had only one vote. The Council deposed John and issued an important declaration to the effect that the Council:

...as representing the Catholic Church militant has its power immediately from Christ, and everyone, whatever his position or rank, even if it be the papal dignity itself, is bound to obey it in all those things which pertain to the faith, to the healing of the schism and to the general reformation of the Church of God.

(J. Robinson: *Readings in European History*, I, p. 511)

Gregory XII now resigned, but Benedict XIII obstinately clung to his title and continued to claim that he was the only rightful Pope until his death in 1424. The Council of Constance indeed ended the schism, but reform was indefinitely postponed. A Roman Cardinal was elected as Pope Martin V, but he was not to be a despotic ruler; the conciliar system had transformed his government into a constitutional monarchy. He was still the chief executive of the Catholic Church, but controlled by councils representing all Christian interests meeting at frequent intervals.

JOHN WYCLIF

John Wyclif (also: Wycliffe, Wiclif) was a Yorkshireman born around the year 1328. In Oxford he became a noted lecturer on theology. His philosophy was realist and his work shows the strong influence of Augustine and Plato. It is not until 1376 that one hears of his active opposition to the accumulated wealth of the Church and its interference in politics.

His views on ecclesiastical office are quite feudal. God is the overlord and has bestowed positions as fiefs to be held in stewardship on condition of loyal service. They are therefore not the property of the Church, but for its use. If the tenant proves unfaithful to the trust reposed in him, he must lose his office and, with it, any temporal possessions accruing, which should now be handed over to the civil rulers to whom God has given charge of temporalities.

This teaching was most acceptable to the nobility of England, who were only too ready to profit from a take-over of the riches of the Church and also to the common people who had become critical of the faults of the clergy. Wyclif had also the support of the Orders practicing poverty. The higher ranks of the clergy, who owned vast properties, naturally opposed him and this included the Papacy. Efforts to have him arrested and brought to trial were frustrated by the protection of a strong party at court as well as by popular support.

Wyclif's scholarship enabled him to write pamphlets on reform in Latin as well as English. In these he taught that the Scriptures alone are the law of the Church. The Church does not consist solely of Pope and cardinals; it is what he called *the whole company of the elect* under the headship of Christ. In this he did not reject the Papacy, since a Pope, according to his actions, might or might not be one of the elect.

Wyclif's teaching regarding the priority of the Scriptures demanded that the Bible be understood by all, so it must be translated into English. This was done between 1382 and 1384. When completed, it was taken to the people by his priests who went out two by two barefoot and in poverty and obtained great success. It was unfortunate that Wyclif in his ardour preached against transubstantiation, by which he diminished his following and drew upon himself new attacks from

the Church. Wyclif's teachings were condemned by a Synod in London, which deprived him of his post at Oxford and caused many of his *poor priests* to be arrested. Court and popular favour protected him personally, however, and he died in bed in 1384.

JOHN HUSS

Bohemia came into prominence at this stage owing to the favour of the Emperor Charles IV. He established an Archbishopric in Prague and founded its famous university. Charles' daughter, Anne of Bohemia, married King Richard II of England and the consequent increased intercourse between the two countries was responsible for the influence of Wyclif's teachings upon John Huss.

Huss was Confessor to the Queen of Bohemia and, in 1409, he was made rector of Prague University. Charles IV's son, Wenzel, was King of Bohemia. Bohemian scholars who visited England at Oxford were converted to Wyclif's ideas, especially as Queen Anne herself showed deep interest in them. On their return to Prague, these teachings permeated the University and eventually convinced Huss of their value.

For some time past national feeling had been growing in Bohemia. The religious and national causes combined and Huss found himself as leader of both.

Huss condemned the corruption and wealth of the clergy, especially as demonstrated by the sale of indulgences to bring in more money to pay for the Pope's war against Naples. The Archbishop of Prague and the Pope summoned Huss to present himself before the Council of Constance for examination. Believing in his ability to impress the Council with Wyclif's teachings, Huss, in spite of all warnings, accepted a promise of safe conduct from the Emperor Sigismund and appeared as commanded. It must be emphasised that Huss did not criticise Catholic doctrine in any way; his movement was against corruption in the administration of Church affairs and the evil effects of wealth on ecclesiastical life. He was arrested and imprisoned. The Emperor protested, but the Pope blamed the Cardinals for this outrageous violation of safe conduct and refused to release him. Sigismund thereupon reluctantly abandoned him to his fate.

In his examination Huss was able to support his claim to orthodoxy with regard to transubstantiation, predestination and the Trinity, but was trapped with regard to his endorsement of Wyclif's views on the translation of the Bible into the local language. He also affirmed that an evil life prevented the proper administration of the sacraments. It was the extension of this affirmation to any office held by the laity that decided the Emperor to give his consent to the immolation of the great reformer. Huss steadfastly refusing to recant, was thereupon burnt at the stake in 1415. It is possible to regard Wyclif and Huss as forerunners of the Reformation.

THE COUNCILS OF BASLE AND FERRARA-FLORENCE

As agreed at the Council of Constance, a further Council was arranged to meet at Basle in 1431. The sudden death of Martin shortly afterwards enabled the cardinals to elect a Pope who, they thought, would improve their chances of obtaining Church reform.

The new Pope, Eugenius IV, soon revealed that reform, if any, should be decided by himself and not by a Council. A fresh note was struck by the abandonment of the voting by *nations* and the division of the members into four deputations dealing respectively with Peace, Faith and Doctrine, Church Reform, and General Business. Election to these deputations was on a more democratic basis, in this way permitting the lower ranks of clergy to assume more importance than in the past.

An important item on the agenda was the reception of ambassadors from the Eastern Empire. A reunion of the two Churches was to be offered in return for military assistance. A delegation from Bohemia arrived, but there was no settlement, due to the particular problem raised by it, namely,

the right to administer wine as well as bread to the congregation in the communion service. It took further negotiations in Prague to bring about an agreement (the *Compactata*) by which communion in both kinds was allowed.

Another outbreak of hostilities between two rival reformist parties in Bohemia resulted in the Emperor intervening and being accepted as its King. His timely and conciliatory action ended that country's movement for reform, thus postponing the Reformation itself to the 16th century.

The Council being now in a more secure position was able to consider the reform of the Church. In all its considerations it was to remain strictly orthodox with regard to doctrine, its main aim being to curb papal power without weakening the Pope's status as Head of the Church. The scandal of the sale of benefices was attacked by forbidding the payment to the papal treasury of the first year's revenue of a See or living (*annata*). Bishops were to be elected only by their chapters and to make any appeal against the decision of a General Council was heresy. The refusal of Eugenius to accept these measures widened even more the rift between him and the Council.

Seizing the opportunity of the possible reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches as a suitable diversion from the deadlock in Basle, he declared (1437) that Council to be dissolved and summoned another Council at Ferrara to deal with the Byzantine question. This manoeuvre was successful in attracting to his support some influential members of the Basle Council, including its President, Caesarini.

In 1439 the members in Basle retaliated by deposing Eugenius and elected Felix V. The centre of interest now shifted to Ferrara, where the Byzantine monarch and the Patriarch of Constantinople met Eugenius in 1438. As the plague was then virulent, the venue was removed to Florence. This Council thus bears the double name of Ferrara or Florence. The *Filioque* clause in the Creed was the chief issue, the Latin Church holding that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father **and** the Son, the Greek Church being equally firm that the procession was from the Father only. A compromise was effected in that the Holy Ghost was said to proceed from the Father **and** the Son, but as from one principle, by one operation the Pope was accepted as the successor of St. Peter and the Head of the whole Catholic Church, but the rights of the Greek Patriarchs were never to be violated. This alleged union of the Churches was never consummated as the Greek Christians, as a whole, fiercely repudiated it. The fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 rendered the whole issue obsolete.

Meanwhile the Council of Basle lingered on, still hoping for reform. The death of Sigismund, its strongest supporter, in 1437 made its continuation even more problematical.

In 1442 the Emperor Frederick III employed as his secretary Aeneas Sylvius. The affair of the rival Popes, Eugenius IV and Felix V, now had to be faced. Aeneas finally decided in favour of Eugenius. The powerful Archbishops of Cologne and Treves gave their support to Felix and were consequently deposed. The League of Electors then called upon Eugenius to withdraw the depositions and adhere to the *Pragmatic Sanction*¹ of Mainz - a document issued by a Diet in 1439 - which upheld the decisions of the Council of Basle. Eugenius then restored the two Archbishops and his answer to the Electors was accepted by another Diet in Frankfort in 1446.

Eugenius having died in 1447, a Concordat in Vienna was signed in 1448 by Frederick III and Pope Nicholas V, the terms admitting the supremacy of general councils, but restoring to the Pope the ancient rights of payment of *annata* and patronage, in this way bypassing the *Pragmatic Sanction of Mainz*. But France, still determined to preserve the independence of its Church, had, in the interim, brought into being its own *Pragmatic Sanction* - that of Bourges - in 1438, by this means gaining a double victory; it recognized the Council of Basle and its assertion of supreme power, yet, by that

¹ A term originally used in Roman Law for a statement defining the limits of the power of a monarch.

recognition, it demonstrated its own superiority to that Council. This was an assertion of the right to a national Church, a precedent, that, in the fullness of time, other nations were not slow to follow.

As a final flourish of diplomatic genius, for which he was made a Cardinal, Aeneas persuaded Felix V to resign, leaving Nicholas V to reign undisturbed.

The Council of Basle, having long outlasted its usefulness, was dissolved by order of the Emperor Frederick III in 1449. This was the last General Council, as the division of the Church into Catholics and Protestants forbade that term to be applied in future. Its dissolution proclaimed the failure of the Conciliar Movement, the election of Aeneas as Pius II in 1460 proving the medium of its decease by his Bull *Execrabilis* which described as heresy any appeal made by a General Council against the Pope. The rise of Protestant and national Churches destroyed any hopes of the survival of the ecclesiastical theories of unity belonging to the Middle Ages.

At the commencement of this Paper mention was made that reasons for concluding it at the date 1449 would be given. These reasons are well summed up by Maurice Keen in his *History of Mediaeval Europe*:

The Council (of Basle) had come together as a body representing the whole of Catholic Europe, both its churches and its kingdoms and claimed powers to judge orthodoxy and to oversee the quarrels of princes, No single assembly or institution was ever again recognized as exerting such extended authority throughout Europe as, in its heyday, men had acknowledged to belong to it by right. At the time that it was dissolved, few can have been aware that a radical change was taking place. But within little more than a lifetime this was obvious: in the 1530's one could no longer speak of a Catholic Europe in the same sense as men had done in 800 and in 1449.

CHAPTER 3 COMMENTARIES FROM THE ANCIENT WISDOM

Under this heading nothing more can be given than a summary of some of the teachings of the Ancient Wisdom that are applicable to the life and times of humanity.

The most basic teaching concerns the existence of the Great Plan of Evolution; that we are here for a definite purpose and our Creator has from the very beginning provided the means by which that purpose will be fulfilled. We are all potentially divine and gods in the becoming, but we have been given free will that we may consciously and voluntarily choose our own path to that goal. We each, therefore, throughout our lives on earth, have the power of choice; that is, we can make good choices, by which we obey the laws of the universe, or bad choices, by which we deviate from the Plan. History is thus an account of man's choices and the results that followed from them.

Any student possessing a modicum of analytical ability will find it possible to see in the world's events chains of causes and effects, which, in the East, would be called Karma and in the West could possibly be named the Law of Consequence. This presupposes an eternally self-adjusting balance in nature. If that balance is affected by a deviatory choice, a consequence will flow from that happening that will restore the balance to its normal position, that is, relative to the pattern of the Plan. There is, however, the Law of the Pendulum to be compensated by an equal swing in the opposite direction. Also symbolized by the Chinese principle of Yin and Yang, it indicates the everlasting ebb and flow of life, by which is meant that every successful movement bears within itself the seed of its own destruction.

But history shows that there is not always sufficient time in a single human life span for one who

initiated or helped to produce the imbalance to restore it. It seems at first sight that in these cases innocent people might suffer for the wrongs committed by others who have long been dead. The Ancient Wisdom teaches that this is a false conclusion, since there is a twin Law inseparable from the Law of Karma or Consequence, this being the Law of Reincarnation. People who have made wrong choices do not escape their evil results, for they return to earth at a later date to experience the effects such wrong choices incur. They may also, of course, return to enjoy the benefits that they were instrumental in conferring in a former life.

An additional factor that has to be taken into account is the various races and sub-races inhabiting this globe. Each country can offer lessons peculiar to itself for the soul to learn. Those who can accept this philosophy will realize the foolishness of international hatred and strife, for they who show symptoms of these vices may themselves in a previous incarnation have been the instigators of the very effects they now deplore.

At this point the question arises: who or what regulates these incarnations in relation to the many environments available? Members of the Liberal Catholic Church should have no difficulty in conceiving the existence of an administrative hierarchy of the evolutionary scheme in which we function. The angels of ceremony are recognized in the services, as well as those who are mentioned in the Scriptures as messengers of God. There are also other Orders that supervise the many departments of the Great Plan. Each country has its national angel and it is these powerful beings who draw into their respective orbit the souls that will be presented with opportunities to carry out their nation's destiny, for good or for ill. A country indeed has its stable keynote that sustains its ability to be a viable force-field of its own specific type, but the souls that are brought under its influence are constantly changing their habitat. One must not therefore necessarily expect the current dwellers to resemble those of former generations in behaviour and outlook, since they may have been transferred from entirely foreign sources. To say that a civilization flourishes has little to do with the actual countries involved; its general improvement is due to the more mature souls incarnating there and this would include the highly developed leaders the national angels are drawing in. Conversely, the decay of a civilization demonstrates that more immature souls are being born in that area, with leaders of an inferior kind. The alternate rise and decline of Empire and Papacy in the period under review would present an interesting investigation along these lines.

Finally, there is ample scope for working out the application of the Laws outlined above to the great disasters humanity has inflicted on itself in wars and revolutions. They stem from a state of serious imbalance between nations, groups, or classes. All injustice induces such a state, as well as greed, aggression, lust for power and a disregard for human rights. It is not a hard task to extract from the facts of history the warning that first appears as a notification that a karmic adjustment is imminent. It will not be an easy adjustment in any event, for some sacrifice will be demanded of one or both parties. The right people will be found in incarnation at this time to accomplish the required changes and the attendant circumstances are more favourable than at any subsequent date. If the warning is ignored, the possibilities of the easier way depart, never to return and the forces of karmic adjustment become correspondingly more intractable until, exacerbated by wilful delay, they can be restrained no longer and the storm bursts in all its pent up fury.

These are the most prominent teachings of the Ancient Wisdom with regard to history, but there are others that may be discovered in the volumes of Toynbee, though he has used them intuitively but not consciously. It is hoped that this brief outline will have engendered sufficient interest to make them a subject of study.

APPENDIX

GENERAL (ECUMENICAL) COUNCILS (within the scope of this paper)

All Churches recognize the General Councils of:

Nicaea, 325 A.D. and Constantinople I, 381. Together with the Councils of Ephesus, 431; Chalcedon, 451; Constantinople II, 553; Constantinople III, 680-681, & Nicaea II, 787.

These form the 7 Ecumenical Councils, recognized by both the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches.

The Roman Church adds:

Constantinople IV, 869-870; Lateran I, 1123; Lateran II, 1139; Lateran III, 1179; Lateran IV, 1215; Lyons I, 1245; Lyons II, 1274; Vienna, 1311-1312, & Florence, 1438-1445.

The Church in France has also recognized Pisa, 1409; Constance, 1414-1417; Basle, 1431-1449.

The ecumenicity of the last three is regarded as doubtful by the Roman Church.