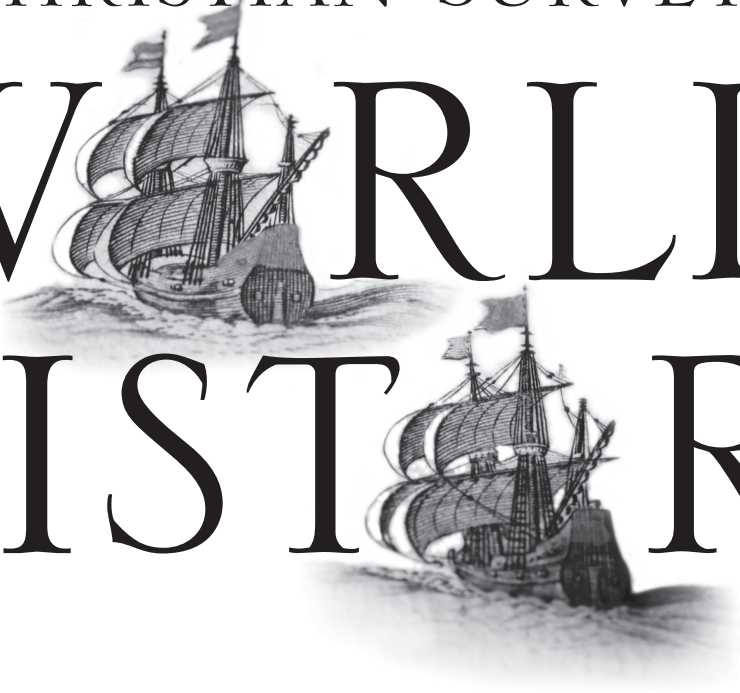


A CHRISTIAN SURVEY OF
WORLD
HISTORY



ROUSAS JOHN
RUSHDOONY

CHALCEDON/ROSS HOUSE BOOKS
VALLECITO, CALIFORNIA 95251

Copyright 1974, 2008 by Mark R. Rushdoony
2008 Edition

All rights reserved

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form without
permission in writing from the publisher.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 2008931091
ISBN: 978-1-879998-52-0

Printed in the United States of America

Other materials and books by
Rousas John Rushdoony

Amerian History to 1865
The Biblical Philosophy of History
The Institutes of Biblical Law, Vol. I
The Institutes of Biblical Law, Vol. II, Law & Society
The Institutes of Biblical Law, Vol. III, The Intent of the Law
Systematic Theology (2 volumes)
Foundations of Social Order
Sovereignty
Cure of Souls
Politics of Guilt and Pity
Christianity and the State
Salvation and Godly Rule
The Messianic Character of American Education
Roots of Reconstruction
The One and the Many
Revolt Against Maturity
Mythology of Science
By What Standard?
Law & Liberty

For a complete listing of available books by Rousas John Rushdoony
and other Christian reconstructionists, contact:

CHALCEDON / ROSS HOUSE BOOKS

PO Box 158

Vallecito, CA 95251

www.ChalcedonStore.com

This volume is dedicated to
Dr. Ellsworth McIntyre
and the staff members of
Grace Community Schools, Naples, Florida
in great appreciation
for their generous support
of the work of my father.

Rev. Mark R. Rushdoony
President, Chalcedon Foundation

Foreword

A Christian Survey of World History (originally entitled *World History Notes*) by Dr. Rousas John Rushdoony can be used as a stand-alone curriculum or as a supplement to a study of world history. The text is designed to enhance and provide background for the recorded lectures.

Begin with Lecture #1 — “Time and History: Why History is Important.” Each lecture has a question and answer period at the end. Follow the order of lessons in this text. Some lessons may be divided into two or more sessions. It should be noted that the page numbers referred to in the lectures are not for this edition of the study notes, but for a previous one. The chapter numbers referred to, however, are correct.

There are *Review Questions* and *Questions for Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion* for each recorded lecture. A separately bound *Answer Key* is available for the *Review Questions*.

The Appendix: *Suggested Reading* is from the first edition of the notes. While many of the titles may be out of print, they are being included for informational purposes.

Ross House Books would like to thank the following people who put their time and efforts into the production of this edition. They include: Mr. & Mrs. Doug Schmidt of Preston Speed Publications, Earl Boldt, Christie Majchrowicz, Katherine Jacobs, Sarah Tuuri, Greg Uttinger, and Andrea Schwartz.

Contents

Preface	i
<i>Lesson One</i>	
Lecture #1 -- Time and History: Why History is Important.	1
<i>Lesson Two</i>	
Lecture #2 -- Israel, Egypt, and the Ancient Near East	3
<i>Lesson Three</i>	
Chapter #1 -- God and Israel	5
<i>Lesson Four</i>	
Chapter #2 -- Ancient Egypt	13
<i>Lesson Five</i>	
Chapter #3 -- Ancient Near East and Mediterranean Powers	19
<i>Lesson Six</i>	
Lecture #3 -- Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Jesus Christ.	23
<i>Lesson Seven</i>	
Chapter #4 -- Assyria and Babylonia	25
<i>Lesson Eight</i>	
Chapter #5 -- The Persian Empire	31
<i>Lesson Nine</i>	
Chapter #6 -- Greece	37
<i>Lesson Ten</i>	
Chapter #7 -- Jesus Christ and the Beginnings of Christianity	45
<i>Lesson Eleven</i>	
Lecture #4 -- The Roman Republic	51
<i>Lesson Twelve</i>	
Chapter #8 -- The Rise and Fall of the Roman Republic	53

<i>Lesson Thirteen</i>	
Chapter #9 -- The Birth and Death of the Roman Empire.	67
<i>Lesson Fourteen</i>	
Lecture #5 -- The Early Church and Byzantium.	75
<i>Lesson Fifteen</i>	
Chapter #10 -- The Early Church Confronts the World	77
<i>Lesson Sixteen</i>	
Chapter #11 -- Byzantium, the Eastern Roman Empire	93
<i>Lesson Seventeen</i>	
Lecture #6 -- Islam and the Frontier Age	105
<i>Lesson Eighteen</i>	
Chapter #12 -- Islam	107
<i>Lesson Nineteen</i>	
Chapter #13 --The Frontier Age	113
<i>Lesson Twenty</i>	
Lecture #7 -- The New Humanism or Medieval Period	135
<i>Lesson Twenty-One</i>	
Chapter #14 -- The New Humanism	137
<i>Lesson Twenty-Two</i>	
Lecture #8 -- The Reformation	155
<i>Lesson Twenty-Three</i>	
Chapter #15 -- The Reformation	157
<i>Lesson Twenty-Four</i>	
Lecture #9 -- Wars of Religion -- So Called & The Thirty Years' War	173
<i>Lesson Twenty-Five</i>	
Lecture #10 -- France: Louis XIV - Napoleon	177
<i>Lesson Twenty-Six</i>	
Lecture #11 -- England: The Puritans through Queen Victoria	179
<i>Lesson Twenty-Seven</i>	
Lecture #12 -- The Twentieth Century: The Intellectual - Scientific Elite	181
<i>Appendix A</i>	
Lectures & Chapters	183
<i>Appendix B</i>	
Suggested Reading	185

Preface

A Christian Survey of World History (previously entitled *World History Notes*) was written in the late 1960s for use in a major Christian high school. It was used in the early 1970s for an adult class. Many individuals and groups have used this survey and the recordings of my accompanying lectures.

My purpose herein and in my *Biblical Philosophy of History*, and elsewhere as well, has been to state that history is God-ordained. The unity of history is that man is a fallen creature whom God is redeeming to create the Kingdom of God. As against this, history presents us with the battle against man's fallen will and his attempts to create the Kingdom of Man.

Thus, history is purposive, it is a conflict between these two kingdoms, each with its own goal for the end of history.

This work goes to the Reformation and the world formulation of history as God's Kingdom.

History is purposive, God's Kingdom as against man's. It has a foreordained conclusion. History is always faith and philosophy in action. It is not a meaningless course of events. History is thus related to theology without being theology. I trust this brief work will serve to strengthen this relationship.

Rousas John Rushdoony
August 3, 1999
Chalcedon

Lesson One

Lecture #1

Time and History (Why History is Important)

Listen to CD Lecture #1-- "Time and History: Why History is Important," then answer the following questions.

Review Questions

1. Why do we study the past?
2. In what ways have the humanists been ambivalent about history?
3. What is the attitude of humanists when they despise history? When they value it? Explain why they have this attitude.
4. What is the evolutionary outlook of history?
5. What historical events shattered this optimism?
6. What kind of god did Tennyson envision in his, "In Memoriam"?
7. What is the Christian view of history?
8. Do the humanists accept the Bible as history?
9. How have some historical facts recorded in the Bible been proven from other sources?
10. The fact that people had hot and cold running water before the time of Abraham proves what about the evolutionary development of man?
11. What objection do the humanists raise in considering the Bible as history?
12. Do the humanists begin knowledge with an act of faith? Explain.
13. Give an example of Christian morality becoming immorality in the plan of the humanists.
14. Give examples of a plan for the future.

15. What is wrong with the theory that man evolved from a caveman?
16. With what event does history begin, in the Christian view?
17. What historical events followed the creation?

Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion Questions

1. Why are you listening to these lectures?
2. Write down three things you hope to gain from listening to these lectures. Keep this list to refer to when you have completed the set.
3. Why does Dr. Rushdoony say that if you are concerned about the future you are concerned about history?
4. How does one's faith determine how one will view history?
 - a. Discuss how a person whose faith is in evolution will view the past and the future.
 - b. Discuss how a person with faith in Christ will view the past and the future.
5. Humanists have either viewed history as not important or as all important. Discuss why there are these two views and what the implications are of each. Consider what Dr. Rushdoony discussed about the denial of God and all hope from history being centered on man.
6. What is the "fifth act"? How did this give rise to pre-millennialism?
7. Consider the statement "the future is what we determine it to be." How do we as Christians agree and/or disagree with this?

Lesson Two

Lecture #2

Israel, Egypt, and the Ancient Near East

Listen to CD Lecture #2-- "Israel, Egypt and the Ancient Near East," then answer the following questions.

Review Questions

1. Why should Christians put their trust in the Bible as an accurate account of history?
2. How does the Bible differ from the writings of other religions?
3. The Bible has no rivals; it has _____.
4. Name some imitators of the Bible.
5. What is the difference between the history of the pagan writers and that of the Hebrews?
6. What is Monophysitism?
7. How did evolution figure in Egyptian religion?
8. What was static (fixed) about their religion?
9. Tell about the former productivity of the Sahara Desert and North Africa.
10. In what way was the United States overpopulated before the coming of the white man?
11. What people rule Egypt today?
12. Name one strong characteristic of the Egyptian.
13. What is the historical evidence of the earliest man — primitive or highly civilized?
14. Describe fertility cult religion.
15. What has caused man to become overly preoccupied with sex?

16. Why is there a great number of under-developed civilizations in Africa today?

Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion Questions

1. Do other religions believe in an absolute, sovereign God?
2. How is the Bible different from the pagan writings of other religions i.e., the Koran, Mormon Bible?
3. Why is this difference significant?
4. How do pagans view life?
5. What does the Bible tell us about life?
6. The term monophysitism is discussed in this chapter. In a sense it means one nature in all things. Discuss this idea. How does it affect one's view of history?
7. What did you find interesting in the Egyptian writings about how to live?
8. The Egyptian empire was firm, enduring, successful, and prosperous. It was highly practical and pragmatic. How did this lead to the final collapse of the empire?
9. A preoccupation with sex points to what stage of a society — developing, stable, or declining? How does this over emphasis on sex interfere with the dominion mandate of man?
10. How does Biblical Law compare with the pagan law of these early societies?
11. Discuss the hopelessness, emptiness, and pessimism of paganism.

Lesson Three

Chapter #1

God and Israel

INTRODUCTION

When we study history, we must recognize that the Bible is the only infallible history book: it is the word of God. All other history books are fallible, often in error, and subject to continual revision or replacement in terms of further study and research. The Bible thus is our key textbook to an understanding of history.

Some have claimed that many religions have inspired books, all claiming to be the word of God. The answer to this is clearly that such statements are false. Virtually all the religions of the world are non-theistic; that is, they do not believe in God, in one supreme, absolute, and perfect God. In fact, most religions are atheistic, and sometimes polytheistic as well: that is, they do not believe in God, although they may recognize many gods, or, more accurately, not gods, but various powerful spirits and forces. The *Kamis* of Japanese Shintoism are sometimes called gods by foreigners, but they are more correctly described as powers. The word *Kami* means “superior,” and the word was applied to any object, thing, person, or spirit believed to have superior status or power.

In Buddhism, Taoism, and Hinduism, not God but nothingness is ultimate. These are essentially atheistic religions, and man’s salvation is death and nirvana.

Animism believes in the power of spirits and

holds that even inanimate objects have a personal life or soul. It does not believe in God, but rather in spirits.

For in none of these religions is there the God in terms of whom man can say, “Thus saith the Lord.” No religion has what claims to be the word of God except Biblical faith. Nowhere in the ancient world was there any trace of such a faith or of such a book as the Bible.

The Bible has since then had imitations, but not rivals. The first great imitation was the Koran, which borrowed Biblical history and terminology to claim inspiration for itself. The Koran, of course, has no verified predictive prophecy and no inerrant history. It is an imitation of the Bible. Many imitations and supposed additions have been made through the centuries.

The concept of the word of God, an historical revelation, is unique. Other so-called holy books give us abstract ideas: the Bible gives us the history of man since creation, his revolt against God, and God’s redemptive activity to reestablish man in the covenant.

Clark, in his comments on Heschel’s study, *The Prophets* (1962), said:

The distinguished Jewish theologian, Abraham J. Heschel, works up a massive antithesis between the Greeks and the Hebrews. Although not discussing historiography as such, he almost unconsciously or automatically connects the prophetic denunciation of evil with an historical view of the universe. First he quotes Plato, Cicero, and Aris-

tote. Plato apologetically remarks that human affairs are hardly worth considering; Cicero asserts that the gods attend to great matters and neglect small ones; Aristotle teaches that the gods are not concerned at all with the dispensation of good and bad fortune. Then in powerful language maintained over a dozen pages, Dr. Heschel impresses on his readers the prophetic abhorrence of evil and God's concern for his people: "To the prophet, however, no subject is as worthy of consideration as the plight of man. Indeed, God Himself is described as reflecting over the plight of man rather than as contemplating eternal ideas. His mind is preoccupied with man, with the concrete actualities of history rather than with the timeless issues of thought... The prophet's concern is not with nature, but with history."

[Gordon H. Clark, *Historiography Secular and Religious*, (Nutley, NJ: The Craig Press, 1971), 3-4.]

CHAPTER ONE

Before we begin the study of history, it is well to ask the question, "What is history?" James Harvey Robinson defined it as "*all we know about everything man has ever done, or thought, or hoped, or felt.*" This definition rejects the idea that history is meaningless. If we believe that chance is ultimate, that the world has no meaning and life no direction, then history has no story to tell except unconnected and empty events. Shakespeare's Macbeth said of life:

... it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury
Signifying nothing.
(*Macbeth*, Act V, Scene V)

For such a man, history is nothing because life is nothing. But there are men who, like Macbeth, do not believe in any direction or purpose in the universe, but who still, like Robinson, believe history is important. For them the *meaning* of history is being made by man, and so, like Robinson, history is defined in terms of man.

For orthodox Christians, whose thinking is consistently Biblical, the *meaning* of life and of history comes not from man but from the triune

God. All things visible and invisible were made by God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit: three persons, one God. Since all things were made by God, all things derive their meaning from God and His purpose for them. The meaning of history, therefore, does not come from within history or from man, but from God the Creator. The Bible, the basic, most important, and only infallible textbook of history, tells us, among other things, two important facts about history.

First, God created man in His own image; that is, in knowledge (Col. 3:10), righteousness, and holiness (Eph. 4:24), with dominion over the creatures and a calling to subdue the earth and govern it under God (Gen. 1:28), and yet man was liable or subject to fall (Gen. 3:1-19). Man could choose either to serve God or to listen to the tempter and try to be his own god, knowing or determining what is good or evil for himself (Gen. 3:1-6). Thus God established the possibility of two societies, the City of God and the Society of Satan. Other religions promise to save men from troubles; their idea of salvation involves lifting man magically out of all problems and giving him peace. Biblical faith says that God tests every man, and salvation is not deliverance out of testing but victory over our problems, not flight but triumph.

Second, history is thus not only the story of the rise and fall of man and of his civilizations in terms of this continual testing, but it is the struggle of two powerful forces to dominate history, Christ versus Antichrist, the Kingdom of God versus the Kingdom of Satan, and we are assured that the victory is our Lord's. As history continues, the issues will become progressively clearer and more sharply drawn, so that there will be a development in both camps. The victory will be with the Kingdom of God and will culminate in His second advent. This is the meaning of history as the Bible presents it. The world began with God and it shall end in terms of His purpose, not in terms of man and his messianic dreams.

The world began with God, who created the heaven and the earth in six days. The glory of

that original creation remained even after the Fall and the curse. Man was driven out of Eden. Had he remained in Eden, man would have had the security of immortality, the tree of life, together with his sin. God does not permit man to have security in his sin, and therefore insecurity is written into the constitution of sinful man's history by God.

Before the Flood, however, man's life still echoed the glory of a marvelous creation, and his life span exceeded 900 years. Man thus had considerable security in his sin, and "every imagination (or, the whole imagination, with the purposes and desires) of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually" (Gen. 6:5). Meanwhile, mixed marriages between men of the ancient church, "the sons of God," and unbelieving women, "the daughters of men," abounded, and led to children who were "mighty men" in the sense of being men of violence and dictatorial power (Gen. 6:4).

Conservative estimates of the population at the time of the Flood, given by Alfred M. Rehwinkel in *The Flood*, range from a minimum of about 800 million to 11 billion. The indications are that it was an advanced, profligate, and careless culture. Its destruction is remembered in the stories of virtually all civilizations and cultures, and it is in the background of Halloween legends, since all evil souls died suddenly in the great destruction of the Flood on a single day. Henry M. Morris and John C. Whitcomb, Jr., in *The Genesis Flood*, give us an account of the meaning of the Biblical record in its scientific implications.

Indications are that civilization before the Flood was very well advanced. Certainly, after the Flood great cultures quickly appeared, and evidences indicate a higher level of attainment for man around 2000 B.C. than in 800 B.C. The pyramids appeared very early in Egypt; the great developments in Minoan culture surpassed those of Greek states, and ancient Ur seems closer to us than cultures which succeeded it centuries later. To read history merely as development is to distort it; the development is there, but decline and degeneration are also present.

After the Flood, the basic controversy of his-

tory appeared again, but this time in a world where the consequences of sin and death had a quicker effect because of man's shorter life-span, which decreased in a few generations to its present average length. At the Tower of Babel, man again tried to build a one-world order, a paradise without God. This is man's continuing attempt in the Society of Satan. It is the belief that man does not need an inward renewal by God but only an outward change in his environment. According to this belief, the fault is not in man and is not due to sin. Outside forces make man evil, such as environment, heredity, education, and the like. Change these things by law and state planning, it is held, and you will change men also. In other words, man must remake man, or, more clearly, man's state or government and man's education will recreate man. For the biblically minded Christian, this is a false faith. Man is a sinner by choice; his fall is a moral failure, not an accidental or environmental one. Man as a sinner cannot redeem himself but must be saved and regenerated by God in Christ. This, then, is the basic issue: Who will regenerate man, God or man and the state? Those who hold to a man-made salvation, whether in the church or not, are still hostile to the Kingship of Christ.

According to Hebrews 12:18-29, history is being subjected to two great shakings. The first, in the Old Testament period, saw all the great and small states and empires of ancient history shattered in their dreams of a paradise without God. Jesus Christ then appeared to declare the fulness of redemption and to accomplish it by His death and resurrection, destroying the power of sin and death. But in the Christian era, the nations would revive their ancient dream, and the second shaking would finally destroy the things which are shakeable so that only the unshakeable might remain. Then will come His second advent.

From this second beginning, that is, after the Fall, God instituted two rituals which are present in the practices of the past of every people, circumcision and sacrifice. Their true and biblical meaning has been obscured or perverted, but

they were given as a witness to mankind. Circumcision was a rite which set forth the fact that there is no hope for man in generation, that is, in birth, for he is born a sinner and can only give birth to sinners. Man, by circumcision, a kind of symbolic surrender of hope in generation, recognized that his hope was only in a supernatural rebirth or regeneration. In sacrifice, man was required to offer up an unblemished or perfect animal of a specified or clean variety. By this he indicated that he deserved to die for his sin, but that his death had no atoning power. Only the death of an innocent one in his place could both yield to God the justice required, the death of the sinner, and also the perfect obedience of an unblemished life. Circumcision and sacrifice, however deformed by pagan alterations, remained a general witness to man. In addition, because all men are created by God, everything in man witnesses to God, so that man's own nature, as well as heaven and earth, declares the glory of God and is revelational of Him. Paul declared that "the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so they are without excuse" (Romans 1:20). Men "hold the truth in unrighteousness" (Romans 1:18), or, it can be better translated, men *hold down* or suppress the truth because of their unrighteousness, because they are in moral rebellion against God. No man anywhere can complain that he is without a witness: all men have the *total witness* of all creation, including their own being.

A further witness was also instituted after the Flood, a chosen people or church as a testimony to the nations. Abraham was called to be the instrument of this covenant of God with man and was promised that through him would come the promised seed or Savior who would be a blessing to all nations and inheritor of all things. The land of Canaan was promised to Abraham's descendants as an evidence of the greatness of things to come.

Abraham's people, the Hebrews, were transferred by the providence of God to Egypt until

the fulness of the time of the Canaanites, that is, until God's justice finally required their destruction. Joseph became the means whereby Israel went to Egypt, to the saving of both peoples. Joseph's reforms in Egypt must not be misunderstood as modern socialism. The land had been in effect owned by the temples of Egypt, with the people as their slaves. Joseph, without offending the priesthood, used the famine to transfer the land title to the throne, to prevent its reversion to temple control, while giving practical ownership to the peasantry for a twenty percent tax of grain or "seed" crops exclusively, all other crops being exempt. As A. S. Yahuda has pointed out in *The Accuracy of the Bible*, in those days wheat was not sown every year, so that it is no wonder that the people hailed Joseph as their deliverer from both famine and oppression (Gen. 47:25f).

Later, the Egyptians enslaved the growing Hebrew population. Moses, sent back to Egypt by God to deliver Israel, was used by God to declare ten plagues against Egypt. The first three and milder plagues affected Goshen, a Hebrew area, as well, and the tenth would have stricken Israel if the blood of the Passover had not applied. Plagues four through ten were thus against Egypt. It was a war against the gods of Egypt, against a basically naturalistic faith, by the supernatural God. Pharaoh's inability after each plague to accept God's judgment grew out of his naturalism: all that had occurred was somehow naturally to be explained, and Moses' declarations concerning God's judgments merely coincided with natural catastrophes. This inability to accept the hand of God as determinative led to the final catastrophe for the Egyptian forces in the Red Sea crossing. Israel accepted the parting of the waters "by faith," but Egypt, seeing it only as a natural phenomenon equally usable by themselves, tried to cross also, and, "assaying to do, were drowned" (Hebrews 11:29).

Israel was commanded by God to occupy Canaan and to destroy its peoples, whom God had sentenced to death. To modern ears this judgment sounds shocking, but in God's eyes there is no modern "reverence for life," but only

reverence for righteousness in terms of His law. The Canaanites practiced an especially debased form of fertility cult worship, with ritual acts of perversion commonplace. God's patient witness to them had extended over centuries, and they had not been without great godly leaders like Melchizedek, King of Salem. Failure on Israel's part to press the war against the Canaanites led to the incorporation into Israel of a continuing source of corruption. The period of the Judges, or national governors, was marked by cycles of degeneracy and apostasy, captivity, and spiritual reformation and freedom.

The climax to the apostasy came towards the end of Samuel's days, when the nation rejected God as its king and demanded a human king, thus rejecting freedom for slavery (I Samuel 8). A monarchy was accordingly established, with Saul as the first king. God used the monarchy, first, to make plain to the Hebrews the consequences of rejecting freedom under God the King for hopes from a human order and, second, to establish the kingship as a type of the kingship He promised to the entire world under Jesus Christ.

After Saul's death, David ruled over a portion of the nation for seven years, and Saul's son Ish-bosheth ruled over the rest of it. After the murder of Ish-bosheth by his own men, David became king of the reunited monarchy, about 1050 B.C. Under his reign, the united kingdom became an international power through a series of wars whereby both the independence and power of Israel were asserted. Two things need to be noted with respect to Canaan, the "promised land." First, it possessed in those days a fertility, vegetation, and water now lacking in Palestine, which God subsequently cursed because of His people's apostasy. Secondly, the promised land was not a withdrawn place of peace and quiet but the main highway of the ancient world. In modern times, the world's trade has moved mainly through the Suez, the Dardanelles, and the Gibraltar. In the ancient world, Palestine was the great trade route linking nations and continents. Possession of it gave a nation great power and wealth, even though its geographical boundaries

might be limited. If weak, the Palestinian peoples could count on invasions, with other powers attempting to seize it and command the wealth of the trade routes. The location of Israel was thus in a place of continual testing where, if character and strength were lacking, war was a certainty. Under Solomon, David's son, this strength manifested itself in a long reign of peace and prosperity, and the influence of Solomon was felt as far east as India, deep into Africa, and throughout the Mediterranean area. Towards the end, however, Solomon's empire began to feel the effects of two things which led to its subsequent breakdown. First, Solomon's temporary spiritual waywardness (I Kings 11:5-43) was one in which the people also took part, with obvious results in the younger generation which surrounded Solomon's son Rehoboam. Second, the wealth of Israel became such that silver was as the cobblestones of Jerusalem (I Kings 10:27), and the result was inflation. Inflation can be caused by credit money and paper money, but also by a great influx of gold and silver as unearned wealth. South American gold later caused a similar inflation in Spain.

After Solomon's death, Israel was divided into two kingdoms, ten tribes seceding to form the Northern Kingdom, Israel, under Jeroboam I (930-910 B.C.) in 930 B.C., and Judah and Benjamin remaining faithful to the line of messianic hope, the royal house of David, in the person of Rehoboam (930-913 B.C.). This Southern Kingdom was called Judah.

The Northern Kingdom, Israel, was the larger and more prosperous area in the beginning, but its history is briefer (930-723 B.C.), and its throne changed hands repeatedly. From the beginning, it was given over to apostasy, despite the witness of many prophets. It was engaged in frequent warfare with Judah to the south and Syria to the north, until it was finally destroyed by the rising power of Assyria. After Jeroboam I, its next major monarchs were Omri (885-874 B.C.; all dates include co-regency where it existed) and his son Ahab (874-853 B.C.). It is significant that in his day, secular history saw

Omri's empire building as very important, but the Bible gives him only brief mention, recognizing the futility of his work and instead calling attention to the religious results of Omri's alliance made by the marriage of his son Ahab to Jezebel. The result of this alliance was a savage persecution of the true church in the name of the official fertility cult worship of Baalim. The next great monarch, with an interlude of half-hearted reform under Jehu (841-814 B.C.), was Jeroboam II (793-753 B.C.), whose long reign was a period of great exploitation, cheap money and easy wealth, a decline of agriculture, a destruction of the middle class, and great territorial expansion as a result of Assyria's temporary eclipse. After Jeroboam II, the collapse came rapidly, with six kings reigning from 748 to 723/2 B.C. in a succession of plots and murders. The end, at the hands of Assyria, came with the people still living under the illusions of their recent cancerous and suicidal power under Jeroboam. Captivity and the scattering of Israel throughout the Assyrian Empire followed. Assyria's rise to world power began about 900 B.C., and its destruction of Israel began in 734 and was completed in 721 B.C. Assyria itself fell in the next century, 607 B.C., and its fall brought Babylon to world power. It was Babylon which then destroyed Judah, the Southern Kingdom, between 606 and 586 B.C.

The Southern Kingdom, while also marked by apostasy, was, unlike the Northern Kingdom, not without some able and godly monarchs, such as Asa (910-870 B.C.), Jehoshaphat (873-848 B.C.), Joash (835-796 B.C.), Amaziah (796-767 B.C.), Uzziah (791-686 B.C.), Jotham (750-731 B.C.), Hezekiah, its finest ruler (716-686 B.C.), and Josiah, its last good ruler (640-608 B.C.). Except for the brief usurpation by Queen Athaliah of the family of Ahab, its monarchs were all of the house of David. There was thus in the Southern Kingdom a greater degree of social order and unity by virtue of the strong loyalty to the Davidic line. The Temple of Jerusalem, as the religious center, was the other great unifying factor. The Temple, and allegiance to it, became

a means of delusion during the declining years of the nation, for the people put their trust in the forms and rituals of their faith while dishonoring it in heart and practice.

During the period of the monarchy, especially after 900 B.C., the prophets were active in their ministry, Elijah and Elisha being the two great prophets of the ninth century. The message of the prophets was God's judgment on His people for their sins, the demand for righteousness and faith, the declaration of the judgment on all the nations of the ancient world, and messianic prophecies.

After the fall of Jerusalem, the Babylonian captivity [606-536 B.C.] ensued, brought to an end by the conquest of Babylon by the Medo-Persian power in 536 B.C. A limited number of persons returned to Palestine under the leadership of the high priest Joshua and the Davidic Prince Zerubbabel. The Temple and Jerusalem were rebuilt with the impetus given by Ezra and Nehemiah, and the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi were also post-exilic prophets. Judea was now a Persian province, and it continued as such for about two centuries. Persian rule was in the main tolerant, and it was a period of gradual growth and development for Judea.

This peace was followed by the storm of the Greek period, 331-167 B.C. Alexander the Great invaded Palestine in 332 B.C., but on the whole his treatment of the Judeans was generous. After his death in 323 B.C., Palestine became a prize which warring factions contended for, namely the Ptolemies in Egypt, and the Seleucids in Syria, both Greek dynasties established by Alexander's generals. Under the Ptolemies, the Judeans had more favorable status, and Alexandria became an important center of Judean life and thought. The Seleucids sought for religious conformity and a recognition of dynastic divinity. Antiochus Epiphanes (174-164 B.C.) sought to bring Judea into absolute conformity, devastated Jerusalem in 168 B.C., defiled the Temple, forbade circumcision on penalty of death, destroyed every copy of the Scripture he could locate and slaughtered its possessor, sold many

into slavery, and tortured viciously in order to force the people to renounce their religion. The result was the impassioned and wild Maccabean revolt which, with amazingly great dedication and in the face of seemingly impossible obstacles, gained a great victory and independence for Judea in the Maccabean War. A period of independence under the Maccabean, or Asmonean, or Hasmonaeon priest-rulers followed, 167-63 B.C.

In 63 B.C. the Romans under Pompey conquered Palestine and made Antipater, an Idumean or Edomite, that is, a descendant of Esau, ruler over Judea. Antipater was succeeded by his brutal son, Herod the Great, 37-3 B.C., who ruled Judea when Jesus was born and was responsible for the slaughter of the children of Bethlehem.

The Maccabean rulers combined the offices of priest and prince, a union invalid under God's law. Previously, while the ruler had religious duties and functions and the priest had civil responsibilities, the offices were clearly separate, and King Uzziah had been under divine judgment for attempting to usurp the priestly role. The offices were to be combined only in the person of the Messiah, whose role was to be "not of this world" (John 18:36). Thus, despite its heroisms, the Maccabean period showed departures from the faith, as it was also to show much bitter tension and internal conflict.

We have begun world history with Biblical history. The Biblical faith is today the most important in world history. Its influence on law, political theory, economics, philosophy, and all other areas of thought and life is beyond calculation. And yet most world history textbooks either omit mention of this aspect of history or give a bare mention of the Hebrews, of Jesus Christ,

and the beginnings of the church in a paragraph. Their concern is in effect to bury this history, and this is not surprising since two rival philosophies of history are at war: the Biblical versus the humanistic. For the humanistic historian the very "facts" of history are different, for he has a philosophy which creates its own doctrine of factuality. One's personal value system and faith will make all the difference as to the kind of history he will record as significant. History involves untold millions of continual events. A person's faith will determine which events are important, that is, which are the "real facts" of history. The humanist moves in faith no less than the Christian, but his faith is in man. Job declared, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust Him" (Job 13:15). Thomas Bell, a dying writer and a humanist, wrote in 1960 of man, "I must trust him though he kill me." This he felt to be the "rational" position. Is it not in actuality a faith of staggering dimensions and amazing blindness? Faith does not become reason or science merely because we call it so.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. How might an historian of the Darwinian persuasion explain the obvious devolution of culture between 2000 and 800 B.C.?
2. Historians in times past have attempted to elicit some law with which to explain the triumphs and tragedies of history. These have ranged from the mystical to the quasi-scientific, and contemporary historians tend to denigrate them all. For the Christian there is indeed a law of history: what is it, and how does this "idea of history" determine the way in which Christians perceive ancient civilizations?

Lesson Four

Chapter #2

Ancient Egypt

INTRODUCTION

An important word appears in John A. Wilson's statement about ancient Egypt: monophysite. Monophysitism holds that everything has a common being and nature, and that the only difference is one of degree, not of kind. This is directly in contradiction to Biblical revelation. For orthodox Christians, there are two kinds of being or existence: the divine, uncreated being and nature of God, and the created and creaturely being of man and all creation. These two are separate and distinct; they cannot be confused or mixed. In Jesus Christ, the human and the divine came together in perfect union without confusion in the unique fact of the incarnation. In all non-Biblical religions, men are given to a form of monophysitism, to a belief in a common nature and being between men and gods, so that the gods are divinized men and men are potential gods. This faith was clearly formulated in ancient Egypt.

According to the Egyptians, the gods evolved out of creation and out of humanity. The gods were dependent on men, and men were dependent on the gods. The state was the final order of men and gods, and man could not live outside that perfect order.

The name of Egypt among Egyptians to this day is often *Mizraim* (Gen. 10:6), the name of Ham's son. Egypt, however, is no longer ruled by Egyptians, or Copts, but by Arabs, its Moslem conquerors. The Copts are now a minority.

In ancient times, the great center of civilization was the crossroads of the continents. Three continents meet in Asia Minor: Asia, Africa, and Europe. The great highway linking these continents is Palestine. As a result, control of this area was of great importance, and every empire aimed at its conquest. Egypt was for centuries its master. Even today, this area of the world is of strategic importance. More trade and goods go through the Dardanelles than any other area of the world.

At that time, however, the fertility and productivity of Northern Africa and the Middle East was greater than it is now. The area has suffered deforestation and erosion. Its total population in Christ's day was far greater than in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER TWO

It has been said that the two richest soils in the world are in the Nile Valley of Egypt and the great central valley of California. Whether or not this is precisely accurate, it still remains true that the Nile Valley is one of the world's most fertile farmlands. In ancient times, of course, the importance of Egypt was increased by the fact that the Sahara, a vast region big enough to hold most of Europe, was a rich, fertile area of farms, cities, orchards, lakes, and rivers. Cattle raising was a particularly dominant interest. As this great

area became progressively drier, and steadily eroded and was stripped of forests and vegetation by misuse, the centrality of Egypt decreased. However, the fertility of Egypt still remains and its decline cannot be reduced to climatic changes in any degree.

The overflowing of the Nile left annually a sediment of alluvial soil to enrich the valley and maintain its fertility. An ancient Egyptian song to the Nile said in part: "Greetings to thee, O Nile, who hast revealed thyself throughout the land, who comest in peace to give life to Egypt. Does it rise? The land is filled with joy, every heart exults, every being receives its food, every mouth is full... It creates all good things, it makes the grass to spring up for the beasts." This naturalistic and religious faith has many examples in ancient Egypt. Juvenal, the Roman satirist, in *Satire XV*, ridiculed the continuing aspects of the old Egyptian faith, commenting on the Egyptian belief that "it is an impious outrage to crunch leeks and onions with the teeth. What a holy race to have such divinities springing up in their gardens!" Pliny, in his *Natural History*, also noted the Egyptian worship of garlic and onions. Many other natural deities could be cited. Indeed, a catalogue of deities would be necessary to cover the Egyptian religious scene. The bewildering fact, however, is that many of these gods are basically the same, in different forms. This has led some to say that the Egyptians were essentially monotheistic — that is, believers in one god — but, as John A. Wilson has observed, in the symposium *Before Philosophy*, the Egyptians were monophysites: "it is not a matter of a single god but of a single nature of observed phenomena in the universe, with the clear possibility of exchange and substitution. With relation to gods and men the Egyptians were monophysites; many men and many gods, but all ultimately of one nature."

Men and gods were of one nature, but there was a hierarchy of men and a hierarchy of gods, so that the two areas, of men and of gods, could be described as a double pyramid. The king or pharaoh was both a god and a man and, in the world of men, the "one recognized priest of all

the gods." All priests were deputies for the king. In the world of the gods, various gods at different times ruled at the apex, and temples and priesthoods rose and fell in power as their god — Geb, Ra, Osiris, Amon-Ra, Aton, or other — gained in power. Priests became both powerful and corrupt as their god rose to the top of the pyramid. Being of one nature with the gods and able by their rituals and works to manipulate the gods, the priests thus had enormous potentialities for control. Sir Wallis Budge has expressed the difference between the wonders performed by Moses and by the magicians of Egypt: Moses "wrought by the command of the God of the Hebrews, but the latter by the gods of Egypt at the command of man." Ezekiel 20, 29, and 30 makes clear that the Hebrews persisted in their Egyptian heresy, and, after the Babylonian captivity, Egyptian practices seem to have revived among many Hebrews.

Not only priests and magicians but all men could manipulate the gods to some extent through rituals, amulets, and by means of works. In *The Book of the Dead*, it is clear that man expected eternal life in exchange for his service of works. More than that, on being accepted into the other world, he became deified to a great degree, declaring, "There is no member of my body which is not the member of a god. The god Thoth shielded my body altogether, and I am Ra day by day."

This development of man was simply a reflection of the evolution and development of the gods. The god Neb-er-tcher declared, "I evolved the evolving of evolutions. I evolved myself under the form of the evolutions of the god Khepera, which were evolved at the beginning of all time. I evolved with the evolutions of the god Khepera; I evolved by the evolution of evolutions - that is to say, I developed myself from the primeval matter which I made, I developed myself out of the primeval matter. My name is Ausares (Osiris), the germ of primeval matter."

Man, as he developed himself, therefore merely followed the gods in boasting of his works, and, being of one nature with the gods,

he could legitimately do so. The following passages from Chapter 125 of *The Book of the Dead* make this clear:

I have not committed evil against men.
I have not mistreated cattle.
I have not committed sin in the place of truth.
I have not known that which is not (i.e., I have not tried to learn that which is not meant for mortals).
I have not seen evil...
I have not killed...
I have not caused anyone suffering...

While the living did not worship the dead, they did consider them a source of divine power, so that, as R. T. Rundle Clark has noted, "In Egypt there were two sources of power — in the sky and in the tombs with the ancestors." The king was the mediator of these two sources of power: "the first location made the king the child of the Sun God; the second made him Horus, the son of Osiris... Osiris was both Hades and Dionysos." Men were dependent upon the gods, the source of power and social order, but the gods were also dependent upon man and man's worship. Man could therefore threaten the gods even as the gods could threaten man. A lover's spell of about 100 B.C., demanding that his beloved girl "come after me like an ox after grass," threatens the god: "If you do not make her come after me I shall set fire to Busiris and burn up Osiris." But, because the gods are more powerful, the threatening usually came from them, through the Pharaoh and the priests. The only kind of order imaginable to them was a static social order with the monarch at the apex of the pyramid, with his priests and officers as the two sides going down to the base. All men belonged to the king as god, and there was no true life apart from him. Man's true existence was thus comprehended in and summed up in the state. Moreover, not only was their salvation a social salvation, but it was also physical salvation in this world and the next that was sought.

Egypt being in touch with three continents, close to Europe and Asia and situated in Africa, has had a greater impact on civilization than is

yet recognized. Her influence throughout Africa has been treated by E. A. Wallis Budge in *Osiris*, but Egyptian influences elsewhere require further study. The static nature of Egyptian concepts, their desire for Stability and Enduringness, have set them apart from the more dynamic concepts of society elsewhere, but the static concept has remained as a goal of history.

The Egyptians had no word for the state. The word state is too limited to express the divine order which their land, government, and ruler expressed. What for us would be slavery to the state meant for them divine order and man's only hope. Man could not transcend that social order; beyond it or outside it, he was nothing. It was his life. A man might fret at his condition, but anything outside of his life in the state was for him unimaginable. This faith was written by the vizier Rekhmire in his tomb: "What is the king of Upper and Lower Egypt? He is a god by whose dealings one lives, the father and mother of all men, alone by himself without an equal." The state was the expression not only of the will of the gods but of the powers of nature. Religion being completely identified with the life of the state, man was man not in terms of a transcendental God, but only in terms of a divine state and its social order. Man's happiness was in harmony with this order. As Henri Frankfort wrote, in *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, "The Egyptian way of life... appears as one not of struggle but of harmony. Within the all-inclusive unity of nature and society man could move with dignity, safety, and happiness."

Except for the Bible and Herodotus, historians knew relatively little of ancient Egypt until the Rosetta Stone, found in the Nile delta in 1799, provided a key. On the stone was a decree written in three kinds of characters: Greek, and late and early Egyptian, which none could read at that time. The French scholar Champollion used the Greek to decipher the Egyptian, and, as a result of his work, the ancient Egyptian inscriptions and manuscripts were opened to historians' use. The pyramids and tombs, despite grave robbers of all ages, contained, with other sources,

extensive records of ancient Egypt. It should be noted that Egyptian writing was not limited to the ancient pictorial hieroglyphics; an alphabet of twenty-four letters was also developed.

Egyptian science made many contributions to other cultures, and some of its contributions were eventually lost, such as the technical devices used to move stones weighing many tons over many miles to a construction site. The Egyptian calendar of 365 days, twelve months of 30 days, with five holidays at the end of the year, was adopted in Rome by Julius Caesar, with the five holidays added to various months throughout the year, and adding one day in four years to make a 366-day year to correct the calendar. The next revision came with Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 A.D.

The Greek historian, Herodotus (c. 485-425 B.C.), reported that the Egyptians considered themselves to be "the most ancient" people of the world in culture and power, disdained to use Grecian customs and "the customs of all other people whatsoever," and called "all men barbarians who did not speak the same language as themselves." In their eyes, they were the center of the world and civilization personified; all others were children by comparison. This attitude led to an unwillingness to associate with foreigners except on their own terms. The power and prestige of Solomon's empire is indicated by the almost unique fact that an Egyptian princess was given to him as part of an alliance; this was against all usual Egyptian policy and practice.

The Egyptians thus believed in their importance, and their architectural style embodied this monumental sense of being. The greatest pyramid was originally slightly more than 480 feet high, still covers nearly 13 acres, and is built with about 2,300,000 blocks of stone averaging two and a half tons in weight each. This pyramid of Cheops is said to be 5,000 years old. Its quarries were discovered in 1938 in the desert near the Sudanese frontier, sixty or more miles from the Nile. The total weight of the stones in this pyramid is nearly seven million tons. It should be noted, however, that this pyramid is exceeded in size by the Cholulu pyramid in Mexico, which is

the largest pyramid and largest monument ever constructed. The base of the Mexican pyramid covers an area of 39.5 acres, and its total volume has been estimated at 4,300,000 cubic yards, as compared with the 3,360,000 cubic yards of the pyramid of Cheops (or Khufu). Both cultures had a static sense of history, and their monuments were expressive of this confidence that the true order of the ages had been achieved.

From the earliest known records of Egyptian history, it is apparent that Egypt was a priestly state. In the predynastic period, the Nile Valley was divided into provinces, called *nomes*, each ruled by a priest-prince or chieftain. As certain *nomarchs*, or rulers of *nomes*, gained power over others, the number of political orders decreased, until only two groups, Upper and Lower Egypt, remained, and these were united later under one ruler, Menes, who founded the first dynasty. The three great pyramid builders, Khufu, Khafre, and Menkure, were of the fourth dynasty, whose capital was Memphis. The priestly nature of the ruler made him and his state the mediator of salvation to the people. Men expected "the good life" not from a god directly, but from the state, which was a messianic order.

During most of the Old Testament period, with minor periods of decline, Egypt remained a major power on the world scene. In the eighteenth century B.C., it was invaded by the Hyksos, "rulers of foreign lands," who ruled a portion of Egypt until expelled c. 1570 B.C. by Ahmose, who established the eighteenth dynasty of thirty which ruled Egypt. The Hyksos are said by some to have been a mixed horde of Semites, Hurrians, and others, although other possibilities exist.

There were periods of decline, as under Akhenaten, erroneously idealized by some as an early monotheist. In 730 B.C., Egypt fell for a time under Ethiopian control, and succumbed to the Assyrian attack in 664 B.C., culminating in the sack of Thebes. The Assyrians left the control of Egypt in the hands of various princes, whose leader, Psammetichus, gradually made himself independent of Assyria and established the twenty-sixth dynasty, which gave Egypt 140

years of its final period of major status. The power rested on the basis of Greek mercenaries and Greek traders. When Jerusalem fell to Babylon some Jews settled in Egypt, where Elephantine (c. 586-399 B.C.) was the best known Jewish colony. Egypt subsequently fell under Persian rule in 525 B.C. when Cambyses defeated Psammetichus III. The Egyptians did not successfully revolt until 405 B.C. under Amyrtaeus, and a difficult sixty-three years of independence followed until Persia reconquered Egypt in 341 B.C. This second period of Persian rule ended in 332 B.C. with the victory of Alexander the Great at Issus, and Egypt became a part of the Macedonian Empire.

Thereafter, Egypt was a part of the Hellenistic world, ruled by the Ptolemies. Native revolts were frequent but unsuccessful. The prosperous conditions of the country under the Ptolemies made their rule effectual. Alexandria became not only the capital but also the intellectual center of the world, and gradually the old Egyptian faiths began to wane, although the Osiris and Isis faith and the mystery religions were to have a major impact on the Greco-Roman world. Egypt was no longer strictly Egyptian. With the defeat of Cleopatra in 30 B.C. Egypt became a part of the Roman Empire, an important and prosperous part and the granary of the world of its day. This makes understandable the power which Mark Antony wielded by his possession of Egypt. Mark Antony, however, weakened his advantages by debasing the currency, whereas Octavius, or Augustus Caesar, as he was later titled, strengthened the silver coinage and enhanced the stability and broadened the basis of his support.

Egypt had seen itself as the world center and the norm of the world. In a hymn extolling Thebes and its god Amon-Re, dated to the reign of Ramses II, about 1301-1234 B.C., it is

declared that Thebes was the place of creation:

Thebes is *normal* beyond every (other) city. The water and land were in her from the first times. (Then) sand came to *delimit* the fields and to create her ground on the hillock; (thus) earth came into being.

Then men came into being in her, to found every city with her real name, for their name is called "city" only under the oversight of Thebes, the Eye of Re... Every (other) city is under (her) shadow, to magnify themselves through Thebes. She is the *norm*.

Thebes, the Biblical *No* (Jeremiah 46:25, Ezekiel 30:14-16, Nahum 3:8), built on both sides of the Nile, the capital of Upper Egypt, known also as Diospolis (city of god), was chief seat of the worship of Amon. Thebes, its famous temple, was destroyed in 81 B.C. It fell after a three year siege to a Ptolemy surnamed Lathyrus or Lathurus, after having played a major role in a native revolt. Old Egypt was thus crushed. Egypt had seen itself as both the beginning and end of history, the true order of life. It had survived longer than most major powers, and it remained as a name and a people when other empires became merely names in history. But "the splendour that was Egypt" was not the master of time and history, but simply another faltering and defeated power in the continuing and developing conflict.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. What does monophysite mean, and why is it an accurate label for the Egyptian understanding of the gods?
2. How was this monophysite understanding evolutionary? Why was it necessarily magical as well?

Lesson Five

Chapter #3

Ancient Near East and Mediterranean Powers

INTRODUCTION

The fertility cults of the ancient Near East were not “primitive” religions but evidences of cultural decay. The fertility cults worshipped power, and sex was prominent among the powers idolized. Baal worship was a form of fertility cult faith. Baal means lord; *Baalism* worshipped power and lordship, and it worshipped sex among other things.

When men see life in its proper perspective, sex is not primary in their thinking. They are then concerned with exercising dominion under God. When, however, men are fallen, and the implications of their fall are developed in their culture, they seek power; men were ready to sacrifice anything for power, even their children as human sacrifices, because in everything their will to power was tainted by sin and frustrated by their own inner and spiritual bondage to sin.

Moreover, for these men life was essentially a frustrating thing. The problem was not sin in man, but, they held, a perversity in the gods. James B. Pritchard gives us these Akkadian observations on life:

- What is good in one's sight is evil for a god.
- What is bad in one's own mind is good for his god.
- The plan of a god is deep water, who can comprehend it?
- Where has befuddled mankind ever learned what a god's conduct is?

Not only did they not claim to have any revelation from any god, but these people believed that the perversity of their gods made such a revelation impossible or untrustworthy. In fact, one writer said of the gods, as Pritchard gives it,

- As if he were a thief, they mistreat a wretched man,
- They bestow slander on him, they plot murder against him,
- Disloyally they bring every evil upon him because he lacks *protection*;
- Dreadfully they destroy him, they extinguish him like a flame.

These men were imagining that the gods were like men, evil and perverse, and they were thus creating the gods in their own image, which is anthropomorphism.

CHAPTER THREE

A number of important states appear in the background of Old Testament history, only a few of which can be briefly considered here.

The Hittites, an Indo-European people, invaded Asia Minor around 2000 B.C., and by 1550 B.C. they controlled all Asia Minor. Their power extended even to Babylon, which at one time they looted, c 1560 B.C., bringing about the fall of the First Babylonian Dynasty.

Shuppiluliuma I, 1380-1350 B.C., was the monarch under whom the Hittite power reached

its greatness. The weakness of Egypt under Akhenaten enabled the Hittites to expand southward over the Taurus Mountains. It was in the realm of Shuppiluliuma, at Kizzuwatna in Anatolia, that iron smelting on any significant scale was first conducted in Asia Minor. This monarch established his supremacy over Mitanni in Upper Mesopotamia and over Syria as far south as Lebanon.

The Hittite monarch ruled over a confederation of city-states, and he ruled with the help of a council of nobles. When the empire fell around 1200 B.C. from attacks on the west, some of the city-states, especially in Syria, survived for several centuries, notably Hamath on the Orontes and Carchemish on the Euphrates, both of which were important in Solomon's day and later. Both were destroyed by Assyria in the eighth century B.C. Their Biblical history extends from the time of Abraham to the days of Isaiah.

The Phrygians were another European people who for a time occupied an important place in the Near East when that area was the center of history. The Phrygians crossed over from Thrace c. 1100 B.C., at about the same time as the Hellenes entered Greece. The Trojans were a Phrygian people whose clash with the Greeks gained lasting fame through Homer's poetry. In the Christian era, Paul's missionary journeys included "the region of Galatia and Phrygia" (Acts 18:23).

Phrygia's importance as a state is not as great as her importance religiously. The fertility cult of Phrygia has had a major impact of a lasting sort on succeeding cultures to this day. The divine mother-goddess, as the chief religious entity, was the giver of all good things and the ultimate embodiment of the divine power. Mystic initiation into this faith had as its goal the identification of the human being with the divine life. Ritual prostitution was an aspect of Phrygian worship, as were various perversions. Salvation was deliverance from law into lawlessness as a ritual means of regenerating man. It was salvation by moral revolution, or, better, immoral revolution. The goddess being also the earth-goddess, all men came from the earth and therefore could

not own it but rather belonged to it. The land was the deity's and the people were her slaves. Landowners had possession but not *dominion*. The temple was the bank of Phrygian society, and the temple was the money-lender.

The Phrygian cap, the origin of the priestly mitre in all the faiths, had its point jutting forward when worn by a male, and down on the nape of the neck when worn by a female. It was often red in color, and as such was the Cap of Liberty and of revolution, of regeneration by means of chaos and bloodshed. The Phrygian cap has a long revolutionary history: it appeared in Nero's reign, and, on his death, his followers among the people adopted the cap as the emblem of their revolutionary hopes. The cap early came to be a mark of the "Enlightened" of this faith. It appeared in the French Revolution as the Cap of Liberty, and gave its revolutionary faith and color to subsequent communism and radicalism. The cap appears also on some American coins, including a silver dollar, on top of "Liberty's" head. It is an emblem of the fact that revolutionary "liberty" cannot be peaceful. It requires blood, human sacrifice, and moral chaos as the necessary means of social regeneration. Freedom comes through destroying the law, not in its fulfillment.

The Amorites, another ancient Semitic people, form an important part of the Old Testament background. They first appear in Genesis 14:13 and 15:16, where, in the latter text, they are synonymous with the people of the land. At the time of Moses and Joshua, the Amorites possessed the hill country of the west of Palestine and two large areas in the transjordan country (Numbers 13:29, 21:26-30; Deuteronomy 1:19-20, 44). They were not completely destroyed during the invasion and their remaining cities and peasantry came gradually to live in peace with Israel. In Samuel's time, they did not side with Israel's enemy, the Philistines (I Samuel 7:14). Their last appearance in the Biblical record is their forced labor under Solomon (I Kings 9:20-21, and II Chronicles 8:7). Their relations with Israel after the wars of conquest were friendly but deadly in the religious sense.

The Amorites were early known to the Umerians of Ur, who had to resist their encroachments during the time of Shu-Suen, in the latter days of Ur's Third Dynasty (c. 2100 - 1944 B.C.). Syria and other areas became Amorite territory. Their defeat of Ur led to the Amorite conquest of that area and the establishment of the Babylonian Kingdom. Hammurabi was a monarch of this Amorite dynasty. This particular Amorite state was destroyed by the Kassites, Hittites, Egyptians, and Mitiannians.

As already noted, as early as Genesis 15:16 the Amorites were equated with the Canaanites, although in other passages the varieties of peoples in Canaan were clearly cited, as such verses as Exodus 3:8, 17 make clear. The identification of Amorite and Canaanite is nonetheless frequent, pointing to the Amorites as the people whose faith gave most prominent form and shape to the Canaanite culture. Examples of this religious coloration, such as the adoption of Marduk in Mesopotamia, are many, but our concern is chiefly with *Baal* worship.

No such god as *Baal* existed (the plural is Baalim). Baal means *lord, inhabitant, possessor*. Baal worship saw all the universe as one continuous being, unlike Biblical faith which discriminated sharply between uncreated, divine being and created and creaturely being. This one uncreated being was in dynamic process of development and its most essential aspect was therefore fertility. Sex and sexual rites were thus basic to worship. The fertility and power of a particular area, both with respect to its geography and its people, represented these great natural powers, the Baalim, in their highest forms. In the Northern Kingdom, Israel, in Ahab's day, and later in Judah, Baal worship included Jehovah treated as another Baal; that is, as another natural force in the universe. Baalism was thus a naturalistic religion as against the Biblical supernaturalism. Because man was saved in Baalism by his works, man, as he sought the powers of the various Baalim by works of sexual imitation involving many perversions, by works of sacrifice involving self-castration (I Kings 18:28), child sacrifice

(Jeremiah 19:5), and fornication (Jeremiah 7:9), believed that through his works, he commanded these powers of nature. The absurdities and monstrous perversions of Baalism were therefore the natural developments of a naturalistic perspective as it appeared very early in the history of mankind.

Several other important peoples can be briefly mentioned. The Hurrians or Hurri (the Biblical Horites) were an Armenoid people from the Lake Van area who appear in the Bible as the pre-Edomite inhabitants of Seir (Genesis 14:6, Deuteronomy 2:12, 22). The Hurrians for a time possessed northern and northeastern Mesopotamia and spread over the whole of Mesopotamia, perhaps around 1800 B.C. Their only lasting effect was in Mitanni, which they also entered. The Mitiannians were a mixture of three white races, probably Armenoid Horites, Semitic Amorites, and Indo-Europeans, who gained the rule. Mitanni was an important ally of Egypt. From its position in Upper Mesopotamia it was able to strengthen Egyptian power over Palestine while itself exercising dominance over adjacent areas in Asia Minor. Mitanni's history began in the seventeenth century and ended in the thirteenth century B.C. with the invasions of the Hittites and others.

The Kassites (or Cassites), an Armenoid people, overthrew Babylon c. 1677 B.C. and for a few centuries held southern and southeastern portions of that kingdom. By 1150 B.C. their power ended. Urartu (or Ararat, later a part of Armenia) during the ninth century B.C. was important, among other things, as an enemy of Assyria; and although it was finally overwhelmed by that power, Urartu delayed Assyrian entry into Palestine.

Excavations in recent years have brought to light the importance for ancient jurisprudence of Nuzu. Nuzian marriage and inheritance laws are predominantly present in Genesis. Esau's sale of his birthright to Jacob (Genesis 25:27-34) was in accordance with Nuzian law.

The Philistines, who gave the name Palestine to that land, if they did not, as some hold, come

directly from Caphtor or Crete, were a related people and were a power in Canaan for some time. In the eleventh century B.C. by having an iron monopoly, as the Hittites did two centuries earlier, they ruled the land effectively. Israelites had to go to the Philistines to have iron tools made or repaired. The Philistine power existed as early as 1100 B.C. and disappeared as a name in history with the Assyrian conquest, although remnants of the Philistine power as city-states continued, and Gaza's resistance to Alexander the Great is notable. The same cities later passed into Roman hands and maintained their importance.

Caphtor, or Crete (the Biblical Cherethites), was an ancient and advanced culture which fell about 1400 B.C. Better known as the Minoan civilization and originating about 3000 B.C., it was conquered by the Greeks in c. 1400 B.C. but continued until c. 1100 B.C. The Minoans had a highly developed civilization. The palace at Cnossus was four stories high. The better homes were exceptionally beautiful and palatial and also possessed what we call "modern" plumbing; that is, running water and sanitary drainage, an achievement, among others, which man has apparently gained and lost more than once. It existed also in India, at Mohenejo-daro (c. 2500 - c. 1500 B.C.), a great culture of the Indus Valley.

Another advanced culture which disappeared was the Sumerian, a power by 3000 B.C. The city of Ur gained ascendancy in Sumer c. 2500 B.C., and under various dynasties and peoples maintained its power, language, and culture. The racial origin of the original Sumerians is unknown. The Akkad rule in the early years of

Sumer lay to the north of Sumer. The Akkadians, a Semitic people, were gradually incorporated into the same state with the Sumerians, sometimes ruling, as with Sargon of Akkad, who gained power c. 2260 B.C. and ruled for 56 years, and sometimes being ruled. Several other Semitic groups became a part of this complex: the Guti, Amorites, Assyrians, and Elamites (who may have been of the Alpine race), and some Armenoids, the Kassites and Hurrians.

As man appeared on the historical scene, he appeared as man, and as civilized man. The limited number of peoples we have considered is indicative of this. It should be noted that the Minoans, appearing before most, represented not a lower but a higher culture. Degeneration is no less a fact of history than development. History after the Flood shows that man rapidly reproduced great civilizations and then declined from them.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. Does the almost continuous rise and fall of great civilizations throughout the centuries prove that history is, as some Native American cultures claim, nothing more than the repetition of cycles? If history is cyclic, are we destined to make the same mistakes over and over again?
2. The Cap of Liberty originating with the Phrygians was a symbol of the attempt to secure freedom through bloodshed. Given fallen man's tendency to twist the truth, what Biblical idea might this reflect? How does the pagan concept differ from the Christian concept?

Lesson Six

Lecture #3

Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Jesus Christ

Listen to CD Lecture #3-- "Assyria Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Jesus Christ," then answer the following questions.

Review Questions

1. What two peoples are the most dispersed people of the world?
2. What besides environment has an effect on the culture of a people?
3. What can be said about the Assyrians and their impact on world civilization?
4. How can the Assyrians be characterized now?
5. What figure did the ancient Assyrian rulers assume and why?
6. What means did they use to build a one-world empire?
7. How did the Assyrians and Babylonians view chaos?
8. How did a Babylonian become a ruler?
9. How did such a ruler regard himself in relation to those he ruled?
10. What was the ancient religion of Persia before Islam took over?
11. What were the ultimates in their religion?
12. How did this affect their tolerance?
13. What was the Greek concept of a hero?
14. What is the meaning of charisma as applied to our modern leaders?
15. Why is the Greek tragedy ungodly?
16. Where do we see tragedy depicted mostly in modern times?
17. According to sacred Scriptures, how is the world ruled?

18. What did our Lord say about good and evil?

Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion Questions

1. What part do character, environment, and religion play in the history of a people or a civilization?
2. What type of people were the Assyrians?
3. In pagan religions, who delivers man from God?
4. How do “Chaos” and “Revolution” figure into the rule and life of pagan nations?
5. Why can pagans never experience peace during their lifetime?
6. What are the teachings of Zoroaster? How were they developed?
7. How did these teachings help the development of Persia?
8. Where do we see remnants of Zoroastrianism today?
9. What is a hero, in the pagan sense?
10. What is a Tragedy? Why is a Tragedy an anti-Christian form of art? How do we see this portrayed today?
11. From a Christian worldview, who is the Creator and who governs creation?
12. Did God come to unite all things or to divide and destroy evil? Explain.
13. What is the modern view of evil, toleration, and chaos as the source of regeneration? Take into account the nature of things, the work before us, and the direction of the future.

Lesson Seven

Chapter #4

Assyria and Babylonia

INTRODUCTION

A very interesting aspect of Assyria's history is the title claimed by some of its monarchs. We read in one inscription this statement: "I am Shalmaneser, the legitimate king, the king of the world, the king without rival, the 'Great Dragon,' the only power within the four rims of the earth, overlord of all princes, who has smashed all his enemies as if they be earthenware, the strong man, unsparing, who shows no mercy in battle." The term "Great Dragon" can also be translated "Giant Snake."

In the Bible, we are told that these are terms for Satan. Revelation 12:9 declares, "And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world." Israel and Assyria lived in a common era and each was familiar with the same ideas. What Genesis 3 and Revelation 12:9 are talking about is the same as Shalmaneser's statement. The difference is in their evaluation. For Assyria, the person meant by the Great Dragon was the inspirer of terror, one who ruled by his will alone and without rival. To be the Great Dragon was the legitimate goal of any ruler. For the Bible, the Great Dragon means Satan, the destroyer, whose great temptation is that men should cast off God's claims and become their own gods and determiners of what constitutes good and evil (Genesis 3:1-5).

Adad-nirari III, Assyrian ruler 810-783 B.C.,

spoke of his rule or "shepherding" as comparable to "the Plant of Life," or the tree of life. Thus the Assyrians believed that the state and its ruler were the tree of life for the people. By exercising total and imperial power, in contempt of God and man, the Assyrian monarchy could seize power and prosper its people. In pagan religions, the state is the way to regain paradise on earth, to build the Kingdom or City of Man, a counterfeit Kingdom of God.

The snake theme is common to antiquity. One of the gods of Greece was Asklepios, the instructing snake, who brought healing to man; the symbol of Asklepios is still the symbol of doctors. The Romans spoke of Aeskulapius as the man-instructing snake. The symbol of man's temptation and fall was for the pagans the symbol of man's deliverance and healing.

In spite of all their efforts, these faiths ended in pessimism and despair. The final counsel, in Mesopotamia, and later in Rome, was eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die. The Mesopotamian Gilgamesh epic gives us this same hopelessness:

Gilgamesh, whither are you wandering?
Life, which you look for, you will never find.
For when the gods created man, they let
death be his share, and life
withheld in their own hands.
Gilgamesh, fill your belly —
day and night make merry,
let days be full of joy,

dance and make music day and night.
And wear fresh clothes,
and wash your head and bathe.
Look at the child that is holding your hand,
and let your wife delight in your embrace.
These things alone are the concern of man.

As against this cynicism all Scripture declares the certainty of God's gracious government and salvation. St. Paul in Romans 8:28 speaks of God's providence: "And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to His purpose." In Romans 10:11 St. Paul tells us of the certainty of our salvation: "For the scripture saith, Whosoever believeth on Him shall not be ashamed." Moffatt's rendering of this verse is interesting: "No one who believes in Him, the scripture says, will ever be disappointed. No one."

CHAPTER FOUR

Thorkild Jacobsen has said that if the Egyptian was to come back today, "he would undoubtedly take heart from the endurance of his pyramids," and his desire for permanency would find some gratification. If the Mesopotamian were to return, "he could hardly feel deeply disturbed that *his* works have crumbled," for his basic faith held to the power of change and flux. Moreover, as Jacobsen adds in *Before Philosophy*, for the Mesopotamian "cosmic order did not appear as something given; rather it became something achieved." This achievement of cosmic order by the integration of wills and institutions is *the state*. For the Egyptian the order was there and Egypt expressed it. For the Mesopotamian it had to be fought for and won. The whole universe was a state, but it was a dynamic state in flux, experiencing at times vast upheavals. The universe of gods, of natural forces, worked towards a unity, and the state of man must also struggle towards the same political unification. Man was only man in an institution and in an organized state.

The Mesopotamian king was not a god like the kings of Egypt, but he could achieve deity if he

succeeded in creating a powerful and unified state. In Babylon the monarch took the outstretched hand of the god in an important ceremony, thereby establishing his status as a co-worker with the gods in the great task of cosmic political unification.

In the ancient world political alliances were always religious, and, to this day, they remain so to an unsuspected degree. At that time, the religious aspect was paramount, and the repeated prohibition of alliances to the Hebrews was God's denial of the validity of religious compromise, syncretism, or confusion. When the Mesopotamian powers made an alliance they had always at least two purposes in mind. First, the alliance was a recognition that cosmic unification required earthly political unification, and the ruling Mesopotamian state was seen as the agency of that one-world order. Second, the alliance recognized that the Mesopotamian one-world cosmic state was the only true religious order, and the local religion was thus merely a minor variation or deviation from the one true faith. The conquest of a town or state was thus a conquest of its religion by the irresistible power of the cosmic state as it worked to subdue chaos. Rabshakeh's speech before the walls of Jerusalem (II Kings 18:33 ff.) reveals this thinking clearly.

The ancient Akkadian Creation Epic is very instructive in this regard. Chaos must be subdued to have order, but chaos is itself the source of fertility, so that there must be chaos in order to have order. This has staggering implications. It means that a social order must be dedicated, as the Mesopotamian states mostly were, to a ruthless uprooting of things, to planned chaos and ruin as the foundation of social order. This, too, is another important root of the modern concept of revolution. Chaos is seen as the mother of order.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Mesopotamia, with its Tower of Babel tradition and its faith in chaos and in the cosmic state, was very early a center of dreams of a one-world empire. It was, moreover, a center of the most amazing ruthlessness in furthering this dream. Thus, behind the outspoken claims to ruthlessness on

the part of Assyrian monarchs was a religious principle. Esarhaddon declared: "The kings of the four quarters of the world I trod under foot...the countries, all of them, I brought under my yoke." In the Annals of Ashurbanipal we read: "The inhabitants of Sais also, and Mender, and Tanis, and the rest of the cities, as many as had sided with them and plotted evil, they (i.e., generals) destroyed with weapons, both small and great, and left not a man in them. They hung their corpses on gibbets, stripped off their skins, and therewith covered the wall of the city." Of a captive king, Ashurbanipal said, "By the command of the great gods, my lords, I put a dog chain on him and set him to watch in a cage." Tiglath-pileser had said of one conquest, "I made their blood to flow over all the ravines and high places of mountains. I cut off their heads and piled them up at the walls of their cities like heaps of grain." Shalmaneser II said of the conquest of Aridi in Ninni, "A pyramid of heads in front of his city I erected. Their young men (and) women I burned in a bonfire." These things and more are routine reports by Assyrian kings. They serve to make understandable the horror with which ancient peoples viewed the Assyrians and why the prophet Jonah rebelled at the idea of giving Assyria an opportunity to repent.

To establish this unity through chaos, populations were forcibly evacuated from their home territories and scattered throughout the empire to break down local loyalties and rebellions. The Assyrian captivity of Israel and the Babylonian captivity of Judah are to be understood in this context. (Modern Soviet policies bore a marked resemblance to this ancient strategy.) Of the two powers, Assyria was the most dedicated and ruthless.

Assyria was originally a small area with the Tigris valley to the west, the mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan to the north and east, and the Lower Zab to the south. It enjoyed a temperate climate; its hills were well wooded, its valleys rich in figs, olives, grapes, grains, oranges, lemons, apricots, and vegetables and fruits of many other varieties. Stone was used extensively for building purposes.

The Assyrians were not a numerous people, and thus their world power is all the more amazing. Ashur was their capital for centuries, to be succeeded later by Nineveh. Their culture was largely Babylonian, their state essentially military and almost always on the march. Our knowledge of Assyria is more extensive than that of most ancient states because of the recovery of part of Ashurbanipal's library in excavations.

Assyria's first notable period of power came under Tiglath-pileser I (1112-1074 B.C.), who broke the power of the Hittites and Babylon and extended Assyrian sway to the Mediterranean. After his death, Assyria declined and was relatively quiet, and hence posed no obstacle to David and Solomon.

The next great development of Assyrian power came with Adad-nirari II (909-889 B.C.), and, after that, Assyria remained until its fall, despite some variations, as the major power in the Near East. Tukulti-Ninurta II, who succeeded Adad-nirari II in 889 B.C., gradually reestablished sway over the areas once ruled by Tiglath-pileser I. Ashur-nazir-apli II, following in 883 B.C., began the extension of the empire into new areas. Beginning with Ashur-nazir-apli II (or Ashurnasirpal II), cruelty became an established policy of operation, with unspeakable atrocities practiced as a strategy of terror to compel kingdoms to submit without warfare rather than risk such treatment. The horror and hatred of the peoples is well expressed much later in the prophet Nahum.

Shulmanu-asharid III (Shalmaneser III) came to the throne in 858 B.C., reigning until 824 B.C., and made his reign one prolonged battle to extend the empire. A great Syrian confederation came together in desperation to halt Shalmaneser's advance, and in 853 B.C. the great battle of Carqar (or Karkar) was fought. According to Assyrian records, King Ahab of Israel took part with 2,000 chariots and 10,000 infantry. Although Shalmaneser claimed the victory, it was apparently indecisive, and he had to wage war against the same great alliance in 849 B.C. and 846 B.C.; in 842 B.C. Shalmaneser successfully invaded Syria and received tribute from the other

powers, including tribute from Jehu of Israel.

For a time thereafter the Assyrian march was halted by the power of Urartu (Armenia), which, while finally overcome, so set back Assyrian power that a revival of Israel's strength and an extension of territory under Jeroboam II (793-753 B.C.) became possible. Tiglath-pileser III, who came to the throne in 744 B.C., was finally able to defeat Urartu and return to the reconquest of north Syria. In 732 B.C., the invasion of Israel was followed by the submission of Pekah its king. The Babylonian crown was also gained by Tiglath-pileser III under the name of Pulu (II Kings 15:19f).

Shalmaneser V (726-722 B.C.) faced the threat of an alarmed Egypt which began stirring up various peoples to rebellion against Assyria. One consequence of Egyptian policy was the revolt of Hoshea of Israel and the fall of Samaria, followed by its captivity and the resettlement of 27,290 of its leaders and their replacement by Babylonians and Syrians (II Kings 17:6).

Sharru-kin or Sargon II (721-705 B.C.), however, met with reverses. Merodach-baladan II, a Chaldean monarch of South Babylonia, together with Elam, withstood Sargon and gained twelve years of peace. Rebellions elsewhere were crushed, but Sargon's major task was the threat posed by the power of Rousas I, the Rushdoony of Urartu, who came to the throne in 720 B.C. Gaining all Upper Mesopotamia, together with Mita of Mushki in an anti-Assyrian coalition, Rousas succeeded in greatly draining Assyrian power. Ten years were required to put down this threat, and in this the Assyrians were successful only with the aid of the Cimmerians (the Ginirai, or Gomer), who invaded Urartu from the north. With this victory, Merodach-baladan II was easily put to flight. Egypt had been dealt with earlier, after the fall of Samaria, and Assyria had been given money to refrain from invading Egypt. Hezekiah's Judah had only a precarious status. Sargon's empire extended from the Persian Gulf to Cilicia and the Egyptian frontier, with even Cyprus paying tribute.

Sennacherib came to the throne in 704 B.C.

and soon moved against Judah. He captured 46 fortified cities, deported 200,150 people, and shut up Hezekiah in Jerusalem "like a bird in a cage." His disaster before the walls of Jerusalem at the hand of God is recorded in Scripture. It was Sennacherib who changed the capital of Assyria to Nineveh.

Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.), one of the greatest Assyrian monarchs, extended the empire, and in 674-673 B.C. and 670 B.C. he waged war on Egypt and succeeded in making it an Assyrian province. When Egypt revolted in 668 B.C., Esarhaddon marched to subjugate it but died en route. Ashurbanipal (Ashur-ban-apli) (668-626 B.C.) easily reconquered Egypt, and Elam was also destroyed. But the manpower reserves of Assyria were now weakened, and by 650 B.C. the Egyptian garrisons were withdrawn and the Egyptian viceroy was only nominally under Assyrian rule. Shortly before Ashurbanipal's death, the Scythians successfully invaded the country. The end came rapidly then. Nineveh fell in 612 B.C. and the Assyrian Kingdom was wiped out by 606 B.C.

The prophet Nahum, in foreseeing Nineveh's fall, had said, "Behold, thy people in thy midst are women" (Nahum 3:13). Various ancient and modern authorities have depicted Sardanapalus (Ashurbanipal) as an effeminate degenerate. There seems to have been a failure of morale as well as of manpower in the very rapid descent of Assyria from the height of power to extinction at the hands of the Medes and Babylonians. A royal title had been "the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria." The time was to come when its remembrance would so fade that, for centuries, it would be known mainly through the Bible, and even then would be treated as a myth by unbelievers.

Babylonia, in the south, in the great plain below the site of ancient Akkaha, between the Tigris and Euphrates, was an irrigated agricultural area. It has a long history under various peoples and dynasties. Our concern is with the Chaldean Dynasty, which succeeded Assyria as world-master and fell heir to its policy of empire.

This dynasty played a dramatic if brief role in history. Its line was as follows:

- 626 B.C. Nabopolassar
- 605 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar II (or Nebuchad-nezzar)
- 561 B.C. Amel-Marduk (Evil-Merodach)
- 560 B.C. Nergal-sharezer
- 556 B.C. Labashi-Marduk
- 559 B.C. Nabonidus and, as vice-regent, Belshazzar, his son
- 539 B.C. End of Babylonian Kingdom

It should be noted that the previous Babylonian dynasty, beginning with Nabu-mukin-zeri in 731 B.C and including Merodach-baladan, had also been Chaldean. In this dynasty that began with Nabopolassar, Nebuchadrezzar was his son, succeeded in turn by his son Evil-Merodach, who was not acceptable to the priests and was murdered by Nergal-sharezer, his brother-in-law, who was married to a daughter of Nebuchadrezzar. Nergal-sharezer's son Labashi-Marduk was in turn deposed by the priests, and Nabonidus, a Babylonian married to another daughter of Nebuchadrezzar, was made king with his son, Belshazzar, Nebuchadrezzar's grandson, as co-regent.

When Nabopolassar overthrew Assyria with the help of the Medes, the Medes made no attempt to hold sway over Mesopotamia but rather withdrew, having seen to the downfall of Assyria. Pharaoh Necho, an Assyrian viceroy, was meanwhile moving north from Egypt to attempt the rescue of Assyria. Nebuchadrezzar II met and defeated Egypt at Carchemish in 605 B.C. and then in 601 B.C attempted to invade Egypt. Neither side gained much from the struggle, but it did give Nebuchadrezzar more freedom in occupying Jerusalem in 597 B.C. and in destroying it in 586 B.C. A thirteen year siege led then to the capture of Tyre in 573 B.C. Curiously, Nebuchadrezzar as monarch mentioned his building and public works projects rather than his conquests in his inscriptions. Certainly, he made of the great city of Babylon an even more magnificent capital, far exceeding Rome in size and splendor. The city had a circumference of forty miles, with gar-

dens and orchards within the city. The wall around this central city was of brick, nearly a hundred feet high, with almost a hundred gates. The wall was so thick that two-way traffic of chariots between towers was possible. On top of the wall were 250 towers in pairs, one on the outside and one on the inside. Inside the city, built of brick, were palatial buildings and temples. The king's palace, with its outer walls, was three miles in circumference. The famous "hanging gardens" was a square building of receding terraces of flowers and trees, supported by arches and columns. The city was a center of world trade and luxury, with not only a military power such as Assyria commanded, but a financial and commercial power as well. It was a center of banking and credit, and many a subject people first came under Babylonian captivity through easy credit. It is easy to understand from all this how preposterous the Biblical prophecies must have seemed in their day in declaring that Babylon would not only fall but disappear from history, its very site forgotten. How could so vast a city be buried and hidden?

Its end, as far as power was concerned, came quickly and dramatically in 539 B.C (or 538 B.C according to some scholars), as Daniel recounts. The Medo-Persian power under Cyrus captured the city and toppled the empire. Babylon became a subject city. Gradually, Babylon faded from history, disappearing under the sands as the irrigation system disappeared, becoming an eroded and desolate area instead of a lush agricultural center, merely a large, long hill on a barren landscape.

Many of the Babylonian inscriptions and documents now ring with grim irony to the modern reader, as witness this prayer of Nebuchadrezzar II:

O Marduk, my lord, do remember my deeds favorably as good (deeds), may (these) my good deeds be always before your mind (so that) my walking in Esagila and Ezida — which I love — may last to old age. May I (remain) always your legitimate governor, may I pull your yoke till (I am) sated with progeny, may my name be remembered in future (days) in a good sense, may

my offspring rule forever over the black-headed.

In the same inscription, he described himself as “Nebuchadrezzar, the just king, the faithful shepherd, who directs mankind.”

A prayer of Nabonidus for his son Belshazzar is of especial interest:

They carried me to the palace and all prostrated themselves to my feet, they kissed my feet greeting me again and again as king. (Thus) I was elevated to rule the country by the order of my lord Marduk and (therefore) I shall obtain whatever I desire — there shall be no rival of mine!

It is interesting to note that Nabonidus, an able administrator, was also an archaeologist who perhaps little dreamed that he himself would be a subject of excavations similar to those he had often conducted! He investigated the ancient past of Mesopotamia and Arabia, and then, turning to the present, described himself thus:

I, Nabonidus, the great king, the powerful king, the king of the world, the King of Babylon, the king of the four quarters of the world, the patron of Esagila and Ezida, whose destiny Sin and Ningal, while he was yet in the womb of his mother, determined as a royal destiny, the son of Nabubalatsu-iqbi, the wise prince, who worships the great gods, am I.

Assyria had been an ugly and ruthless expression of the drive to create a unified world order; Babylon, no less ruthless, had presented a more attractive version of the same dream. The dream remained, but its future forms were to be in the world outside Mesopotamia. Assyria had been a military state; Babylon was a priestly state, with military power under the priestly king, and commercial and financial power associated with the

temple.

The Sumerian cuneiform writing in developed form was the Assyrian and Babylonian script.

A continuing Chaldean legacy is astrology, coming to us through the Egyptians. By Hammurabi's day, astrology was already a deeply rooted aspect of Babylonian life. Its basic rationale is not superstition but science. It holds that man is a product of his environment, and basic to his environment are the heavenly bodies. Just as a man's psychological make-up and his family and culture shape him, so his cosmic environment, it was held, likewise molds him. They determined man's existence, and as a result, knowledge of the heavenly bodies meant the ability to make a reasonable prediction of events. This science, based as it was on a belief in the sovereignty inherent in creation as against the sovereignty of God, was forbidden in the Scriptures as an affront to God and His kingship. Biblical religion was thus at war with astrology, a form of environmentalism, from the very beginning.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. Does Christianity also envision one world order? If so, how does it differ in substance and essence from that of the Assyrians and Babylonians?

2. What contradictions do you find between belief in astrology, which holds that man is the product of his environment, and belief that man and god are one in nature?

Lesson Eight

Chapter #5

The Persian Empire

INTRODUCTION

The religions of Persia or Iran (Aryan) have been mainly, prior to Mohammedanism, developments of Zoroastrianism. In its original form, the name Zoroaster was Zuroashta, a Chaldean name meaning either “seed of the woman,” or “seed of the fire.” The name was later changed in Zend to Zarathustra, meaning “The Delivering Seed,” or “The Emancipator.” To a Christian, this suggests Genesis 3:15 and its promise of the Savior.

There is, however, no real deliverance in Zoroastrianism. This religion holds that two rival gods or forces of equal power exist in the universe. One is light, goodness, and spirit; the other evil, darkness, and matter. Since both are of equal power, they are also of equal validity or truth. (In India, some ascetics flee from the world of flesh, whereas other “holy men” seek total sensuality as the way of holiness, since both are equally true.)

This belief not only places good and evil on an equal footing, but it also makes man schizophrenic, because it assumes that body and spirit are necessarily at war with each other, and man must choose between them.

Zoroastrianism is a sharp and clear development of a religious principle which is prominent in eastern religions, such as Hinduism and Buddhism, and also in western philosophy. Greek philosophy was very strongly influenced by such

ideas, as was Plato’s philosophy, and Plato’s thinking is a particularly good example of it.

When the two aspects of reality, body and mind, are pushed far apart, as in Zoroastrianism, you have dualism. Reality, instead of being one, is twofold, each part equal and hostile to the other. In Greek philosophy, and in western non-Christian thought, men have usually avoided dualism by trying to hold the two opposites together, even though, in terms of their beliefs, they are contradictory. Such attempts to reconcile what seems to be irreconcilable are called dialectical philosophy. When everything is one being we have monism, as in ancient Egypt and in some forms of Hinduism.

The Bible is hostile to monism, dualism, and dialecticism. It gives us a view of God as creator and uncreated being, and the universe as His handiwork. The doctrine of creation alone can help man escape the dilemmas of dualism, monism, and dialecticism.

CHAPTER FIVE

As we have seen, when Assyria was overthrown, it was by an alliance of the Medes with Nabopolassar of Babylon. Later, when Babylon was conquered, it was by the Medes and Persians.

The Medes were an Aryan or Iranian people whose country, Media, was located in the mountainous country south and southeast of the Cas-

pian Sea, their main city being Ecbatara (Achmetha in Ezra 6:2, Hamadan today).

The Medes had gained their independence from Assyria in the seventh century and quickly became an important military power. Phraortes brought Persia under Median control. The Persians, also Aryan or Iranian, were a related people whose realm at that time was to the south of Media and northeast of the Persian Gulf. Cyaxares I of Media allied himself with Nabopolassar to destroy Assyria, but then withdrew from the lowlands, which were left to Babylon, while ruling the highlands as far across Asia Minor as Cappadocia.

Another important country north of the Persian Gulf was Elam, whose destiny was to be linked to that of the Medes and Persians. Its capital was Shushan or Susa. Elam's period of greatest power came after 1800 B.C., when it ruled Babylon as overlord and controlled the areas to the west, including Palestine (Genesis 14). Elam was later captured by Assyria (645 B.C.) and its people were scattered, some being settled in Samaria (Ezra 4:9) by Ashurbanipal. After the fall of Assyria, Elam was divided between the Medes from the north and the Persians from the south, with the Persian area known as Anshan or Anzan, with Susa as its capital. The Persian king of Anshan, Cyrus (whose name may be Elamite for "shepherd"), was the fourth hereditary Persian prince of Anshan. When Cyrus, born about 590 B.C., became king in 559 B.C., Persia was a vassal state of Media. In 533 B.C., Cyrus rebelled and defeated Astyages of Media.

The Medes and Persians, as related peoples, became fused into one empire, with the Persians adopting Median culture, clothing, customs, and its military and political organizations to an extensive degree.

Cyrus' rise to power did not go unchallenged. An alliance was formed against him: Croesus of Lydia, Nabonidus of Babylon, and Amasis of Egypt. Lydia, with its capital at Sardis, was a particularly rich and prosperous state, and its last king gave rise to a proverbial expression for great wealth, "as rich as Croesus." Although the name

Lydia survived to describe the area and people, technically the name disappeared, the area becoming Pergamonia, and after passing under Roman rule it became the Province of Asia. Its wealthy cities remained and prospered and were notable as centers of Ionian culture and as areas, later, of Christian activity. Some of these cities were Sardis, Smyrna, Ephesus, and Colophon. Cyrus met and defeated Croesus in 546 B.C.

Turning his attention next to Babylon, Cyrus' army conquered it in 539 B.C., visited it in 538 B.C., and placed it under the authority of Gubaru, the Biblical Darius the Mede, according to John C. Whitcomb, Jr. Previous to his conquest of Lydia, Cyrus had taken Armenia. With the fall of Babylon, the Medo-Persian Empire became one of the great empires of history.

Our opinions of that empire are unfortunately colored by the Greek records and the Greek disdain for all things Persian. Its wealth and opulence are portrayed for us as examples of Oriental degeneracy and as things alien to the vigorous Greeks. It is important to note that, for one thing, neither the Medes nor the Persians were an Oriental people but rather were Aryans. Moreover, despite their eventual defeat at the hands of the Greeks, they far excelled the Greeks in vigor and strength. Again, the Biblical report of them is on the whole very favorable. According to Isaiah, it was Cyrus (Isaiah 44:28, 45:1-7; cf. II Chronicles 36:22-23; Ezra 1:1-11) whom God chose to deliver His people from their seventy years of captivity. It was Cyrus and other Persian monarchs who took a favorable attitude towards the rebuilding of the temple and Jerusalem, and who provided the long period of peace and prosperity which enabled Judea to develop and flourish.

The proud and messianic dreams of empire characterized Persia no less than Assyria and Babylon. Notice this aspect of Xerxes' signature:

I am Xerxes, the great king, the only king (or, literally king of kings), the king of (all) countries (which speak) all kinds of languages, the king of this (entire) big and far (-reaching) earth, — the son of king Darius, the Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan descent.

According to Plutarch, Artabemus said to Themistocles, a Greek, that the condition of audience with the Persian monarch was acceptance of this status:

Among our many excellent laws, we account this the most excellent, to honour the king, and to worship him, as the image of the great preserver of the universe; if then, you shall consent to our laws, and fall down before the king and worship him, you may both see him and speak to him; but if your mind be otherwise, you must make use of others to intercede for you, for it is not the national custom here for the king to give audience to any one that doth not fall down before him.

Plutarch said of Artaxerxes, that he regarded “himself as divinely appointed for a law to the Persians and the supreme arbiter of good and evil.” It is not our concern here to debate whether Plutarch’s report concerning Artaxerxes was accurate or not. It is sufficient to note that, whatever abuses of power existed in Persia, its basic position was this: unlike Babylon, where the law was subject to the king, in Medo-Persia, the king was subject to the law. In their sense of the authority and supremacy of the law, the Medo-Persian empire far surpassed the Babylonians, Greeks, and others. Esther 1:19 and 8:8 record this power of the law, and Diodorus Siculus reported that Darius III found himself bound by the law, for, having sentenced Charidemus to death, he repented of it and felt that he had erred, “but it was not possible to undo what was done by royal authority.” This same inviolability of law is cited with respect to Darius the Mede in Daniel 6:8-9, 12, 14, 16-17.

This dignity of law makes understandable the stability and prosperity of the Persian empire. The subject peoples were no longer under the oppressive sway of Assyria and Babylon, with attempts to break down their national identities, but under an empire that established its unity more firmly by means of tolerance. The Medo-Persian Aryans or Iranians were excellent administrators, fully aware of the value of just and efficient government. As far as possible, native leaders were used, and local laws, customs, and

religions integrated under Medo-Persian law and rule. Good roads were built to tie the empire together and to further trade. As a result, life went on as before for most subject peoples, with the difference that, although not free, they were safer and more prosperous.

Persian religion was based on a basically dualistic faith which, as time passed, became more pronouncedly dualistic, with a cosmic struggle between the powers of Light and Darkness, or Goodness and Evil, as the essence of its worldview. Much later, one development of this faith, Mithraism, became very important in the Roman Empire and a bitter rival of Christianity.

The importance of this long period of stability to the Near East was very great. It created an area of great wealth and prosperity, and it was this magnet which drew Alexander the Great eastward, and also later brought Rome into the same area. A chronology of the Persian monarchs from Cyrus to the overthrow of Persia by Alexander the Great will serve to give form to this era of stability.

- 538-529 B.C. Cyrus
- 529-522 B.C. Cambyses
- 522-521 B.C. Gaumata (Pseudo-Smerdis).
A Smerdis usurper.
- 521-486 B.C. Darius I (Hystaspis)
- 486-465 B.C. Xerxes I (Ahasuerus)
- 464-424 B.C. Artaxerxes I (Longimanus)
- 424-423 B.C. Xerxes II and Sogdianus
(brother)
- 423-404 B.C. Darius II (Nothus)
- 404-359 B.C. Artaxerxes II (Mnemon)
- 359-338 B.C. Artaxerxes III (Ochus)
- 338-336 B.C. Arses
- 336-331 B.C. Darius III (Codomannus)

During this era, Persian tolerance extended to all things and was in part a weakness. Persia’s readiness to respect other customs and religions made the empire friendly to subject peoples, but it also contributed to Persian instability. The Persians were willing to borrow and adopt other people’s customs. Herodotus said, “The Persians are of all nations most ready to adopt foreign customs.” This included not only things useful, but also, according to Herodotus, the destructive

perversions of the Greeks.

It would be wrong to infer from this that the Persians were merely borrowers and lacked ability to develop things on their own. Certainly Persian art and architecture were magnificent developments and an eloquent witness to the Persian genius.

The empire itself, however, was the greatest triumph of the Medo-Persians. It extended from the Mediterranean to the Indus, and from the Caucasus to the Indian Ocean.

Cyrus' son, Cambyses, extended this empire even further by the conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C. Cambyses then hurried home to quell an uprising and was assassinated on the way in 521 B.C.

After a brief rule by an usurper, Darius I, the Great, son of Hystaspes, came to the throne. A great builder, Darius also improved roads and dug a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. He is sometimes best remembered for the defeat of his forces at the famous battle of Marathon in Greece in 490 B.C. This invasion of Greece was in retaliation for Greek interference in the empire. When some Greek city-states in the empire were aided in their revolt by the Greek city-states in Europe, Darius first put down the Asiatic states and then sent an army into Greece.

Xerxes I, Darius' son, continued the war against the European Greeks. He won the battle of Thermopylae in 480 B.C. and burned Athens, but was defeated in a naval battle at Salamis and defeated on land at Plataea and Mycale (479 B.C.). He then dropped all plans for further conquest in this area. Xerxes figures prominently in the Bible as Ahasuerus, the Hebrew form of his name, even as Xerxes is the Greek, the old Persian form being Khshayarsha. This example of a name indicates how extensively our knowledge of Persia is colored by non-Persian and mainly Greek sources. Xerxes, or Ahasuerus, is the monarch of the Book of Esther, and is mentioned in Daniel 9:1.

Subsequently, in the reign of Artaxerxes I, Athens again took the offensive against the Persian empire by sending troops to help an Egyptian revolt (456-454 B.C.) and by attacking Cyprus in

450 B.C., but a peace was concluded in 446 B.C. Despite occasional civil wars, the empire remained intact until its destruction. There was trouble with respect to the succession, however. Xerxes II was killed by his brother Sogdianus, who was in turn assassinated by his brother Ochus, who ruled as Darius II Nothus. Artaxerxes II Mnemon had to wage war against his brother Cyrus, who was killed. The story of Cyrus' Greek mercenaries is told in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Datis, the Cappadocian governor, led another rebellion, and Egypt became semi-independent. Artaxerxes III Ochus succeeded in reestablishing and maintaining royal power and authority. The last monarch, Darius III Codomannus, was killed after the victories at Granicus, 334 B.C., Issus, 333 B.C., and Gangemela, near Arbela, 331 B.C., by Alexander the Great.

When Alexander died, his empire was divided among his generals, with Persia falling to the Seleucidae. It remained with them until after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the Parthians in 164 B.C. advanced their frontier to the Euphrates and included the Persians among their subject peoples.

The Persians, after 556 years of subjection, regained their independence in 226 A.D., and the Sassanian kings made Persia once again a great power. The Arabs conquered Persia in 636 A.D. and imposed Mohammedanism on the Persians. Since then, while at times a part of powerful Moslem empires, Persia itself has never regained its ancient importance.

Of ancient Persia, this needs to be remembered: the Greek-imposed prejudice against it is to be avoided. The Medo-Persian empire is referred to in harsh terms by various historians, one of them writing with reference to the invasion of Greece, of "the invading hordes of the Orient." This is a manifest absurdity. Both Greeks and Medo-Persians represented standards which are alien to the modern Christian West, but both were equally a part of the ancient "West," and Medo-Persia was an important part of it, especially in its concept of law. This ancient "West" once extended well into India, even as the

Christian West until recently extended its frontiers into every continent and set the stamp of its culture on every corner of the earth. By adopting relativism, the modern West has retreated from the world and opened its own doors to foreign persuasions, so that it is refusing to defend its own frontiers.

Thus, to identify geographical Europe with the “West,” and to call ancient Greece the defender of the West and Medo-Persia “the invading hordes of the Orient,” is simply absurd. Our view of ancient history is too often in terms of a pro-Greek prejudice, even as modern history is seen with a pro-British perspective. As we have noted, far from being the stiff, creaky, and unyielding Oriental realm it has been commonly depicted as representing, Medo-Persia was, if anything, too tolerant and pragmatic in its approach. More than once Persians were disturbed or offended at the empire’s readiness to adopt foreign ways on pragmatic grounds, to the detriment of things Persian. In its humane, tolerant, and liberal exercise of authority, it clearly surpassed either Greece or Rome. The Sassanian kings of Persia in the Christian era were to prove themselves crusading dualists, bent on imposing their faith on

subject peoples: nothing like this characterized the Medo-Persian empire. Rome demanded emperor worship of its subject peoples; the supposedly “Oriental” Aryan or Iranian rulers of Medo-Persia, while holding to their own faith, made a point of honoring the religions of all subject peoples. The defects of the Medo-Persian order were very real, but its very real merits must not be obscured by a geographical perspective on history. “The West” has always had fluid and fluctuating boundaries.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. What parallels can you draw between the extensive religio-cultural tolerance preached by the Persians and the present-day emphasis on multi-culturalism?
2. Why is it an error for historians to describe the wars between Greece and Persia as a conflict between Western democracy and Oriental despotism? Why do so many modern historians commit this error?

Lesson Nine

Chapter #6

Greece

INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to see Greek history realistically because ancient Greece has long been idolized and idealized by humanists as their spiritual homeland, and rightly so. The clearest development of humanism in the ancient world was by Greek philosophy. Man was made the measure of all things, whereas in Scripture God alone is the measure and lord of all things.

The Greek gods were divinized men. Zeus himself, the leader of the gods, was once a man, and his grave was pointed out by Greek writers. Basic to Greek society and faith was the hero, the man-god, the divine man in a chaotic and evolving world. The hero became god-like by what he did and by the acts he performed. The modern idea of a leader or Fuhrer is based in part on the Greek concept of the hero.

In this Greek world of men, however, fate ruled, so that man's outlook was basically pessimistic and hopeless. Everything depended on man, heroic man, but man, the Greeks felt, was a helpless pawn of fate, even as the gods were. The moral of Greek tragedy is that fate rules and man is a helpless pawn in a perverse universe. In Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the unrelenting furies await all who offend the gods, however unknowingly. The whole point of the Oedipus story is that Oedipus was totally ignorant in the commission of his sins. For Greek

tragedy, man is not a sinner but a victim. The gods torment him, and Fate destroys both men and gods.

Tragedy is not a Christian form of literature. Rather, it is pagan, and sometimes in modern forms it is very anti-Christian. Tragedy assumes that the universe is hostile to man. It does not see man as a sinner nor the universe as God-created and God-ruled. Instead, it sees man as a victim. The chorus in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* declares, "Alas, ye generations of men, how mere a shadow do I count your life! Where, where is the mortal who wins more of happiness than just the seeming, and, after the semblance, a falling away? Thine is a fate that warns me, — thine, thine unhappy Oedipus — to call no earthly creature blest." The tragic view of life precedes the breakdown of culture because it encourages the belief that life is perverse and hopeless.

Modern stage plays, movies, television, and novels are much given to presenting tragedies and teaching an anti-Christian religion thereby. Life is presented as meaningless or perverse. Man does not have a chance, nor is it his fault that he fails.

Greek humanism thus ended in despair. It asked more of man and of heroic man than man can ever deliver. As a result, its conclusion was to seek escape from this world in neoplatonism, or to despise life, truth, and meaning, in cynicism.

CHAPTER SIX

The term "Greece" comes from a Roman name given to a Boeotian colony at Cumae in Southern Italy. The Greeks, however, have always called themselves Hellenes and their country Hellas.

Prior to their arrival, a Mediterranean people whose center was Crete developed the Minoan culture and, between 3000 and 1100 B.C., spread their culture to the mainland among the Mycenaeans and to Asia Minor and the Trojans. The Minoans suffered severe setbacks in c. 1600 and c. 1400 B.C., when the palaces of Cnossus and Phaestus were both destroyed and rebuilt. Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssey*, while written in the Hellenic period, reflect the Mycenaean world which, being a derivative culture, was never the equal of the Minoan. The Minoan culture extended itself throughout most of the eastern Mediterranean countries and controlled many of them, Crete being an important sea power.

The Minoan culture fell before the invasion of an Indo-European people, the Hellenes or Greeks, coming in several groups: the Arcadians, Ionians, Boeotians, Dorians, Illyrians, and Thracians. Their movement towards this area began between 3000-2000 B.C. Between 1400 and c. 1180 B.C., when the last Minoan state, Illium or Troy, was sacked, they overran the area, and the result was cultural decline. The period that followed, 1200-800 B.C., has been called the "Dark Ages" of Greece, but the succeeding era, 800-600 B.C., was also bleak. The extensive colonization of Italy, Sicily, North Africa, and Asia Minor in this latter period was due in part to the desire of people to escape from oppressive conditions both economic and political at home. These colonies became important centers of trade as well as intellectual centers. The period that followed in Greece, especially from c. 650-500 B.C., was one of increasing tyranny and revolution. The city-states, of which Athens and Sparta are the two most popularly known today, were plagued by a variety of political and economic problems which various reforms failed to settle permanently. The Persian Wars, beginning in Greece in 492 B.C.

and ending in 479 B.C., were quickly followed by even more serious trouble, war between the Greek city-states. This culminated in the First Peloponnesian War in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. To deal with the Peloponnesian Wars alone, or to treat the developments of Athens and Sparta, would in themselves require several chapters. The cities were almost constantly at war. When Sparta gained ascendancy, Athens formed leagues against it. Later, Thebes formed a league which enabled it to exercise a commanding role. During these struggles, Persia, which had seen Greece interfere in Asia Minor earlier, now frequently interfered in order to prevent any group from gaining too great a power.

Meanwhile, another power was on the rise as Philip II in 356 B.C. became king of Macedon.

Before examining briefly the Macedonian phase of Hellenic history, let us turn to the Hellenic contribution: the influence on Western history of these city-states.

Much is said about the gift of "democracy" to the West from ancient Greece. The evidence is clear that democracy was not favored by most, nor was it characteristic of Greek society, where tyranny was more common than liberty. The rule of law, which characterized Medo-Persia, was in no sense a Hellenic way of life. Athens, supposedly the most enlightened, had a custom called ostracism, whereby any public man could be banished by vote for ten years, later reduced to five. Supposedly designed to eliminate tyrants, it served to banish Athens' best men. Themistocles, who defeated the Persians at Salamis, was banished and went to Persia where a wiser government gave him high office. Plutarch, in writing of the ostracism of Themistocles, observed, "For the ostracism was instituted, not so much to punish the offender, as to mitigate and pacify the violence of the envious, who delighted to humble eminent men, and who, by fixing this disgrace upon them, might vent some part of their rancor." Plutarch further reported of Aristides the Just that during a vote an illiterate man who did not know him asked Aristides to write "Aristides" for him. Aristides asked if any injury had been

done to him. "None at all," said he, "neither know I the man: but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called the Just." Although the Greek city-states had some very able leaders from time to time, their usual situation was one of self-inflicted trouble.

In the realm of economics, the Greek states had the double honor of having one of the soundest monetary systems in history, according to classical economics, as it had a sound gold and silver basis, and yet being continually plagued by economic problems and distress. Greek money became widely used, and Greek was widely spoken as a language of business.

Greek art and literature have exercised far greater influence in subsequent Western history than they ever did in their own culture. For much of Western culture they became normative, "classical," so that departure from Greek forms was departure from the norm. With the eighteenth century Enlightenment, as with the Renaissance earlier, the Hellenic classics were considered the great moments in cultural history, and greatness meant recapturing their spirit.

The three preeminent dramatists were Aeschylus (526-456 B.C.), Sophocles (495-405 B.C.), and Euripides (480-406 B.C.), whose tragedies were great expressions of the Hellenic perspective on life. Aristophanes (c. 448-385 B.C.), a humorous dramatist, is noted for his satires on the life of his day. In poetry, Homer and Hesiod among the older poets, and later, Pindar, Anacreon, Meleager, and others were of note. The historian Herodotus (484-428 B.C.?) is an interesting and gossipy writer, and is sometimes called "the father of history" by scholars who choose to ignore the more ancient Biblical historians. Thucydides (471-c. 400 B.C.) is famous for his history of the Peloponnesian War. Greek architecture is renowned, the Acropolis and Parthenon being two great examples from the ages of Pericles. Among the sculptors, Myron (c. 450 B.C.), Polycleitus (c. 430 B.C.), and Phidias (500-431 B.C.) are the most celebrated.

It is in philosophy, however, that the Hellenic mind exercised its greatest influence on the West.

The Greek perspective can be summed up in the expression "Man is the measure." The Biblical answer would be, "God is the measure." These two polar opinions form the antithesis of Western culture, two positions ever at war with one another. Many other influences are present in Western culture, but they are mediated through one or another framework, notably the Hellenic. Even Christianity has been extensively influenced by Hellenic thought, so that much of church history is more Hellenic than Biblical.

Greek philosophy in its important formulations began in Miletus, on the coast of Asia Minor, with Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes as the representatives of the Milesian school. Thales found the cause of everything in water. Hesiod had earlier asked the question, "What was in the beginning?" His answer was, "At the very first, Chaos originated." Thales in the sixth century B.C. similarly wanted a naturalistic answer, but apparently one with more fertile potential for the development of all being. Anaximander was less ready to cite one element as the source; rather, the infinite was the source out of which all things generated and developed themselves. Anaximenes, like Thales, wanted a more specific origin and cited air or a light mist as the source of the cosmos.

The Pythagoreans, whose thought was centered in the Greek colonies in southern Italy, introduced a mystical naturalism and turned mathematics into metaphysics. Mathematics is a bridge between science and philosophy and shares in aspects of both. For the Pythagoreans, the cosmos was a union of the Unlimited and the Limited. The media between the two represents a ratio or proportion which is best. Health is thus a balance of the opposites in the body, the hot and the cold, the wet and the dry, and disease is a disturbing of bodily balance. All reality is thus the expression of a mathematical ratio or balance. The Pythagoreans also held to various other ideas, including a belief in the transmigration of souls.

The Milesians agreed that change is self-evident, and that there must be an underlying unity

behind world change. The Pythagoreans did not challenge these ideas, but Heraclitus, an Ephesian, did so. How could change and permanency coexist? How could there be a changing many, a multiplicity of things, and an abiding unity, the oneness of being? Heraclitus thus posed the basic problem of philosophy: how to reconcile the one and the many. His answer was that there is no static being, no unchanging element, but only change, movement, which is lord of the universe.

The Eleatic school, including Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno of Elea, and Melissus, denied that change is real; instead, they saw it as an illusion. The unity or oneness of all being was for them the only reality. Another group of philosophers — Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Leucippus, and Democritus — took the other view: change alone is real, so that permanence belongs to the many, and change is simply the shifting relationships of the permanent many. For Empedocles, the many were four separate elements: Earth, Water, Air, and Fire. Anaxagoras felt this was too limited an idea of the many or of the multiplicity of being. Leucippus and Democritus agreed that the many, the plurality of things, was alone real and formulated the doctrine of atomic elements as the reality of being.

The Sophists soon arose, teachers whose duty it was to prepare young men for political duty and office, and the political implications of philosophy began to develop. What is more real or true, the atoms or citizens of a state, or their unity, the state? Is the state only a conventional myth, or is the individual unreal and his life only truly lived in the state, the oneness of things? Is it man or the state which is real? The most important Sophist, although he also explored other directions, was Socrates (c. 470-399 B.C.), whom Aristophanes caricatured in his play, *The Clouds*. Socrates was followed by his great pupil, Plato (428-348/7 B.C.). For Socrates and Plato, as Plato's *The Republic* clearly shows, the oneness of things was more important. As a result *The Republic* is the great blueprint for a totalitarian state in which philosopher-kings can legislate men's lives at will, since man is not basic or real

but rather the state is. Thus, in Book V, 461, we read the discussion of the criminality of a man having children without the permission of the state, or at an age not allowed by the state: "We shall declare his act to be an offense against religion and justice; inasmuch as he is raising up a child for the state."

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), the tutor of Alexander the Great, sought to restore a balance between form and matter, the one and the many. While a corrective to Socrates and Plato, his *Politics* still made the state more basic and left man only a "political animal," that is, a creature of the state, whereas the state is a creation of nature itself. He realized that there must be both unity and plurality in the state to escape tyranny, but, while attempting to provide for this in his idea of the state, he also held that "the end of the state is the good life," that man realized himself in the state, not in terms of faith in a transcendental God. As a result, in Book VIII of his *Politics* he could only say, "Neither must we suppose that any one of the citizens belongs to himself, for they all belong to the state and are each of them a part of the state." As a result, he held that education should be "an affair of state," and that this "is not to be denied." It is not surprising that Plato and Aristotle furthered the rise of totalitarianism in their day and subsequently.

The history of Greek philosophy continues beyond Plato and Aristotle, and it is an important one. For our present concern it is sufficient to point to the two major paths of development. Some emphasized the oneness of being and either continued the statist tendencies of Platonic thought or, with the neo-Platonists, sought the oneness of things in mystical union with the ultimate oneness of being. All mysticism has in common this absorption with oneness; it is a state of thought common in or after an era of statism, in which men seek a larger "one" than the state to lose themselves in. Mysticism is always implicitly or explicitly pantheistic; that is, it teaches that all reality is divine and is a single being in all its modes, moments, manifestations, members, and existences. The Biblical perspective distinguishes

sharply between uncreated Being, God, and created being, man and the universe. Non-Biblical thought denies this distinction, and pantheism insists on the oneness of all being and the meaninglessness of differences. The mystical goal is *absorption* into the one. This is to be sharply distinguished from *faith*, which does not seek absorption, but rather submission and obedience.

The other major strand of later Greek philosophy was the atomistic, that is, philosophies which saw not oneness, but only plurality, the only reality being the many individuals and things in existence. If the belief in oneness is called philosophical totalitarianism, belief in multiplicity can be called philosophical anarchism. The Cynics, a word cognate with canine and meaning dog, are a good example of this strand of Greek thought. Man is real, but morality, law, and religions are subjective myths. Since the many, the individual, is alone real and is ultimate, there can be no law above or beyond man to restrain him. Morality is thus nonsense for such thinkers; a man can do as he pleases. No law can bind him.

In summary, attention must be called to certain fixed principles of all Greek philosophy. First, the universe is to be understood only in terms of itself, not in reference to anything wholly beyond it, such as the Biblical God. Any god permitted or needed as first cause was to be recognized only as a part of that cosmos that developed along with it. Second, the human mind is capable of knowing all finite facts without any reference to God, and is itself a neutral agent capable of weighing and evaluating facts without prejudice. This, of course, runs counter to the Biblical teaching that man is a sinner, fallen in all his being, and incapable of neutrality. Third, there was a confusion of the human and the divine or, more accurately, no real distinction between the two, so that the deification of a man or of a state was a natural process if certain conditions were met. For some thinkers, man's soul was divine and his body earthly, whereas Biblical faith reserves deity exclusively for God, sees man — body and soul — as created, and denies the possibility of the confusion or intermixture of

divinity and humanity.

It is apparent from these things how deeply Hellenic our Western thought, culture, and science have become. It is also apparent that the basic tension and civil war in the heart and mind of the West is between orthodox Christianity and the Hellenic spirit.

Greek philosophy marched eastward to India with Alexander the Great. It had a profound effect on the entire ancient world, including Judea. The Hellenic overlordship which continued after Alexander's death absorbed the native ideas of the empires, fitted them into a Greek mold, and sent them marching westward into Europe. The Hellenic perspective, therefore, is important not only in its own right, but as a great transmitter of other schools of thought. The Hellenic perspective in the Christian era very quickly sought to reinterpret the Christian faith in terms of Greek categories of thought.

To return to Macedon, that kingdom had been of minor importance prior to Philip II. The young Philip himself for a time was a hostage of Thebes after a Theban invasion, and he received military training during that period. As king, Philip began to Hellenize his people and build up his army. He then proceeded to conquer Greece, step by step. His victory was completed in the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C. Garrisons were placed in some cities, but most were given considerable freedom. Philip summoned the Greek city-states to send delegates to a congress at Corinth in order to establish a Hellenic League, which all states except Sparta entered. The freedom and self-government of the constituent states was recognized, but military power was placed in the hands of Philip and his descendants. Philip wanted a Persian war, and the second congress at Corinth in 337 B.C. declared war on Persia. An army under the generalship of Parmeno was sent to Asia Minor in 336 B.C.

Meanwhile, Philip, a flagrantly immoral man, had divorced his wife Olympias in order to marry another woman, and, in the course of a drunken banquet, he impugned the legitimacy of his son Alexander, Olympias' son. A bitter public scene

between father and son followed. On his wedding day, Philip was assassinated by Pausanias. Although the Persians, Olympias, and even Alexander were suspected, no proof exists for any of these suspicions.

Alexander III, born in 356 B.C., on succeeding his father, had first of all to face a rebellion on the part of various Greek states, Thebes, Athens, Arcadia, Elis, and Aetolia. Moving quickly, he captured and destroyed Thebes and enslaved its inhabitants. The other states submitted to him in 335 B.C.

Alexander crossed the Hellespont in 334 B.C. and met a Persian army under Memnon of Rhodes; he utterly defeated it at the river Granicus. Many of the Greek cities then revolted from Persia, but some, like Miletus and Harlicarnassus, remembering the Greek tyranny of earlier centuries, fought desperately against Alexander in preference for the tolerant ways of the Persian empire. The resistance of these Greek cities had its repercussions in Greece, and Demosthenes, an old foe of Macedon, began again to speak against that power. Alexander felt that a return to Greece would precipitate revolt by the Greek city-states, but that further conquest would overawe them. The choice was more war or revolt in Greece.

Alexander then moved to take Syria and Egypt, defeating Darius III at Issus in 333 B.C., taking Tyre and Gaza after long siege, and capturing Egypt without a struggle. In Egypt, he founded the city of Alexandria and visited the oracle of Ammon to be proclaimed the divine son of Zeus Ammon and hence a valid pharaoh. In the Hellenic world, the city-state or *polis* was itself divine; in Egypt, the office holder, the ruler, was divine in his own person. In the Persian empire, the ruler was under law, but his office or position was a divine one, so that he assumed a divine function rather than a divine nature. Alexander was to assume all three kinds of political divinity, and all three were subsequently to enter Rome and the history of Europe.

Alexander left Egypt and proceeded to Gaugamela, near Arbela, where he defeated the Persian army in 331 B.C., took Babylonia and

Susa, which surrendered, and looted and burned Persepolis, which resisted.

Meanwhile, in Greece, Sparta, incited and aided by Persia and ready for any opportunity, revolted in alliance with other states. Alexander's governor of Greece, Antipater, put down the revolt with superior force. His general in Media, Parmenio, was murdered by Alexander, who feared a revolt after Parmenio's son Philetus was executed for his involvement.

Darius was murdered in 330 B.C. while fleeing with some troops, and Alexander assumed the Persian title of King of Kings and succeeded Darius.

In 329 B.C., Alexander with great difficulty overcame Iranian resistance under Spitamenes in Bactria. Meanwhile, Alexander began to take his "deity" very seriously, and his army comrades resented this. When his foster-brother Clitus, who had saved his life at Granicus, shouted at a banquet verses of Euripides, stating that the general reaped the glory while the army did the work, the drunken Alexander killed him and then spent three days fasting and cursing himself. The army attempted to comfort Alexander by trying the dead man and deciding in court that he had been justly killed.

Alexander was now invited into India by a prince, Omphis, who ruled at Taxila near the Indus, and Omphis' brother Abisares, ruler of Hazara and adjacent parts of Kashmir. Omphis and others visited Alexander and offered him submission if he would attack the powerful kingdom of Porus and proceed to the conquest of India. In the Battle of Hydaspes (326 B.C.), Alexander defeated Porus and advanced through the Punjab. On the banks of the Hydaspes his army refused to go further, knowing that the Indian desert and an eleven-day march to the fertile Ganges country lay ahead. Alexander stayed in his tent two days, hoping to see his men change their minds, declaring that he himself would go ahead. On the third day Alexander offered sacrifices before crossing the river, but the omens were unfavorable, "and this was assuredly no freak of chance," J.B. Bury comments. Alexander was able to relent, whereupon his troops

were overjoyed. He turned back in 325 B.C. and went to the Persian capital in 324 B.C.

Plans were then made for the conquest of Arabia, and to this end Alexander went to Babylon. There he suddenly became ill, and on June 13, 323 B.C., he died, not yet thirty-three years old.

As an administrator, Alexander's primary concern was to gain a free hand for his military program. As a result, he was ready to continue the Persian system, but much trouble developed because there was no effective oversight. Persian tolerance must be combined with strict oversight, not with unconcern. During his absence in India, corruption had been extensive, and even his military garrison in Media had become a plundering agency. Alexander disciplined all concerned severely and then proceeded with plans to further the fusion of the Greek and Asiatic cultures. He hoped to transplant Greeks and Macedonians into Asia, and Asiatics into Europe, and to encourage intermarriage, which officers and soldiers began to do in great numbers. Through equal military service he hoped to further integration. Alexander's hope was the old dream of Assyria and Babylon revived.

Militarily, Alexander profited by virtue of the continual warfare in Greece. His father, as a hostage, had learned the most recent developments in military tactics and strategy and had applied them with ability, as did Alexander. The Persian empire, having had no real challenge to its peace, had not kept pace with military developments and it was at least fifty years behind the times when it faced Alexander. All its courage and resolution were useless against a more modern fighting force.

Economically, Alexander's empire tied East and West more closely together. Until the long depression which Rome entered into in the Christian era, trade moved freely and heavily from Europe to as far as China, and from China into Europe. By the time of Christ the world experienced a degree of economic unity that has seldom been repeated. Alexander established a uniform currency system throughout the empire. Wherever Alexander went, he knew that he could

conquer armies with armies and merchants and traders with gold. He built many new cities with a sound eye to trade advantages and furthered the expansion of trade and commerce.

A struggle for power followed Alexander's death. At first a regency was created for Alexander IV, born of Roxana, Alexander's Bactrian wife, a month after Alexander's death, and Philip III, Alexander's feeble-minded half-brother, both of whom were proclaimed joint rulers. The regents were Perdicas, Craterus, and Antipater; the regency ended in 321 B.C. with Perdicas assassinated and Craterus killed in battle. In 317 B.C., Philip III was killed, as was Alexander IV in 309 B.C.

A division of the empire succeeded a period in which Antigonus was almost able to enforce unity and peace, an effort that ended at the Battle of Ipsus, 301 B.C., in which Antigonus was killed. In the division among the Macedonian generals that followed, Ptolemy retained Egypt, Palestine, and Cyprus and founded the Ptolemaic Dynasty of Egypt as Ptolemy I Soter (the Savior). The Ptolemies made Egypt the most powerful state in the century which followed. After 221 B.C., the Ptolemaic rulers were weak, and by 200 B.C. their Asiatic possessions were gone. The Ptolemaic policy had been strict state control, so that, when the throne became weak, its weakness was total.

The second major division went to Seleucid I Nicator (the Conqueror), who took most of the Asiatic territory, excluding Asia Minor and Palestine but including Syria. This territory was harder to hold, and eastern Persia, the small territory in India, and Afghanistan were lost fairly early. The Seleucid goal was the conquest of Palestine and Egypt. While it was a prosperous realm and economically secure, the kingdom faced perpetual trouble by virtue of the stern and often ruthless policy of enforced Hellenization of all subject peoples. All national differences had to be obliterated, and only official religions, the Olympian Zeus and Baal Shamin, were permitted. One consequence of this policy was the Maccabean War.

The third division was in Europe, held by the Antigonid family, ostensibly including Greece and Macedon. The Greek states were in constant revolt, and the control was never complete by any means. In the battles that ensued, at last Rome was invited in as an ally of the Aetolians against Macedonia. Finally, in 146 B.C., Rome gave up the attempt to help stabilize the area and made it into Roman provinces.

In addition to these three major divisions, some smaller states and a few city-states that were originally members of Alexander's empire became

independent.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. What answers did Greek philosophy give to the problem of the one and the many? How did these answers affect Greek culture and society?

2. How does Biblical Christianity resolve the conflict between the one and the many? Can it truly be called a "conflict"?

Lesson Ten

Chapter #7

Jesus Christ and the Beginnings of Christianity

INTRODUCTION

As against the pagan views of a chaotic universe, the Bible declares that God is the Creator of all things. As against a belief that the universe is ultimately meaningless or perverse, the Bible sets forth the total and gracious government of all things by God.

Jesus declared concerning the persecution His disciples would undergo that God still reigns absolutely and would rule and over-rule all things. In Matthew 10:24-35, our Lord tells us:

The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.

It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?

Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known.

What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light: and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the housetops.

And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.

Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.

But the very hairs of your head are numbered.

Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows.

Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven.

But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven.

Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword.

For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and a daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law.

Our Lord tells us that life is indeed a battle, but it is a battle unto victory. All things are under the total government of God, not in Satan's or man's hands. All things that men do shall be revealed, judged, and then punished, or rewarded. God's government and care are total, to the very hairs of our head. Confess me, Jesus said, before men, before My enemies, as you battle against them, and I shall confess you before the Father. He had come not to unite good and evil, but to divide and destroy evil.

In the Bible we have thus a more unflinching and infallible account of the sin of man and the evil of history, but we also have the certain promise of victory.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Jesus Christ, of the House of David, was born in Bethlehem of Judea between 6 and 4 B.C. His birth and life are events which most historians, being in the Hellenic tradition, are content to mention briefly, at best, and then to ignore. They choose to ignore the Biblical record because it does not coincide with their conception of history, which leaves no room for the supernatural. By virtue of their naturalistic prejudice, they refuse to consider anything to the contrary and choose to act as if it were not there.

The Biblical record is clear-cut: Jesus was conceived of the Holy Ghost and was born of the virgin Mary. The miraculous events surrounding His birth were public knowledge; too many persons were involved in those remarkable events for them to have been secret. Long after all persons involved in the New Testament events were dead, and only after they were dead, rabbis venomously called Jesus the son of an adulteress and tried to spread scandalous stories concerning Him. It is significant that none such were written during His lifetime or in the years immediately thereafter, for there were too many living witnesses to disprove all such malicious tales. The rabbis waited until much later before setting down any such statement. The absence of all open, contemporary Judean references to Jesus is due to this same fact: the life and miracles of Jesus were common knowledge, and to write anything to the contrary would have discredited His enemies.

Christ's coming attracted political attention from the beginning, and Herod's massacre of the children of Bethlehem, those two years old and younger, was one consequence. There was good reason for this. Although Christ's kingdom was not of this world, it was definitely *for* this world and *over* this world. God had been the King over ancient Israel. When He was rejected for a human monarchy, He used that monarchy, whose progressive breakdown He had ordained, to be both the vehicle of the coming Messiah, His Son, and also, by the failure of that human

monarchy, to lead people to realize that their only hope of salvation is in God's Kingship and Priesthood and in God's Word, not in any human, political order.

The implications of the Messiah's coming had been explained by the inspired prophets. He would save men from the power of sin and death through His own atoning and sacrificial death as the representative of the elect, God's chosen ones of every people, tongue, and tribe. He would come as the great King of the Universe, upon whose shoulders is the government of all things (Isaiah 9:6), and He would be very God of very God, as that same verse of Isaiah affirmed.

God made it clear in speaking to Cyrus through Isaiah (45:7) that Cyrus' dualistic religion was false: "I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil. I the LORD do all these things." Instead of two gods, there is one totally absolute and sovereign God who creates, ordains, and governs all things.

Jesus Christ, by His incarnation, was both this sovereign and absolute God, the second person of the Trinity, and also truly and fully man. He was hated by the religious leaders for "making Himself equal with God" (John 5:18), but they also hated Him for refusing to be their king of kings, for refusing to place His divine kingship and miraculous powers under their control (John 6:14-15). Jesus, in answer, declared that man could only partake of His humanity by accepting His sacrifice: that is, eat His flesh and blood, accept the sacrifice of His humanity for their sins (John 6:30-63). Man's membership in the body of Jesus Christ and His Church, as set forth in the sacrament of the Lord's Table, can thus be only a membership in His perfect humanity! There can be no bridging of the human-divine gap by man, and Christ's incarnation is, as Chalcedon saw clearly, not to be understood in pagan terms, for it is a union without confusion of the two natures.

Jesus challenged the Satanic alliance of religion and earthly kingship, of hopes of salvation in and from a political order. In challenging the religious authorities He cited Psalm 82:6, "Ye are

gods; and all of you are children (or sons) of the Most High” (John 10:34). Why were they so called, why had God addressed so extravagant a title to them? Because they are the ones “unto whom the word of God came” (John 10:35). By reminding them of this verse, Jesus reminded them of the sentence of death promised for failing in their responsibility: “Ye shall die like men” (Psalm 82:7). Every member of the Sanhedrin knew that this was the conclusion of the quotation. Jesus indeed passed the death sentence on Jerusalem (Matthew 24).

The conflict between the two conceptions of the kingdom, God’s and Satan’s, was sharply presented in the Temptation. Satan’s conception was of a kingdom in which man would have miraculous economic security, the very stones turned into bread, and of a world in which it would be unnecessary for man to have faith, for great miracles would compel belief. Christ’s Kingdom instead called for faith and testing. As Paul stated it, “We must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God” (Acts 14:22).

Jesus, moreover, made it clear that He stood in an exclusive and total relationship to God. As He stated plainly, “No one knows [or understands] the Father except the Son” (Matthew 11:27). He calls Himself the Son of Man, clearly a divine and messianic title.

On the cross, Jesus clearly appeared not as a victim, but as the suffering yet victorious Priest, Prophet, and King. When the dying thief, in liturgical language, invoked Jesus, saying, “Remember me,” Jesus answered as God, unconditionally promising him a place in Paradise “Today” (Luke 23:43). In the formal, legal language of family law, He made arrangements for the care of His mother Mary (John 19:26 f.). The messianic Psalm 22 was uttered, the supreme confidence then of Israel’s family prayer, Psalm 31, and finally, the priestly conclusion, “It is finished” (John 19:30).

In His resurrection, the power of sin and death was broken and the fulness of His kingdom proclaimed, that is, the great and final victory over sin and death which is to come with

the end of history.

The silence of historians then, and the silence of historians today, is eloquent. Try as they will, they cannot fit Jesus Christ into a Hellenic mold. Their usual course has been to act as though He never existed, to attack the church for its every frailty and to bypass Jesus Christ. The efforts of critics to destroy the validity of the Biblical record have always ended in a maze of self-contradiction and studied attempts to suppress the historicity of anything offensive to their naturalistic faith. They choose to deny the status of fact to anything and everything that does not fit into their limited worldview, a method with very obvious weaknesses.

The church Jesus established is not to be identified with His kingdom, which is His reign everywhere. A godly nation is a part of His kingdom, as is a Christian school or college, business, farm, or any other institution or activity, but none of these are parts of the church. The church is simply one aspect of Christ’s kingdom, entrusted with the ministry of the word and the sacraments, even as the Christian state has the ministry of justice in terms of God’s word.

The church Jesus established was endowed, in the apostolic company, with gifts of the Holy Spirit as a witness to the living power and presence of Jesus Christ.

The church in the New Testament included men in high places and low, and may have numbered half a million by the time of John’s last writing. But it was a scattered group, meeting in homes (there is no record of a church building in the New Testament era), persecuted, and rife with many heresies. Judeans and exilic Jews brought in legalistic heresies, and the Gentiles brought in Hellenic and other heresies, as well as a low morality. The work of the church against these handicaps and persecution as well, seemed a hopeless task, but the true church has always been more than man: it is the living body of Jesus Christ, who defends and preserves His true church.

Paul, as the great missionary of the church, not only established churches in Asia Minor and Europe, but, by his epistles, also dealt with the

heresies which arose. The world Paul and the other apostles faced was more like the twentieth century world than any other era. For the first time, history was dominated by great urban centers, a situation not to recur after the fall of Rome until the twentieth century. The old, established ways had been eroded; the old faiths and certainties were gone. Men were atomistic, in that they had none of the old loyalties to family, clan, country, or faith. It was every man for himself in a rootless and harsh world. Although all the old institutions were weakened or eroded, one institution had increased in strength: the state. Men looked to the state for every kind of answer, hoped for salvation through political leaders and forms, and demanded security from the state.

It was also a world that was increasingly sick of war and wanted peace and security. Rome offered the Roman Peace, peace in the unity of the Empire and in submission to its jurisdiction and controls. Jesus had promised division in terms of Himself, not peace but a sword (Matthew 10:34-36). Even the closest ties of family were to be shattered in terms of allegiance to Him. The peace He offered was in sharp contrast to the world's peace, and it was peace in the face of trying circumstances: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid" (John 14:27).

The first persecution the Christians faced was from the Judean authorities, who worked throughout the Empire to create trouble for the Christians. After the Jewish-Roman War of 66-70 A.D. the persecutions came from the Roman authorities.

That particular war was foretold and described by Jesus, who clearly presented Himself as the Lord of all history. When the Sanhedrin tried Him, He revealed to them that He was their judge and would soon come in the form of judgment upon them (Matthew 26:64). John 1:1-18 made clear who Jesus was: "All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made." This is the assumption of all the Scriptures.

The conclusion of one historian, John Warwick Montgomery, in *The Shape of the Past* (1962), is to the point:

Jn. 14:6 (Jesus speaking): "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father, but by Me." Acts 4:12 (referring to Jesus): "There is no salvation in anyone else at all, for there is no other name under heaven granted to men, by which we may receive salvation." To disregard these testimonies of Jesus and of the primitive church concerning the uniqueness and finality of Christianity is to do no less than abrogate one's position as a historian.

One very important point remains. Throughout the Old Testament, the plurality of the Godhead was clearly in evidence. The common word for God was "Elohim," the plural of "El," God, so that the reference is to Gods, except that Elohim is a plural noun taking a singular verb, indicating thereby the plurality of the Godhead and its unity. More than that, the Spirit of God is constantly in the Old Testament, as is also the Second Person of the Trinity, as the Angel of the Lord, as Wisdom, and in other names. In the New Testament the Trinity is plainly set forth and clearly delineated in many passages.

The implications of this doctrine are tremendous. Here is the answer to the old problem of the one and the many. For the Christian, it is not one or the other but both, for both are equally ultimate in the Godhead, the unity of God and the plurality of the Triune God. Thus, it is not for the Christian man or the state, but man and the state, not the individual or the group, but the individual and the group. It is neither anarchism or totalitarianism, but rather a proper place for both the one and the many, with neither one claiming all reality and obliterating the other. The basic problem of philosophy has here a marvellous solution — for those who want it. The social order which can alone preserve for man liberty and order must have its basis in a trinitarian faith in which the unity and the equality of the Three Persons is maintained, together with their equal ultimacy. To weaken Christian orthodoxy means therefore to open the door to anarchy and totalitarianism.

**QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT
THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION**

1. How does the Biblical conception of the kingdom of God differ from the pagan conception of world-empire?
2. What does it mean to be united to Christ? How should this doctrine affect our view of society and the state?

Lesson Eleven

Lecture #4

The Roman Republic

Listen to CD Lecture #4-- "The Roman Republic," then answer the following questions.

Review Questions

1. What does word "pious" mean in the Roman culture?
2. How was the Roman state regarded by its citizens?
3. What do the humanists regard as myth?
4. What significant features of the Romulus/Remus story should be noted?
5. What was wrong with the Roman idea of a strong family life?
6. What were the powers granted by the senate for a state of emergency?
7. What was the state emergency used for mainly?
8. What is the background for ancestor worship in any culture?
9. How were the things of the flesh regarded in Roman culture?
10. What class usually assumes leadership for the downtrodden in their revolt against the aristocracy?
11. What was blamed for the political failures of Rome?
12. What was wrong with the forgiveness policies of Julius Caesar?
13. What was the dream of Cleopatra?
14. What was the key to the success of Octavian over Mark Antony?
15. What was the main source of entertainment for the Romans?
16. Why did many Romans find it hard to believe that Rome had fallen?
17. Why can we not say that Rome fell to defeat in a war?

18. What was the decline of population after the fall of Rome?

Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion Questions

1. What did the word pious originally mean? Why is a pious man, in this sense, a statist man?
2. What does the story of Romulus and Remus tell us about Rome and the importance of the state?
3. What is ancestor worship? Is the prevailing culture free or statist when there is ancestor worship? Why?
4. What was Julius Caesar's key word? Why was it wrong without regeneration? What was missing?
5. Where did the rule gradually move?
6. Why did Marc Antony's men desert him?
7. When and what was the "great tribulation" that the Bible speaks of?
8. How was the Roman Circus part of the Roman perverted faith?
9. What were some of the causes of the falling of Rome?

[Recommended reading: *The One and the Many* by Dr. R.J. Rushdoony]

Lesson Twelve

Chapter #8

The Rise and Fall of the Roman Republic

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTERS EIGHT AND NINE

Roman religion was essentially statist. Religion had as its purpose the furthering of “divine Rome,” and the “genius” or spirit of Rome was the central object of worship. All religions could be legally recognized and practiced, provided that they furthered the centrality and power of Rome.

For Romans, a pious man was a man who was subordinate to authority, all authority, and supremely the authority of the state. The Roman state was the source of law; it was the source of religion, family, and all things else. Rome was founded by various peoples coming together, so that the primary loyalty was not to race or family but to Rome.

A weakness of Rome, according to W. C. Bark, was its insistence on simplicity, or, better, simplification and centralization. As a result, its answer to all too many complex problems was to place more and more power in a few hands. The Romans, as a military people, saw all problems in military terms. In war, it is important for one man to have authority to command the troops; an army cannot be a debating society. Rome felt that the same approach would work elsewhere. Very early, in times of crisis, Rome appointed a dictator to rule the country for the duration of the crisis. Increasingly, as Rome grew and its problems increased, this urge to centralize and

oversimplify civil government led to serious problems and growing inefficiency.

Whereas the Greeks were usually careful to avoid corrupting their money by lowering its content of silver and gold, Rome began to disregard this economic safeguard. Octavian had gained the upper hand against Mark Anthony and Cleopatra partly because he kept Roman coinage sound, whereas Anthony paid his troops with debased coinage and lost their support. However, in its later years, the Roman Empire often debased its coinage and thus increased its economic problems.

The collapse of family life in many circles of Rome, the growing immorality, the rise of welfare mobs, and the growth of permissiveness all contributed greatly to Rome’s demise.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Before considering the history of Rome, it is important to note briefly the geography of that long, narrow peninsula known to us as Italy. It is easy for Americans, with their vast land area, to associate importance with size. It is difficult for them sometimes to comprehend the centrality in history of the Mediterranean area. But, even with all the restrictions of recent history, today the Dardanelles, Suez, and Gibraltar are each of far greater economic importance in terms of volume of trade and goods passing through than is the

Panama Canal. Thus, relatively small states became very wealthy centers of trade and commerce. The importance in ancient times of the Mediterranean area was further enhanced by the fact that the North African shore was occupied by advanced states which were major consumers, as well as producers, of goods.

The term *Italy*, it should be noted, has only a brief history as a term for a state rather than a geographical area. During most of its history, Italy has been not one, but many states. Even today, the diversity is real, and in Naples, for example, the people from Lombard are semi-foreign "Northerners." The northern part of Italy is a geographical unit, with the Alps to the north and the Apennines swinging from the west towards the east across the center of Italy. The Po River with its tributaries flows east through a wide and fertile valley. The eastern part of Italy, with mountains to its back and poor harbors on the Adriatic Sea, with prevailing northerly winds on the sea, developed slowly in comparison to the rest of Italy, and it was not as quickly invaded. The western part of Italy begins in the mountainous regions of the north and moves into some fertile plains in the central portion. The Arno and Tiber, its main rivers, were too swift for navigation, and civilization in this area centered on the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, with the islands of Corsica and Sardinia on the western side of the sea. Southern Italy and Sicily were pasture and farm lands, early settled by Greek colonies and in ancient times very prosperous. The western end of Sicily is close to the African shore, near that portion of Africa that was settled by Phoenicians and became Carthage, Rome's great rival in the struggle for the control of the western Mediterranean world.

A Mediterranean race apparently occupied Italy prior to 2000 B.C., when an Indo-European people began to enter the peninsula. Around 900 B.C. the Etruscans entered Italy, settling the area between the Po and the Tiber rivers. The Etruscans were from Asia Minor, possibly from Lydia or Armenia. They became a developed and important power, but their power

was challenged by the Greeks, whose sway in the western Mediterranean was growing. The Etruscans allied themselves with the Carthaginians, previously their enemies, against the Greeks, but were defeated c. 474 B.C. by Hiero I of Syracuse, and the Etruscans lost Campania. Meanwhile, by the end of the sixth century B.C., Celtic invasions into the Po Valley had broken Etruscan power to the north, and in c. 509 B.C. the Latins of Rome, also called Latium, revolted and declared their independence. During the fifth century the Celts or Gauls further invaded Etruscan territory, gradually weakening the Etruscans, and during the fourth century Rome took over Etruscan territory. It should be noted that the Lars Porsena of Macaulay's poem, "Horatius," was an Etruscan.

The Etruscans, an advanced and sea-going people, left their influence on the Romans in a variety of fields, including religion and architecture; but, more importantly, they transmitted Hellenic culture to the Romans. The Romans absorbed the Greek culture of their day, first, by means of Etruscan mediation; second, through direct contact with Greeks on gaining their independence; and, third, by conquering the Greek colonies of Southern Italy in the third century B.C. As a result, the Romans quickly became Hellenized, and they became the preservers and transmitters of the Greek heritage. The Greek influence on Western culture has not been direct. It has been mediated to the West through Rome, and, as a result, it has been seen with a Roman focus and emphasis.

Meanwhile, another great power was developing on the northern African coast. The Phoenicians, Hamites living to the north of Palestine, were a prosperous, sea-going, commercial people whose great power was from the eleventh to the eighth centuries. Their culture was largely derivative, and their historical importance is in their role as transmitters, the alphabet being their best known contribution to the West. Tyre and Sidon, Phoenicia's two great cities, are important also in Biblical history. Other important cities were Acco, Beirut, Byblos, Symira, Arwad, and

Ugarit (now Ras Shamra). All these are mentioned as early as the fourteenth century B.C. in the Tel-el-Amarna letters. Their rise to power followed the decline of the Minoan and Mycenaean sea-powers. After the twelfth century B.C., Phoenician colonies were established in Cyprus, southern Spain, North Africa, where Utica and Carthage (814 B.C.) were founded, and elsewhere. With the Assyrian conquest of Phoenician cities, Carthage became the great Phoenician center and a major commercial power. Carthaginian colonies were founded in Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Spain. The Carthaginians adopted a republican form of government, suffrage being extended to male property owners who elected the executives. The name Carthage means "new city," and the Carthaginians called themselves Canaanites, being a Canaanite people. The Romans referred to them as Poeni or Punic. With the exception of Utica, Carthage early subdued the other nearby Phoenician city states of Tunis, Hadrumetum, Hippo, and Leptis. The Libyans and other North African peoples were also subdued. As a power in the western Mediterranean, they were a block to Roman hopes. Around 500 B.C., the western Mediterranean had three major groups struggling for power, the Etruscans, the Carthaginians, and the Greeks. The Carthaginians and the Etruscans formed a temporary alliance against the Greeks, but they lost, with Rome gaining its freedom from Etruscan rule in the same period. A Latin League was formed against the Etruscans, and it steadily gained the victory. Weakened Etruria was meanwhile being invaded by the Celts or Gauls, who in 390 B.C. were able to reach and sack Rome. During the fourth century B.C. the Gauls were frequently in Roman territory. The other members of the Latin League took advantage of Rome's weakness and proceeded to attack Rome in rebellion against Roman domination. In the ensuing struggle, Rome triumphed and imposed its will on the other states. Other wars followed, against Samnium to the east and south and Etruria and Umbria to the north, with Rome gaining the victory by 283 B.C. and controlling Italy

from the Rubicon south to Magna Graecia. Rome then began to interfere in Greek affairs, allying itself with the Greeks of Thurii, in southern Italy, against other Greek city-states. King Pyrrhus of Epirus, a relative of Alexander the Great, took the field and gained victory after victory. His inability to follow up his military victories finally lost the war and produced the term "Pyrrhic victory," although his victory at Asculum in 279 B.C., in which he lost a large part of his army, also colors the concept with the idea of a costly victory. Pyrrhus was defeated finally in 275 B.C., and all the Greek states were subdued by 270 B.C., so that Rome ruled all Italy south of the Rubicon and Arno rivers.

During the course of these events, the internal affairs of Rome had seen considerable tension. Rome began its history with an elective monarchy, founded, according to tradition, in 753 B.C.; an advisory senate of one hundred elders; and a popular assembly of the clans that possessed very little power other than to confer the right of imperium upon the newly elected king and to command the armies. Roman society was divided into two classes, patricians and plebeians. The word patrician comes from *pater*, father, and the paters were the fathers, the senators, the patricians, the citizens of Rome. Plebeian comes from *plebeius*, the common people, akin to the Greek *plethos*, throng, the people. Since the plebeians were foreign to the religious organization of the city, and foreign also to Roman families, they were probably in origin a conquered people, and hence outsiders to the state. The plebeians could be as well-to-do as patricians, but they were excluded from the civil government, religion, and society of Rome. The plebeians demanded a relationship to the city on a new basis, no longer that of religion and a common worship, but in terms of man to man, in terms of human rights rather than divine rights, as Fustel de Coulanges has shown in *The Ancient City*.

According to the traditional account, the Roman monarchy was overthrown in 509 B.C. when the last king, Tarquin the Proud, was dethroned and expelled after a revolt started in

part by the rape of Lucretia by Sextus Tarquinius, the king's son. In the early Roman republic which followed, two consuls or executives of equal power replaced the king, possessing the king's imperium or military power and the auspicious, the right to take auspices, or the religious reading of omens. The term of a consul was limited to one year, with no right of succession. The Senate and the Assembly of Centuries were continued in the republic. The first two consuls were L. Junius Brutus, who led the revolt, and L. Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia.

The very name patrician, coming from *pater*, father, indicates the strong character of family life in early Roman society. Family and religion, or, better, the father and religion, were the mainstays of Roman life. The family itself was a religious entity centering on the father, who in turn had to center himself and his family on the clan and its life. A person expelled from the family could usually live only as a parasite, prostitute, or criminal, for it meant total separation from the state and from religion. The family was the basis of one's membership in the state and participation in society and religion. According to Carle C. Zimmerman, in *Family and Civilization*, when the Romans dominated the Mediterranean and absorbed Greek culture, they absorbed the broken and atomistic Greek family type as a standard. Greek society had originally been strongly familistic but had declined into atomism. The Romans adopted the atomism of family life together with the idea of man's oneness in the state from the Greeks, and the decay of the Roman family was rapid.

The patricians, as Rome became more and more powerful, needed the plebeians more and more to maintain the power of Rome. At the same time, they were careless of plebeian society, even as they became careless of their own. The two groups had lived side by side, each with its own world and freedom within that world. The patricians, by seeking to destroy the independence and integrity of the plebs, paved the way for their own ruin. The plebeians were first deprived of their lands and were then brought

into debt by the patricians, who sought to incorporate the plebs into Roman society as clients or servants. The plebeians fought this, seeing it as slavery, seeking to regain their freedom as a separate body. In the course of the struggle, the plebeians became a necessary part of the Roman world, while at the same time they became all the more hostile to it. They were no longer merely foreigners to it, they were hostile members of it. During this period the plebeians, as the catch-all group of all non-Romans, increased, and the growth of the patricians, a hereditary group, diminished, the patricians becoming a kind of nobility distinct from the general population. The first reaction of the plebs was to secede to the Sacred Mount in 494 B.C. This secession failed for two reasons: First, the plebs could not organize a society, having no foundation for law, lacking as they did a common religion and authority. Second, as Coulanges has said, "the plebs and patricians, though they had almost nothing in common, could not live without each other." As a result of this crisis, tribunes, officials with veto power, were created in 471 B.C. as the representatives of the plebeians. The tribunes were not only a new institution, but they were also a non-religious institution, so that the state now departed from its historic foundation, the family and religion, and became secular and class-oriented. But the tribunes were invested with religious authority of a new sort. The Roman state did not cease to be religious, but hereafter it sought to use religion for the purposes of social cohesion and social order, rather than as a foundational principle. Previously, the state had been an outgrowth of the clan and family; hereafter, as with Augustus, the state was to try earnestly, and sometimes desperately, to revive the family and morality, a reversal of order which failed.

In 451 B.C., the demands of the plebs led to the creation of ten patrician decemvirs, who then wrote the laws known as the Twelve Tables, which became the fundamental law. The Tables or chapters were collections and codifications of existing law. Law had previously been oral and in

the custody of patrician priests, so that its basis was religious. Now it was made more civil and accessible to all in written form. This law was not forced from the patricians; it came from them as a step towards a new kind of civil order which they as well as the plebs were attempting to achieve. It was a step towards a social order in which law was no longer a creature of religion, but religion itself a creature of law. Rome was to bequeath this latter conception to western civilization. The old Roman religion had not been transcendental; it was a faith in which divinity was immanent or present in a particular social order. As a result, Rome rapidly declined into an order which used religion as a tool for social control. Orthodox Christianity was to introduce lasting tension into history by insisting, first, that law comes from a transcendental God and His word, so that civil law is a creature of religion, and, second, that for the state to attempt to make law and religion its own creations is to play god and to incur the judgment of God and the necessary opposition of true believers.

The plebeians in 445 B.C., through the Canuleian Law, gained the right of intermarriage with patricians. They gained the right to enter the priesthood in 300 B.C., and in 287 B.C., through the Lex Hortensia passed by the dictator Q. Hortensius, gained the power to enact laws.

Power shifted steadily in Rome, ostensibly to the plebs, but more realistically to the political leaders who controlled the plebs. The government of Rome during the republic had three assemblies, the Senate, the Assembly of Centuries (Comitia Centuriata), and the Assembly of Tribes (Comitia Tributa). The Senate, a body of three hundred, was made up of men appointed for life by the consuls from a list drawn up by the censors. They were often ex-officials, had administrative powers as well as other duties, and had a long history as the stable force in Rome. The Assembly of Centuries gained its name from the one hundred ninety-three Centuries to which the citizens belonged. Each Century had one vote in the Assembly. The Assembly of Tribes was originally intended to allow the plebeians the oppor-

tunity of governing themselves; its powers increased, however, and the powers of the Senate decreased. Through the Hortensian Law, it became more powerful than the Senate. Then, as the plebs began to enter the Assembly of Centuries and the Senate, as well as to hold offices previously closed to them, the old order was extensively altered. The power of the Senate was enhanced by the entrance of the plebs, in that there was now a body of men chosen for life who represented no particular group alone and were often ex-magistrates.

The magistrates of the republic were the consul, praetor, censor, dictator, aedile, quaestor, and tribune. The consuls, two in number, elected annually, were chief executives and military commanders. They had power to veto one another, which weakened their position, and they usually were ready to follow the lead of the Senate, of which many were, or expected to be, members. The praetor was a judge, and, since law in Rome was precedent law of an early sort, his position was an important one. The law he administered had varying forms. There was a civil law, *ius civile*, which applied to Roman citizens only; no alien could appeal to it. A separate law existed for non-citizens, and here also a distinction existed between hostile aliens (*hostes*) and friendly aliens (*peregrini*), who sometimes were permitted to use their own laws to some extent. The New Testament gives evidence of these differences. Paul was subjected to one kind of treatment when he was thought to be only a Jew, another when known to be a Roman citizen. The Judean courts, moreover, were recognized as valid in certain areas by Rome but could not, as the trial of Jesus makes clear, invoke the death penalty. The censors registered the people for taxation, let out government contracts, and performed various other administrative duties; their office was elective. The dictator was a special officer, with absolute power for six months, nominated by the consuls and approved by the Senate in times of emergency. These emergencies were military. Thus, although the powers of the dictator were very great, his short term and military nature restricted him.

Thus, Fabius Maximus, appointed in 217 B.C. to meet the threat of Hannibal's invasion, was successful in his method but unpopular with Rome, and the consuls were again put in command. Their policy of direct action led to the great Carthaginian victory at Cannae. Another dictator was Cincinnatus, c. 450 B.C., whose story may not be entirely historical but is still a good illustration of the office. The old veteran leader was named dictator because of the serious nature of the war against the Aequians. The Senate's messengers found Cincinnatus working on his four-acre farm. He left his work, raised more men, went against the enemy, won a complete victory, and returned to Rome ready to surrender his dictatorship and return to the farm in sixteen days. Camillus was made dictator against the Gauls c. 396 B.C. The office of dictator was thus primarily a military office. Its failure when put to further use is seen in the dictatorship of Sulla in the first century B.C. Sulla hoped to save Rome and revive the republic by strengthening the power of the aristocrats and diminishing the power of the mobs who lived on doles and spent their time at the circus watching the gladiators kill one another. The constitution was revised, various reforms introduced, and then Sulla resigned his dictatorship, dying the next year. His reforms were futile. The decline of the plebs was accompanied by a decline of the old Roman aristocracy as well, and nothing could supply the lack in character which was Rome's basic sickness. Sulla's own epitaph, perhaps written by himself, indicated the weakness in his character: "No friend ever did him a kindness, no enemy a wrong, without being fully repaid."

Other magistrates of non-military nature also existed, that is, rulers without imperium. The aedile was the commissioner of public welfare and public works, a powerful political office. The quaestor was the treasurer. These offices, four aediles and eight quaestors, were allocated evenly to patricians and plebeians. The role of the tribunes has already been noted.

Religious officers: the *rex sacrorum*, head of the priests of Janus, the pontiffs, who were central in the administration of law, the *pontifex maximus*

over all the priests, and the augurs who examined the auspices, were very important in early Rome. Subsequently, however, most of them declined in significance.

Roman religion was originally a form of ancestor worship. Cicero said, "Our ancestors desired that the men who had quitted this life should be counted in the number of the gods." Ancestor worship involves not only the deification of the dead, but also of the family and the clan. As family declined in importance in Rome, the state assumed the more central religious role, and the dead emperors became gods; the living emperor, as the divine presence, was the object of worship. The religious forms in Rome varied, and various new cults and mystery religions arose, but all had as a basic aspect the recognition of the inherent deity of the state and its emperor.

We have indicated that Rome recognized, to a degree, the laws of subject groups, such as the Judeans. This policy began with the conquest of Italy. The city-states were allowed to continue their internal self-government and were given citizenship without the right of franchise or of holding Roman office. Some military colonies, made up of Romans, had full citizenship. Independent allies of Rome were states that united with Rome and retained certain freedoms, excluding those corresponding to foreign affairs. There was no direct interference or taxation of these allies, but various military requirements and controls existed. Other communities were administered by Roman prefects or attached to a nearby city-state.

As Rome consolidated its power in Italy in the areas below the region held by the Gauls, it faced two rivals in the western Mediterranean world, the Carthaginian Empire and the Greek states under the leadership of Syracuse of Sicily. The result was a long period of warfare, lasting from 346 to 146 B.C. The war with Pyrrhus had taken no small time, 282-272 B.C., followed by further Italian campaigns in 270 B.C. The First Punic War soon followed, 264-241 B.C., the beginning of the struggle against Carthage. Rome suffered many early defeats but finally gained western Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. Something of the war-

like character of Rome and its history is apparent in that the year 235 B.C. saw the first recorded closing of the temple of Janus since its foundation by Numa, king of Rome after Romulus the founder (753 B.C.). The gates of the temple closed only in time of peace; they had remained open for five centuries.

The first Illyrian War, 229-228 B.C., followed to suppress the pirates, and was succeeded by a war against the Gauls, 225-222 B.C., which ended in the annexation of some Gallic territory.

The Second Punic War came in 218-202 B.C. when Carthage expanded into Spain under Hamilcar Barca (236-228 B.C.) and his son-in-law Hasdrubal (228-221 B.C.). Hasdrubal's successor, Hannibal (born in 247 B.C.), marched from Spain into Italy, where he waged war successfully against Rome. Hannibal fought for ten years in Italy, sometimes losing but usually victorious. He lacked siege machinery to take Rome itself, and he knew that, as an outsider in Italy, his cause had no hope unless powerful reinforcements came to his help. His brother Hasdrubal came to his aid from Spain but was defeated and killed at the Metaurus River, 207 B.C. Hannibal, waiting for news from his brother and military aid, received news in the form of the head of Hasdrubal, hurled into his camp by a Roman messenger. Hannibal, however, remained in Italy a few more years. Meanwhile, Scipio had gained command of the Roman forces in Spain, where he defeated the Carthaginians, driving them out of Spain and cutting off their supply of money and troops. Scipio wisely insisted that the Senate send him to Africa to carry the battle into the enemy's territory, just as Hannibal had done in Italy. By 203 B.C., Scipio had twice defeated Carthage's armies and Carthage recalled Hannibal after fifteen years on Italian soil. The war culminated in the battle at Zama, 202 B.C. Hannibal used the same strategy which had destroyed a Roman army at Cannae. But Scipio had learned from Roman defeats and was prepared for Hannibal's strategy; he used that knowledge to gain the victory. The battle was an important one, not only in political history but

also in military history, in that the previous tactics of treating an army as an indivisible fighting unit had been abandoned by both sides in favor of division tactics.

Carthage carried the war to the very walls of Rome and yet ended in defeat, her empire lost as well as most of her navy, required to pay a huge indemnity, and Spain made a Roman province and Numidia an independent ally of Rome. The war, one of the most dramatic in history, made Rome the leading power of its day. Carthage was forbidden by the treaty of peace to wage war without Roman consent and was virtually a vassal state. Rome soon compelled Carthage to exile Hannibal, who headed his government c. 202-196 B.C., and he went east and tried to arouse the powers there to unite against Rome. Hannibal joined Antiochus the Great of Syria in his war against Rome. When Antiochus was defeated at Magnesia (Manisa), 190 B.C., he was forced by the peace treaty to surrender Hannibal to Rome. Hannibal escaped, however, and went to Bithynia, where, with no further hope of escape since Prusias I of Bithynia was about to betray him, he committed suicide in 183 B.C.

Hannibal taught fear to the Romans and left them uneasy and insecure. Cato, a senator, ended all his speeches to the Senate with the grim words, "Carthage must be destroyed." Rome awaited such an opportunity.

Meanwhile, Rome was drawn into the Second Macedonian War, 200-197 B.C., with the Senate anxious for it. This was followed by the Syrian War, 192-189 B.C., in which Hannibal fought with the Syrians. Then came the Third Macedonian War, 171-168 B.C., again with a Roman victory. Rome was seeking to keep the peace and prevent a strong power from controlling the eastern Mediterranean, but had not yet taken any territory, being content to add territories to pro-Roman states.

The Third, and last, Punic War came next, 149-146 B.C. Carthage had only a limited military power, but Rome was concerned about Carthage's commercial revival and strength. Before his departure, Hannibal had reformed

Carthage's government and had paid off the enormous indemnity required by Rome. The Kingdom of Numidia, acting as a Roman puppet, invaded and captured Carthaginian territory and interfered with her trade. Carthaginian protests to Rome were ignored, and Carthage, to defend itself, declared war against Numidia in 150 B.C. but was too weak to carry on the war and was defeated by the Numidians. The Romans landed an army in Africa against Carthage for violation of the peace treaty. The Carthaginians offered to submit but refused to vacate Carthage. With almost no military resources, the Carthaginians defended themselves until the city was finally overwhelmed and destroyed in 146 B.C. The city was burned for 17 days, then ploughed up and pronounced cursed by the Romans. Soon the area, now modern Tunisia, became a pasture land, and slaves tended herds for distant owners "where the industrious Phoenicians bustled and trafficked for five hundred years," in Mommsen's words.

In the Fourth Macedonian War, 146 B.C., Rome gained a great victory at Corinth, sold the Corinthians into slavery, and burned the city. Macedonia and Greece became Roman territory, with varying degrees of control. In 143-133 B.C., war in Lusitania ended with all Spain except the northwestern part more firmly under Rome.

At the same time, a hint of future problems arose in the First Servile War, 135-132 B.C., a slave revolt in Sicily. Of the life of Roman slaves, Mommsen has observed, "it is very possible that, compared with the suffering of the Roman slaves, the sum of all Negro suffering is but a drop." Over 20,000 men were crucified at the end of this revolt. After the second Sicilian slave-war, many of the poor, free provincials in Sicily were reduced to slavery in flagrant violation of law. When the Roman governor Publius Licinius Nerva (104 B.C.) then freed the first 800 processes against slave owners filed before his court in order to restore freedom to the enslaved free provincials, the slave owners compelled the suspension of the trial. Oppressive debt and usury were becoming problems in the provinces. Slaves,

prisoners of war, had become numerous, and slave labor destroyed the middle classes and the small farmers. The Senate, which controlled foreign affairs, the army, finances, and the provinces, became increasingly powerful. The wars and military service impoverished many people and reduced them to an idle mob in Rome. The ruling group found the wars a great means of increasing wealth, and the indemnities and prizes of war, being in a sense unearned income, had an inflationary effect on Italy. Rome found its policy of *divide et impera*, divide and rule, ineffective, and out-right annexation of territories followed. This meant a largely parasitic role for Rome in relation to the empire, increasing wealth for the ruling class, and the steady rise to political power of strong military leaders.

Earlier, Cato had asked, "What was to become of Rome when she could no longer have any state to fear?" That time had now come, and Rome had herself to fear. Rome was richer and more powerful than ever before, but also in greater internal trouble and misery. The poor lived on government aid, and the rich lived off the empire and the government. Each felt itself to be the hope of Rome, and its own programs the solution to all Rome's ills. Both failed to see that they were equally parasites on a parasitic state.

The results of the wars were deadly for the small farmers. The influx of wealth from war indemnities and loot caused inflation, because there was now more money available, for example, than land in Italy. Moreover, the conquered areas could often out-produce and out-sell much of Italy. Thus, when Sicily entered the empire, its grains could be produced and sold cheaper than Italian grains, so that the empire grew in power, but the middle classes and small farmers began their long decline.

The result was a long period of social upheaval and civil wars, 133-29 B.C. The small farmers had been squeezed out steadily, except in the north. The unemployed in the cities were becoming a chronic problem. The Senate, made up now of the wealthy, was virtually controlling Rome. The aristocratic Senators and their supporters were called

the Optimates; the Equites were merchants and business leaders; and the Populares, a new party, were the Popular Party, or people's party. The Equites usually controlled the Populares.

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was elected tribune in 133 B.C. on a social reform platform. His program called for a halt to the spread of large estates, with a limitation on holdings of public lands to 321 acres, with an additional 250 acres for each of two sons. Another tribune, M. Octavius, vetoed the bill, but Gracchus insisted on "packing" the tribunate by having the assembly depose Octavius and replace him with a compliant man. Tiberius Gracchus, the grandson of Scipio Africanus, the hero of the war against Carthage, was an able and eloquent speaker who aroused the people with his passionate oratory, declaring of their wrongs: "The beasts that prowl about Italy have holes and lurking places, where they may make their beds. You who fight and die for Italy enjoy only the blessings of air and light. These alone are your heritage. Homeless, unsettled, you wander to and fro with your wives and children....You fight and die to give wealth and luxury to others. You are called the masters of the world, yet there is no clod of earth that you can call your own." All this was very clearly true, and the people reacted to it with intensity. But the answers of Tiberius Gracchus were equally wrong. First, his answer to a problem which was rooted in the decline of character was political. Men needed to be spiritually changed, a religious matter, but Gracchus offered instead salvation by politics. Second, the land problem was an economic one; Gracchus offered a political answer. If the land were redivided, it would be no more economical to operate than it had been when the small farmers originally lost their farms. Land reform would not alter the price of produce, unless this first control were followed by further controls, leading to total dictatorship. A man who could not make a living on a small holding and had consequently lost it would not be able to make it pay when it was restored to him unless the government gave him a subsidized price through taxation. Third, Gracchus wanted social

reform by means of politics, which meant that justice and law had to be sacrificed if "reform" in the name of the people required it. We have seen how he compelled the passage of his land reform bill. Next, in violation of the one-term precedent, he ran for a second tribunate on an even more radical program. The Optimates reacted by murdering him and more than three hundred of his followers. The one certain result of the first great program of social reform was thus lawlessness. The few farmers who were resettled sold their lands and moved back to the city very quickly. They could not compete with the large, slave-operated holdings.

The next attempt, which also failed very early, came with M. Fulvius Flaccus, who tried to extend the franchise to all Italians. He was sent to Liguria, and then became instrumental in the conquest of southern Gaul.

In 123 B.C. Gaius Gracchus, the brother of Tiberius, was elected tribune, seeking both social reform and revenge. Gaius Gracchus was able to gain what his brother had sought unsuccessfully, a second term, with a more radical program, which included not only land reform, but also tax, jury, and colonial reforms, the extension of citizenship to many, and a large relief program. Gaius Gracchus' program of extended civil rights was broken when the Optimates decided to out-promise him. He had already made himself unpopular by promising citizenship to all Italy, since the mob had no desire to share its new privileges with others or to see its power diluted. In the rioting which followed the repeal of his colonization bill, the Senate invoked a state of emergency. Gaius Gracchus was then murdered, and perhaps three thousand were put to death, and the Senate again ruled, 121-111 B.C. The Jugurthine War followed, 111-105 B.C. The war exposed the weakness of the government and its inability to prosecute the war successfully. The Assembly, representing the people, rebelled and passed a law appointing Gaius Marius as general, thereby seizing control of the army. Marius had previously been elected consul and headed the movement. He quickly defeated Jugurtha, king

of Numidia, and subsequently defeated the Teutons in southern Gaul (102 B.C.). Marius reformed the army and greatly furthered the development of a professional fighting force in the place of a citizen's army. He was elected consul six times, finally losing popularity when he worked to secure land for his army veterans. The growing conflict of interests between army and people was foreshadowed in this incident, one of several which led to his eclipse. Marius left the political scene in 100 B.C. and remained aloof for a decade.

In 91 B.C., M. Livius Drusus, a senator whose father had fought the Gracchi, sought to popularize his party by adopting a program of social reform: land distribution, cheaper grain, and citizenship for all Italians. As a tribune, he secured their passage but then had them declared void by the Senate as illegal measures. The Social War, 91-88 B.C., followed when many of the Italians revolted, formed a republic, Italia, with Corfinium as its capital. The faithful Italians were granted citizenship to prevent their rebellion. Citizenship of a non-representative sort was finally granted to all.

The war in Italy gave Mithradates of Pontus an opportunity to invade Rome's Asiatic provinces. Mithradates VI Eupator (130-63 B.C.) was a brilliant leader who was, on his father's side, the descendent of Darius the son of Hystaspes, and, on his mother's side, a descendent of Alexandridae and the Seleucidae. A giant of a man, he could, by changing horses, ride one hundred twenty miles in a day. As a runner, it was said that he could overtake a deer. At the table, he could out-drink and out-eat all others. A king at age eleven, he became a fugitive for seven years to escape murder. As a result, he was a suspicious man, ready to kill without mercy. He was a man of great but undisciplined genius. An illustration of his character is found in his disappearance from his palace for several months, during which time it was assumed that he was dead. He returned suddenly after travelling incognito throughout all western Asia on a private, first-hand survey. The desire for first-hand knowledge

together with the irresponsibility of his departure are characteristic. He could speak the language of each of the twenty-two nations over which he ruled. Mithradates represented the last of the Hellenic monarchs to threaten Roman power. His great ally was Tigranes (Dickrahnez) of Armenia. Mithradates extended his power north of the Black Sea as well as in Asia Minor, and in Greece many city-states joined him. Although Mithradates could be cruel to his enemies on occasion, and capricious as well, many people preferred his rule to that of Rome, with the fearful power of Roman money-lenders and their grinding bondage. The First Mithradatic War, 88-84 B.C., ended in a victory for Rome, which had been seriously threatened in its eastern Mediterranean power, with Lucius Cornelius Sulla as the victorious general.

While Sulla was gone, civil war, 88-82 B.C., broke out in Rome, a demagogue, P. Sulpicius Rufus, uniting with Marius to reestablish radical power. Another consul, L. Cornelius Cinna, 87-84 B.C., began the killing of the Optimates, Sulla's friends and followers, taking advantage of Sulla's absence to institute a reign of terror. Sulla, after defeating Mithradates and taking vengeance on rebellious cities in Greece, returned to defeat the democratic forces and assume the dictatorship, 82-79 B.C. Sulla's one purpose in the dictatorship was to revive the republic through a series of political reforms of a conservative nature. The only reform which endured was of a criminal law. Sulla, like his radical fellow citizens, was seeking salvation in and through politics. What his fellow Romans learned best from him was the possibility of dictatorship, of simply seizing power in the name of reform. The result was that Roman politics became a struggle for total power in the name of reform.

Meanwhile, the Second Mithradatic War, 83-81 B.C., followed the Roman invasion of Cappadocia and Pontus and ended in a Roman victory. The Third Mithradatic War came in 74-64 B.C., the conquest of Gaul in 58-51 B.C. by Gaius Julius Caesar, and the invasion of Britain in 54 B.C., also by Julius Caesar. Wars were now gain-

ing an added function: creating a strong and enriched army whose commander was in a position to seize power.

Wars gave such opportunities to several men. After six years of battle, Gnaeus Pompey defeated the forces of Marius under Q. Sertorius, the democratic governor of Spain, when Sertorius died in 72 B.C. Lucius Lucullus was the victorious general in the Third Mithradatic War, and Marcus Licinius Crassus defeated Spartacus in the Third Servile War, 73-71 B.C., a slave war led by the Thracian gladiator, Spartacus. Julius Caesar was closely associated with Crassus in politics and was himself not only a patrician, but also a leader of the radical democrats, being related to Marius, whose wife was Caesar's aunt, and to Cinna, whose daughter Caesar married. Crassus and Pompey forced their own election as consuls. Pompey for a time loomed large as the great power, especially after driving out the pirates from the Mediterranean. The internal turmoil in Rome had led to no small breakdown of law and order. Marcus Tullius Cicero led in the successful prosecution of Verres, a corrupt governor of Sicily. Meanwhile, in the east, Lucullus, having defeated Mithradates, sought to reform the area and avoid further defections of Roman territories to the enemy by banning plunder to the army and by attempting to check the oppressive usury practiced by the businessmen from Italy. Demands for Lucullus' replacement quickly followed, and Pompey replaced him. By 63 B.C., Pompey completed the war with Armenia, making it an ally, and made provinces of Syria and Judea.

At Rome, the poor, ruined noblemen, army veterans, and others rallied around a new leader, Lucius Sergius Catilina, who was followed for a time by Crassus and Caesar. Catilina advanced a more radical plan than most others, seeking to capitalize on discontent, while at the same time planning revolution if he failed to gain election. By this time Crassus and Caesar had separated themselves from him. The revolution failed, but it seems to have been supported by very powerful men whose identities were not disclosed. Catilina died in battle in 62 B.C. Cicero was the man who

defeated Catilina and rallied forces against the conspiracy. A significant aspect of Catilina's program, one which attracted people of all classes, was debt repudiation. People had fallen into bondage to the Roman money-lenders, and their remedy for this problem was simply the cancellation of debts, or, in other words, license for a fresh round of debts.

When Pompey returned in 62 B.C., he disbanded his troops and entered Rome to seek, through legal means, confirmation of his eastern settlements, personal settlements, and land grants for his soldiers. But the Senate had reached the point where it no longer respected legality and bowed only to force, and it therefore blocked Pompey's settlements for the veterans. As a result, Pompey allied himself with Caesar and Crassus, marrying Caesar's daughter. This alliance, the First Triumvirate, ruled Rome for a time. Cato (the Younger) and Cicero, the two Republican leaders, were disposed of by sending Cicero into voluntary exile in Epirus and Cato to Cyprus to supervise its annexation. Caesar left for Gaul to be its proconsul for five years, and Publius Clodius was made the triumvirate's agent in Rome. Pompey's ambitions were military and personal, to secure his own position and the army's grants, while Crassus was a wealthy man seeking greater wealth through political influence and power. Clodius ruled through the liberal use of relief and political mobs, and he interfered with the right of censors to punish immorality.

In 56 B.C., because of the growing opposition, the First Triumvirate met to plan the future at Luca. Julius Caesar was clearly the central figure; for himself, he gained another five years as proconsul of Gaul; Pompey was given Spain, although he remained in Italy and sent his son Sextus Pompey to Spain to exercise his proconsulship. Crassus went to Syria as proconsul in 54 B.C. and died soon thereafter in battle against the Parthians. Between 54 and 51 B.C. the Triumvirate began to disintegrate. Crassus was killed in battle in 53 B.C., and Caesar was tied up in the war against the Gauls under Vercingetorix in 52 and 51 B.C. An Optimate leader named T.

Annius Milo had his own mobs kill Clodius in a street fight at Bovillae in 52 B.C., and Pompey became, illegally, the sole consul that year, returning to the side of the Senate.

Prosecution of a man in office was illegal. As soon as Caesar's proconsulship ended in 49 B.C. he was declared a public enemy, unless he disbanded his army. This order was issued on January 7. The tribunes on Caesar's side fled to him at Ravenna. In the name of protecting them, Caesar crossed the Rubicon on the night of January 10-11, declaring, "*alea inacta est*," "the die is cast." Pompey and most of the Senate fled to Greece to organize forces against Caesar. Caesar defeated Pompey's army in Spain and then defeated Pompey at Pharsalus in Greece in 48 B.C. Pompey fled to Egypt, where he sought refuge with the young Ptolemy XIV. He was killed by the young king's ministers. Caesar landed in Egypt, conquered it, and made Cleopatra, sister of the now dead Ptolemy XIV, and a younger brother, Ptolemy XV, joint rulers. Cleopatra soon became sole ruler and associated herself closely with Caesar to further her own dreams of empire. Caesar then went to Syria to defeat Pharnaces, son of Mithradates, at Zela, declaring, "*veni, vidi, vici*," "I came, I saw, I conquered." In 46 B.C. Caesar returned to Italy to put down a revolt of his Tenth Legion, and then went to Africa, defeating Sextus Pompey, Gnaeus Pompey's son, at Thapsus. Cato committed suicide in Utica upon learning of Caesar's victory. In 45 B.C., Caesar defeated Sextus Pompey and his brother Gnaeus at Munda in Spain and returned to Rome with total power in his hands.

Julius Caesar dreamed of a great universal Roman power based on a religious policy of *clementia*, clemency, mercy, appeasement. The roots of this policy were in the popular demand for debt cancellation and the eradication of the past. In Gaul Caesar distinguished himself for his clemency to conquered enemies, so that defeated tribes appealed to him, "Deal with us in accordance with the mildness and magnanimity which are peculiar to you." In the battles against Pompey his actions were governed by the same

clemency or mercy. When opportunities to prosecute his enemies came, he preferred to destroy the charges on grounds of *clementia*. Indeed, many of his enemies were advanced in office; widows of others, who had died in battle, were provided for out of the deceased's estates, and other generous practices were observed. The Senate decreed that a temple should be built for the *clementia Caesaris*, wherein Caesar and his clemency were to be worshipped, and Caesar was appointed father of his country, *Pater Patriae*. One of the objects of Caesar's clemency was Marcus Junius Brutus, a member of the band of Senators who, on March 15, 44 B.C., assassinated Caesar.

Caesar's mercy had been a religious policy, but an antinomian one, a mercy which destroyed law rather than establishing it, as Biblical grace does. Because it was a mercy that could not change or regenerate man, it was in practice actually an attempt to change evil by subsidizing it. Caesar's *clementia* put into practice a deeply rooted hope of Roman society, but it was a hope which was the death of both Caesar and Rome, in that it sought to change the present by ignoring the past. As Ethelbert Stauffer, in *Christ and the Caesars*, points out, "the Roman people glorified the dead Caesar in a unique passion liturgy," singing in Caesar's name, "Those whom I have saved have slain me," and declaring, "Truly the man cannot be of this world whose only work was to save where anyone needed to be saved."

Pagan societies have always been religious, as indeed all societies everywhere are. Rome had not lacked religious foundations. Now, in a newer form, this religion had a focus in the person of a messianic ruler whose reign brought in true order, and in whose person the divinity of the universe was manifest. The Republic was far more dead than Caesar. The question hereafter in Rome was essentially this: who would be that one man? About a century later, that question, while remaining, began to give way to another question: Caesar or Christ?

**QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT
THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION**

1. Why do you suppose our Founding Fathers preferred the Roman Republic to the Greek democracies? What problems exist in the American system because they did not differentiate between the Roman republic and a Biblical, theocratic republic?

2. Why was Caesar's policy of *clementia* an insufficient and unstable foundation for a new empire?

Lesson Thirteen

Chapter #9

The Birth and Death of the Roman Empire

When Caesar fell, a victim of his own program of clemency, the conspirators were unable to gain power. The Second Triumvirate took power after defeating Cassius, Brutus, and their forces at Philippi in 42 B.C. This trio was confirmed in power in November, 43 B.C. and met the test of power in victory. Lepidus played an important part in preventing the conspiracy from gaining the city of Rome. In this he had been assisted by Marc Antony, who quickly became the leader of the three. The third triumvir was Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, Julius Caesar's grand-nephew and heir, a young man of eighteen whose name and position made him useful to Antony's ambitions. Marc Antony married Octavian's sister, Octavia. Among the political enemies whom Antony had put to death was Cicero, who died despite Octavian's efforts to save him. The triumvirate divided jurisdiction over the empire, with Antony taking the rich east, Octavian the west, and Lepidus, Gaul and Africa. Octavian soon forced Lepidus into retirement. Sextus Pompey meanwhile controlled Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Peloponese; he was subsequently defeated at Mylae and Naulochus in 36 B.C. by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, and then fled to Asia Minor, where Antony's troops captured and executed him. Agrippa was later responsible for the naval victory over Antony at Actium, 31 B.C. Antony aided Octavian against Sextus Pompey by supplying him with ships, while Octavian sent troops to aid Antony against the Parthians, who

defeated him in 36 B.C.

Antony, while still married to Octavia, married Cleopatra of Egypt, a brilliant woman of great ambitions. Earlier, she had borne a son, Caesarion, to Julius Caesar, and, after having her younger brother, who was also her husband, killed, made her three-year-old Caesarion co-ruler with her under the title "Ptolemy Caesar, God, and Beloved Son of his Father and Mother." No less than Rome, she aimed at a divine kingdom and world dominion. Not sex, but power was Cleopatra's concern in her affairs with Caesar and Antony. In both cases, she hoped to unite the two great traditions of world power and divine right into a single strand, with herself in control.

Octavian and Antony were already uneasy allies and potential enemies. In marrying Cleopatra and in joining her in the dream of empire, Antony made certain the break with Octavian. Two rival claims to world dominion could not long coexist. In the peaceful struggle which preceded the actual war, Octavian gained a great advantage, one which undercut the empire of Cleopatra and Antony. Antony issued money which was fraudulent, copper with silver gilt, and earned the contempt of his empire. To claim, as Antony did, to be the savior of the world and to issue bad money was a fearful error. Octavian, the grandson of a money-changer, issued solid silver *denarii* and established his regime as the responsible and trustworthy one. In the Battle of

Actium, September 2, 31 B.C., Cleopatra and her forces deserted Antony, recognizing as she did this that the greater power in terms of the future was Octavian, whom she hoped to convert to her cause as she had Caesar and Antony. Failing to win him, she committed suicide, as Antony had previously done. In 29 B.C., Octavian celebrated peace by closing the Temple of Janus, which had been done only twice before, under Numa and in 235 B.C.

Octavian, who was subsequently named Augustus, “reverenced” or “revered,” by the Romans, a name Octavian prized, sought to restore the forms of the republic while increasing his own power. He lived simply, dressed plainly, refused to act like or claim to be a king, and lived as merely the first citizen of the land. Voting, representative government, orderly processes of authority, and care for the ancient Roman rights and forms endeared Augustus to most people, but the actual power was not in the old forms, but in Augustus’ hands. The peace and prosperity of his rule masked the people’s loss of power. Augustus continued to acquire power through elections and through the acquisition of important offices and titles. A few of his titles are the following: Caesar (marking him as the heir of an important clan, and from which come the words Kaiser and Czar), Imperator (commander-in-chief of the legions), Princeps (first citizen), Augustus, Tribunician Power (which declared him sacred, the heir of the tribunes, possessing a perpetual veto against all acts of the Senate, and the people’s voice), Proconsular Imperium (holding military power over the provinces), Comendation (the right of nominating persons for most offices), and Pontifex Maximus, or head of the college of priests. Every office Augustus held was given him by election. Democracy had come of age in Rome in the person of a man who was declared to be both the people’s voice and the voice of the gods. Augustus was emperor in reality, although not in name, preferring to honor democracy by referring to himself as *princeps*, chief among equals. The title *Augustus*, however, was a divine title, which made Octavian Zeus

incarnate. In various parts of the empire, temples were built to the goddess Roma and the god Augustus. Virgil wrote of Augustus’ “advent,” declaring, “This is the man, the one who has been promised again and again,” and “The turning-point of the ages has come.” Augustus, as Pontifex Maximus, led the college of priests in offering sacrifices to purify the people from all past guilt in a twelve-day Advent celebration in 17 B.C. The world savior had come in the person of Augustus. As Stauffer has summarized the symbolism of coins issued in the empire: “Salvation is to be found in none other save Augustus, and there is no other name given to men in which they can be saved.” Even in Jerusalem, daily sacrifice was offered at the Temple for the welfare of Augustus. Augustus himself expressed his hopes concerning the work he was doing in an official proclamation: “It has been my endeavor to be described in days to come as the creator of the *optimus status* (the best possible state of affairs) and to hope, when I come to die, that the foundations which I have laid will last immovably.” It was to be “eternal Rome.”

Rome had apparently solved the dilemma of man. First, man’s problem was not sin but lack of political order, and this political order the divine and messianic state provided. Second, Rome answered the problem of the one and the many in favor of oneness, the unity of all things in terms of Rome. Hence, over-organization, undue simplification, and centralization increasingly characterized Rome.

Jesus Christ was born c. 4 B.C., and Augustus died August 19, 14 A.D. Augustus had been ably assisted by Gaius Cilnius Maecenas, an able administrator and a patron of arts, and by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, outstanding as a general and an administrator. Rome was extensively rebuilt. The great architectural and artistic works of Rome (as well as of Greece) were primarily produced during the period of statism, dictatorship, and decline. Very commonly in history, when the greatness of a people is gone, the nation tends to seek greatness in monuments. The monument builders are thus often wrongly assumed

to represent the glory of the past, when they very commonly represent its sorriest aspects. In the days of Rome's ostensible glory, one who left no monuments was born, Jesus. In view of Rome's claims for itself, conflict between Jesus and Caesar was inevitable. Who was the Christ, the Savior of the world?

Augustus, who was married three times, married his stepson Tiberius, son of Livia Drusilla, his third wife, to Julia, his child by his second wife, and named Tiberius as his successor. Augustus was seventy-six when he died.

On the surface, Augustus' reign was "a golden age" of peace and prosperity. In the century preceding the decisive battle of Actium, the leading writers had been Catullus, Lucretius, Sallust, Varro, Caesar, and Cicero. Their view of the world was not a pleasant one, but rather a grim picture of battle, cynicism, and Epicureanism. In the Augustan era, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, and Livy were among the notable literary figures. Their world was one which was more prosperous and more at ease with itself, but it was not a happier one. Before the century was over, the underlying cynicism was to flare up into an unbridled contempt for all things.

Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) was an able successor to Augustus, and he strengthened the administration of the provinces, established a German border, made Cappadocia and Commagene provinces, and placed a pro-Roman king on the throne of Armenia. A rebellion in Gaul was put down, as was a conspiracy in Rome orchestrated by Sejanus, who planned to gain the succession for himself. Tiberius was, for all his ability, an unpopular ruler in Rome because of his economic measures with respect to the circuses. Tiberius had none of Augustus' illusions and became an increasingly withdrawn man, virtually a hermit, leaving the government for a time in the hands of Sejanus while Tiberius lived at Capri. A prosperous people wanted only more prosperity and more relief, more bread and circuses. As a result, the insatiable people declared that Tiberius had "changed the golden age" to "an iron age."

Tiberius, smothered to death in his old age by a friend, Marco, a commander of the imperial guard, was succeeded by the vicious Caligula, the surviving son of Germanicus, Tiberius' nephew, who had earlier been in line to succeed Tiberius. The Senate chose Caligula over Tiberius' young grandson, Tiberius Gemellus, whom Caligula put to death. Caligula (37-41 A.D.) was the pupil of the degenerate philosopher, Seneca, who later acted as court philosopher to Nero. The insane Caligula took seriously his divinity and instituted a reign of terror in which he took delight in his power to kill. He was himself finally killed by an officer in the praetorian guard and was succeeded by Tiberius Claudius Drusus (41-54 A.D.), ruling as Claudius, an uncle of Caligula who survived the terror only by pretending to be feeble-minded, which was not a difficult role for Claudius to play. He was a weak man who was in turn ruled by each of his four wives, of whom the most notorious was Messalina, whose great-grandfather was Antony. His fourth wife was his niece, Agrippina the Younger, whose son by a former marriage, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, is better known as Nero. Nero gained in the succession from Claudius and was adopted as his son, ousting Britannicus, Claudius' son by Messalina; Nero then married Octavia, Britannicus' sister. Nero later had Britannicus poisoned. It is believed that Agrippina had Claudius poisoned to bring her son Nero into power.

Nero ruled from 54-68 A.D. Nero has his defenders, such as Arthur Weigall, but the popular impression of him as an immoral monster is substantially correct. Others regard his early years as evidence of good government and attribute this success to Seneca and Burrus; some say that he became insane after eight years of rule. There is, however, a religious consistency to Nero's reign. Seneca hailed him as the savior who would fulfill the promises of Augustus' reign: "He restores to the world the Golden Age." Nero saw himself as the World Savior. In the last year of his reign, 68, he was hailed on his return to Rome as that savior, the multitudes crying: "Hail, Olym-

pian Victor! Hail, Pythian Victor! Augustus! Augustus! Hail to Nero who is the god Apollo! Our one national Victor, the only one from the beginning of time! Augustus! Augustus! O divine Voice! Blessed are they that hear it!" The coins of Nero show his religious devotion to *Liber Pater*, and after his death many people attempted to establish a revolutionary republic, adopting as the emblem of their hopes the Phrygian cap of Liberty. The Senate itself became involved in this fervor and hope. The essence of Nero's doctrine of salvation was thus freedom achieved by destroying the distinction between good and evil, by living beyond good and evil. In his own life, Nero exemplified this faith by committing adultery, incest, murder, and various perversions, all in conformity with his concept of salvation, one shared in the last century and a half by many revolutionists, existentialists, writers, jurists, and even many clergymen. The praetorian guard revolted, named Galba ruler, to which the Senate assented, and Nero committed suicide, the last of the Julio-Claudian line.

Servius Sulpicius Galba (68-69 A.D.) lasted only a few months, long enough to issue some coins which proclaimed his program and his coming as "Salus Generis Humani," the Salvation of the Human Race.

His successors, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, were equally ambitious, each ruling in turn in the year 69. The Rhine Legions on January 1 refused to recognize Galba and made Aulus Vitellius their choice. Meanwhile, at Rome, Marcus Salvius Otho, Nero's friend, whose wife, Poppaea, Nero had married, secured the support of the guard, had Galba murdered, and was confirmed by the captive Senate. Galba's old-fashioned conservatism regarding money had already made him unpopular. Nero's policies were revived by Otho, to the crowd's delight. When the forces of Vitellius neared Rome, Otho's position was strong, but after one defeat, the effeminate dandy committed suicide.

Meanwhile, the Judean Revolt (66-70 A.D.) was under way, a war of remarkable and unequalled horrors. The Roman forces were

under Titus Flavius Vespasianus, who left the command to his son Titus and was proclaimed emperor by Tiberius Julius Alexander, the praefect of Egypt. Vitellius was slain in the ensuing civil war on December 20 by forces under the command of his friends. Vespasian, a money-lender's son, ruled from 69-79 A.D. An able man, he sought only to give Rome stability, and he regarded the divinization of his office as absurd. As he was dying, he remarked sarcastically, knowing he would soon receive divine honors from the people, "I think I'm about to become a god." At the end, he asked to be held standing up, saying, "An emperor must die on his feet." While Vespasian was emperor, the old republican forms were maintained and re-emphasized by him.

He was succeeded by his son, Titus Flavius Vespasianus, ruling 79-81 A.D., a poor ruler who was followed by his younger brother, Titus Flavius Domitianus, 81-96 A.D. Whereas Titus was ineffectual, Domitian was a strong and able administrator. He campaigned against the Germanic tribes and built a series of forts to defend the frontier against the barbarians. Later the forts were connected with ramparts of earth, with a wooden palisade thereon. Whereas Vespasian had emphasized the republican offices, Domitian stressed the monarchical. He had his father deified and had himself officially entitled "God the Lord," the first emperor to bear that title. The poets Martial and Statius hailed him in their works. At state banquets the cry was raised, "Hail to the Lord." He was acclaimed with many religious cries: "Thou Alone, Worthy art Thou; Worthy is he to inherit the Kingdom, Come, Come, do not delay, Come again." He was "god of all things," "Lord for ever, Lord from eternity to eternity, Lord in all aeons." In Tacitus and Suetonius, two historians, we have a vivid picture of the century, its madness, pretensions, and debauchery. In the Apostle John's *Revelation*, we see the suffering and the perplexity of the Christians in the face of Domitian's claims and power. Himself immoral, Domitian sought to suppress the grosser forms of immorality, an action which

added to his unpopularity. After an unsuccessful rebellion in 93, Domitian lived out his remaining three years in a state of intense and murderous suspicion, which led to his murder on September 18, 96 A.D. The Senate rejoiced at his death.

Marcus Cocceius Nerva succeeded Domitian, ruling from 96-98 A.D. Nerva had been chosen by the Senate and was himself a Senator. His rule was the last significant revival of the Senate's power and authority. Nerva, an elderly man, recognized that the new power was the army and quickly appointed a general, Marcus Ulpius Trajanus (Trajan), 98-117 A.D., as his successor.

Much of the second century was dominated by a succession of "Good Emperors," known as the five good emperors: Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, whose reigns extended from 96 to 180 A.D. Nerva adopted Trajan as his son, a method of succession used by Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, all of whom had no sons of their own.

Trajan, born near Seville in Spain, was an able general who added to the empire, and he is recognized as one of Rome's greatest military figures. In Trajan's day, it became necessary for the Roman government to interfere in municipalities, especially in the east, as local governments began to break down, go bankrupt, and depend increasingly on the central authorities.

Trajan was succeeded by his cousin Hadrian (Publius Aelius Hadrianus, 117-138), a Stoic and a Hellenist. He instituted excellent legal reforms, but his work made it obvious that, however much he protected the ancient forms and established rights, the emperor was now the source of law. One of Hadrian's laws is of especial interest: he made it a criminal offense to accuse anyone falsely of being a Christian. To be a Christian then was to be both an enemy of the state and a despised creature, and to accuse anyone but a Christian of Christianity was a fearful offense. Hadrian, like those before him, was unable to cope with the growing economic crisis. Relief was becoming a chronic problem to the empire, as indeed it had in the days of the republic. As matters became worse, the messianic claims of the

state to be man's savior became more extravagant. Instead of being humbled by its failures, the state only intensified them. The persecution of Christianity, which we shall review later, was not a political accident in the Roman Empire, but a necessity. Two rival plans of salvation were at war: salvation by politics and salvation by Jesus Christ, through His atoning sacrifice. It was Christ or Caesar, or else a compromise by Christ, which would equal surrender.

Hadrian was succeeded by Antoninus Pius (138-161), whose reign continued the peace and prosperity of the day, a prosperity limited to certain segments of the populace, with a growing permanent relief roll. Antoninus Pius was succeeded by his son-in-law, Marcus Aurelius (161-180), one of the most famous of the Stoic philosophers. According to this philosophy, which was applied to Rome, the emperor was the embodiment of the guiding reason of the universe, and hence the living principle of good if he was true to his calling. In law, the brotherhood of man was the guiding principle. Marcus Aurelius, the last of the "Good Emperors," persecuted the Christians severely as enemies of the state and as a threat to this great religious ideal of the state. Certainly the Christians denied the incarnation of reason in the emperor and the brotherhood of man outside of Christ.

When Marcus Aurelius died, that philosopher-king left a son to succeed him, a son who had been reared in his father's philosophy and should have been reason personified. Commodus (180-192) was a handsome, able, and powerful figure of a man who saw himself as a Hercules, in Stauffer's words, as "the strong man sent from heaven and armed with superhuman powers to set the poor world free from the powers of destruction." Commodus, instead of being reason personified, was perhaps a little weak mentally and certainly morally depraved. He maintained, being a pervert, a double harem of very large size; his favorite woman was a concubine, Marcia, who at the very least was friendly to Christianity. She had the monster assassinated on December 31, 182.

The army now took over the monarchy, after a period when first Pertinax, and then Didius Julianus tried to rule in 193. The Severii family then gained power through the legions, reigning from 193 to 235, the first being Septimius Severus, 193-211, a fairly able administrator who advanced the army as his first principle of power in all things, telling his sons, "Enrich the soldiers. Nothing else matters." This his son and successor Caracalla (211- 217) did, increasing soldiers' pay to so high a rate that the issue of a more debased coinage was necessary. In the Edict of Caracalla, 212, Roman citizenship was extended to virtually all free inhabitants of the empire. This step had little meaning. Citizens had once been a responsible elite; now they included virtually all, and the responsible elite was first overwhelmed and then virtually destroyed.

Citizenship now meant nothing to those who had once demanded it. It was no longer an honored privilege, but an empty right under a totalitarian state. Caracalla, who took care of the army, was taken care of by a group of his army officers, who murdered him on April 8, 217, as he was preparing for an invasion of Parthia. One of his officers succeeded him, Macrinus, 217-218, the first emperor of the equestrian class, who himself fell when he tried to reduce the army pay. He was succeeded by a Severii, Elagabalus, 218-222, a wild and mad figure who took his name from a Syrian sun-god, Elagabalus, meaning the forming or plastic god. Elagabalus dressed as a woman and indulged his taste for every kind of rarity. Thus, he would not eat seafood near the sea, but only at a great distance from the sea where it was difficult to procure them. He was murdered on March 11, 222, and was succeeded by his adopted son, Severus Alexander (or Alexander Severus), 222-235, who debased the coinage further, took over the rule of trade guilds, and saw various disturbances in the empire, including German invasions and a Persian revolt. He was murdered by the army in March, 235.

With his death, all pretense of maintaining constitutional government disappeared. A period of military rule and anarchy followed, 235-285.

The Persian power arose meanwhile under the old banner of "One God, one King, one Empire in all the World." In Rome, Christians were bitterly persecuted as the "Barrack Emperors" succeeded one another, twenty in fifty years, only one dying a natural death. Barbarians began to invade the frontiers. Aurelian, 270-275, saw himself as the "Restorer of the World" and did succeed in defeating the Germans, recovering Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Palmyra, but was murdered by his officers while preparing to invade Persia. Under Aurelian, the welfare or socialistic economy of Rome was expanded. Not only was relief increased per person, but also the right to relief was made hereditary in 274. Meanwhile, gold and silver began to flow eastward towards the Persian empire and away from Rome. The religion of Persia, Mithraism, moved westward into Rome, being especially popular in the army, and was the main religious power apart from persecuted Christianity. Culturally and politically, the initiative was no longer with Rome. Cities in the empire began to build walls to protect themselves. Taxes became so high that they were very difficult to collect.

Diocletian (284-305) came to power after this period of anarchy determined to create a new Augustan age. Of humble Illyrian stock, Diocletian was a vigorous and able man. To make the empire more easily governed, he created two equal emperors, each an Augustus, with two further divisions in the empire, assistants and successors, called Caesars. Maximian was made Augustus of the West, with his capital at Milan, and Diocletian of the East, now the more important area, with his capital at Nicomedia. To revive trade, strict price and wage controls, with a death penalty, were decreed. The result was further depression instead of cure. Businessmen closed shop rather than stay open and face either ruin or death. Food riots resulted, and the laws were repealed, only to be followed by other controls. The population had earlier begun to decline, while taxes continued to rise and the bureaucracy to grow, so that fewer and fewer people were supporting more and more bureaucrats and soldiers.

For many people, it was becoming true that there was nothing in the Roman empire worth fighting for, and the Empire was as much a threat as any enemy. Diocletian saw himself as Jupiter and was worshipped as the father of the gods, and both he and Maximian bore as official title *Dominus Noster*, Our Lord. The principle of his new deal or new order was *Utilitas Publica*, the Common Weal. To make his new deal successful, the savage persecution of Christians was necessary, and even twelve-year-old girls were tried and martyred. In one instance, an entire town of Christians in Phrygia was burnt to the ground along with all its inhabitants, men, women, and children, without a single Christian recanting and going over to the enemy. In spite of all this horror the church grew. Better death with Christ than life with miserable Rome. Romans who had begun by hailing their political leaders as messiahs and gods were beginning to see them as demons. In 305, Diocletian and Maximian resigned, and their two replacements became Augusti who appointed two new Caesars. The new Augusti were Galerius and Constantius, and their two Caesars Flavius Valerius Severus and Galerius Valerius Maximianus.

Within a year, a revolt flared up in Britain, and Constantine I, the Great, was hailed as emperor by the troops. A long struggle for power ensued, with a major victory for Constantine near Rome on October 28, 312, at the Milvian Bridge, soon after which the Edict of Milan was issued by Constantine, proclaiming equal rights for all religions and restoring confiscated property to Christians. Shortly before his death, Constantine became pro-Christian and accepted baptism. For a time, Constantine shared the empire with Licinius, who ruled the East, but war broke out between the two, with Licinius' anti-Christian policy partially to blame, and Licinius was defeated and executed. From 324 to his death in 337, Constantine ruled a re-united empire. He took an active part in church affairs, in the Donatist schism in 316, and called the Council of Nicea in 325 to combat Arianism. In 330 he established a new capital, Constantinople, on the site of Byzantium. This new location was to be

the center of a great empire, the Eastern Roman Empire, or Byzantium. The steps Constantine took to stabilize the economy failed, and the decline of the western part of the empire continued. In the east, currency reforms proved more successful, and proximity to the more prosperous Persian empire was an advantage.

Much fault can be found with Constantine's life and work, but Stauffer's judgment is still accurate: "Constantine promised no golden age, as the emperors and court prophets of the past had done, but an age of grace, an empire which practised forgiveness, because it was founded and depended upon God's forgiving act." And yet, within a century, the Western Empire and the City of Rome fell before the barbarians. Except for Julian the Apostate (355-363) who sought to restore paganism and began by granting toleration and equal status to all religions, the Western Emperors were actually or nominally Christian. Why, then, the failure of the Western Empire? While Rome had a ruler, like Theodosius the Great (378-395), a champion of orthodoxy, most preferred Arianism, the Unitarianism of the day, which exalted the state and demoted Christ. The Kingship of Christ was a threat to the sovereignty of the state, and salvation by Christ's atoning work was a denial of statist salvation. Many emperors wanted Christian morality without Christian theology; they preferred an orderly, law-abiding people to a pagan populace, but they wanted no sovereign Christ to challenge their own position. They tried to contain the new wine of Christ in the old wineskins of statism and it was an impossible hope.

The barbarians had for some time before the fall of Rome been moving into the Western Empire. These were not only the Germanic tribes, but the Huns from central Asia. It was Alaric and the Visigoths who invaded Italy in 409, and in August 410 sacked Rome and then passed on. Britain had been evacuated by the Romans in 407; the Emperor Honorius (395-423) was ruling his crumbling empire from Ravenna. The city of Rome had been virtually surrendered by the emperors to the circus-loving,

welfare-receiving mobs. The ancient capital was no longer a fit place for authority.

The presbyter Salvian wrote, in the days of repeated invasions and disasters, of the heedlessness of the Romans: "Yet for this only do we use the peace given by God, that we live in drunkenness and luxury, in wickedness and in plunder, in all kinds of crime and wrong-doing. Indeed, we accept from a giving God the benefits of a given peace as the dispensation to infamy, and we accept an armistice for peace in order that we may sin more freely and safely." Before the barbarians conquered Rome, Rome had destroyed itself, Salvian declared: "Let nobody think otherwise. The vices of our bad lives have alone conquered us."

But not all were evil. For the godly, there was nothing in Rome to defend. For the tax-ridden and bureaucracy-ridden, its fall seemed almost a relief. As William Carroll Bark has observed, "millions of Romans were vanquished by scores of thousands of Germans." Many had no will to fight, and others had nothing left to fight for. Roman religion, like all paganism, was from the beginning man-centered. It found its fulfillment and its death in giving everything to man, cradle to grave security, and it destroyed man. Its supreme law had been not the law of God, but the welfare and health of the people, and the results of gratifying man were moral and economic chaos. Taxes became confiscatory, money was debased and was disappearing entirely, the soil was exhausted, roads were decaying or unsafe, the cities were merely centers of welfare recipients rather than commerce, the bureaucracy became overwhelmingly great and inefficient, and so, finally, many people were ready to welcome the barbarian

invaders. The population, moreover, had decreased as low morale led to greater susceptibility to disease and to plagues. Christianity could not save a Rome more interested in Rome than in Christianity, a Rome more interested in using Christianity than in obeying Christ.

Even after Rome fell many were unable to believe that its fall was more than a temporary set-back. In southern France, the gentleman bishop, Sidonius, lived the life of a Roman of the old order, with a villa in the hills, a library, a dining room with a fireplace, baths, and hunting parties, as well as dinner parties. Although the barbarians were destroying cities and ravaging the countryside throughout the whole Western Empire, Sidonius could not believe that Rome was finished. As he wrote to a friend, "Providence I doubt not will grant a happy issue to our prayers and under new blessings of peace we shall look back upon these terrors as mere memories." Soon after Sidonius' death, his own villa was burned, and the easy, cultured life he knew was gone. Providence, as always, had moved not in terms of men's wishes, but in terms of the unfailing law of God.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. How did the Roman Empire answer the problem of the one and the many? Was their answer primarily theoretical and philosophical or practical? Explain.
2. How do the sufferings and martyrdom of the early church square with the victorious nature of Christ's kingdom.

Lesson Fourteen

Lecture #5

The Early Church and Byzantium

Listen to CD Lecture #5-- "The Early Church and Byzantium," then answer the following questions.

Review Questions

1. What was a weakness prevalent among the new converts to early Christianity?
2. What error was made as to matter and spirit?
3. What was Arianism?
4. What was Pelagianism?
5. Who are the modern disciples of Pelagianism?
6. What is meant by two natures of Christ "without confusion"?
7. Why did the early church not become legal?
8. How widespread were the persecutions of the Christians?
9. Why did Constantine grant freedom for the Christians?
10. Tell about Julian the Apostate creating the clergy as government officials.
11. What was the beginning of the Byzantium Empire?
12. What three things made for the success of the Byzantium Empire?
13. What was the importance of the Slavs in the Byzantium Empire?
14. What is the meaning of the name, "Slav"?
15. Describe the warlike Huns under Attila.
16. What determined the structure of society in Byzantium?
17. What was the basis of opportunity in the Empire?

18. What were some of the background qualifications of the Emperor?

Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion Questions

1. Why did heresy have such an easy influence over the church?
2. What is Gnosticism? Arianism? Pelagianism?
3. Why does progressive education follow Pelagianism?
4. Why is it Biblical that the church be independent of the state?
5. What are some of your thoughts about the early martyrdom of the early church?
6. How did the actions of Julian the Apostate put power into the hands of the clergy? How was this a blessing for civilization?
7. Constantine established the Byzantine Empire. What two things of great importance did he do? Why were they important?
8. Why did the Eastern Empire last so long? Consider the following: army; farmers; good money.
9. What were the Barbarian hoards like? What were the men of Atilla the Hun like?
10. From the account of the man who had joined the Sythians and the Huns: Why are the men of Rome taken and destroyed so easily? How does this compare to modern times?
11. Describe the death and burial of Atilla the Hun. What happened to the Hunnic Empire?
12. What type of empire was Byzantium? Discuss how the following elements positively affected the empire: 1) no castes; 2) democratic (anyone could rise to power); 3) charity hospital with cleanliness; 4) justice; 5) equality in sexes.
13. Discuss the following aspects of the Byzantine Empire: 1) the Byzantium democracy was not of a secular nature; 2) the state was to be the Kingdom of God; 3) the entire political, social, and economic structure was impregnated with divine significance.
14. Who destroyed the empire? Why is the Byzantium Empire ignored in history books?

[Recommended reading: *The Foundations of Social Order* by R.J. Rushdoony]

Lesson 15

Chapter #10

The Early Church Confronts the World

INTRODUCTION

Among the battles which the early church had to wage against the world and against the spirit of humanism infiltrating into the church were the following:

First, the doctrine of Christ's perfect and true humanity and His deity had to be maintained, and without any confusion of the two natures. This the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. accomplished.

Second, the doctrine that salvation is by Christ, not by the state, had to be defended and upheld. Salvation in the ancient world was usually political. The state was seen as man's savior and man's hope.

Third, this meant upholding Christ as King of Kings, as absolute Lord over all rulers and emperors. For this reason, men who preached the Word of God felt that, in their King's name, it was their duty to rebuke emperors for their disobedience to Christ.

Fourth, the heresies which beset the church were all disguised humanism, advocating a return to salvation by the state or by man. The modern "death of God" movement has marked affinities to some of the Gnostic and the Arian heresies of the early centuries.

The hatred of Christians was intense, and their persecution real and savage. Tertullian in his *Apology* (197 A.D.), wrote of the court trials and

persecutions of Christians:

If it is certain that we are the most guilty of men, why do you treat us differently from our fellows, that is, from other criminals? Since it is only fair that the same guilt should meet with the same treatment. When others are accused on the charges which are brought against us, they employ their own tongues and hired advocacy to plead their innocence. They have full opportunity of reply and cross-examination; for it is not permitted to condemn men undefended and unheard. Christians alone are not allowed to say anything to clear themselves, to defend the truth, to save a judge from injustice. That alone is looked for, which the public hate requires---the confession of the name, not the investigation of the charge.

CHAPTER TEN

Before the apostolic age ended, the witness to Jesus Christ was carried to the far corners of the earth. Our knowledge of this vast missionary proclamation is scanty, but little fragments of evidence confirm the apostolic declaration that it was being preached throughout the world. St. Thomas, for example, died and was buried in India, apparently on his return from a missionary journey to China.

Judea rejected the faith, preferring its traditions to the Scriptures and to Christ. The gospel was then carried to Samaria, Asia Minor, Europe,

and other areas. Even where the faith was accepted, major problems arose. Every culture had its own religion and its own inheritance. The mystery religions — Mithraism, Neo-Platonism, fertility cults, and other movements — not only fought against Christianity, but they also colored the minds of the converts. Everywhere that Christianity went then, and everywhere it has gone since, it has been new wine which people have tried to contain in their old wineskins. The result has been and still is conflict and cultural explosion. Christianity is inescapably at war with fallen man and his culture, and the conflict is one which can only be called a war unto death. The world unceasingly seeks to compromise, dilute, and destroy the faith, and this was no less true in the first century than now.

The gospel proclaimed the good news of the *grace* of God unto Salvation. Man, a condemned sinner, was and is unable to keep the law. Christ came to be man's representative head, the last Adam, and paid the penalty for man's sin by His vicarious and atoning death. By His resurrection, He destroyed the power of death, and by His perfect life, He kept the law perfectly for man. By His indwelling presence as the new life in man and by the indwelling Holy Spirit, He enables man to keep the law, not perfectly, but nonetheless acceptably.

The cornerstone of this plan of salvation is the doctrine of *grace*. The Greek world and the Hellenized Judaistic world, as with Philo, saw grace as a kind of *charis*, from whence we get the words *charismatic* and *charisma*. *Charis* was a kind of natural gift that was a gift of God; thus instead of being grace, it was a kind of endowment. The Greek New Testament had to use this word, the nearest thing to expressing its meaning, but it made clear, as Thomas P. Torrance has said, that *Charis* or "Grace is in fact identical with Jesus Christ in person and word and deed." John made clear that "grace and truth came through Jesus Christ" (John 1:17). *Whenever and wherever grace is at all naturalized, salvation is also naturalized to the same degree.* Thus in the *Didache*, written in the early part of the second century, supposedly a

manual of apostolic teaching, a man in becoming a Christian only *starts* on the right way: he is not saved by grace; he must save himself. In the *First Epistle of Clement*, written in about 96 A.D., not God's grace in Jesus Christ, but immortal knowledge of God saves man. Christ's death, instead of being an atonement for sin, simply provided an opportunity for repentance. The Greek idea of salvation by knowledge, which is basic also to modern education, is clearly apparent in Clement in spite of his earnest desire to proclaim Christ. *The Epistles of Ignatius* (c. 70-117 A.D.) give us a vivid picture of a man who died for the faith. Yet Ignatius grounded forgiveness, not on the atoning death of Jesus Christ, but on the grounds of the repentant sinner's faith and love. Christ is the *Gnosis* of knowledge of God and the bringer of *Gnosis* to man. Salvation is not grace, but rather the invitation of God. Worst of all, Ignatius, in his *Epistle to the Philadelphians* (Ch. 8), introduced the dangerous idea that there is only forgiveness for those who unite with the bishop; God's wrath is on all others: "For where there is division and wrath, God doth not dwell. To all them that repent, the Lord grants forgiveness, if they turn in penitence to the unity of God, and to communion with the bishop," and insisted on unity with the bishop (Ch. 1 and 2). In his *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans*, he ordered that nothing be done without the bishop, for "It is not lawful without the bishop either to baptize, or to offer, or to present sacrifice, or to celebrate a love-feast" (Ch. 8). There are differences of opinion as to what Ignatius meant by the term bishop, but it is clear that he identified membership in Christ with unity with the pastor or bishop. For Ignatius, the presence of the Lord and unity were equated. Grace was an exclusive possession of the unified church, and man had to be in unity with the bishop to be in relationship with God and to receive grace. Ignatius died for his faith, declaring as a prisoner, "I am the wheat of God, and let me be ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ." Yet he also wrote, "we should look upon the bishop even as we would upon the Lord Himself." His concep-

tion of the church was closer to the ancient idea of the city-state than to the covenanted body of believers in Jesus Christ.

One of the recipients of Ignatius' letters was Polycarp of Smyrna (70-155 A.D.), who himself wrote an *Epistle to the Philippians*, c. 112. For Polycarp as for Ignatius, the meaning of salvation was obscured. Ignatius, in writing *To the Ephesians* (9:1), spoke of love as "the way which led up to God." Polycarp (10:2) harked back to the *Book of Tobit* (4:10, 12:9), to state that "alms deliver from death."

The presence of paganism is also very clear in *The Shepherd of Hermas*, an allegory by Hermas, brother of Pius, bishop of Rome. This document may be dated as early as Clement and as late as c. 148. Works are especially important to Hermas. Man can make satisfaction for sin by works and through supererogatory merits, that is, merits stored up by saints which can be appropriated by other people. Forgiveness came to man not through the atoning work and the grace of Jesus Christ, but through self-affliction and purity. The Greek idea of a higher and a lower nature in man also is present in Hermas; Biblical faith teaches, however, that all of the fallen man is evil and all of the redeemed man is under process of sanctification. For Hermas baptism is also necessary to salvation.

These documents all belong to the first century after the apostolic era. They show clearly that paganism was infecting the most faithful segments of the church. Instead of grounding Christianity and Christian life on Jesus Christ, the "believer" was grounded on the natural man, and the main issue of grace was evaded. As Torrance stated it, "They did not live from God so much as toward Him," and this is pagan religious naturalism.

Very soon "Apologies" or Defenses of the Faith began to be written by the Christians as part of their debates with secular and pagan thinkers and philosophers. Many of the Apologists were closer to Athens and its philosophy than to Jesus Christ, and yet they were concerned with defending openly a persecuted faith. In *A Letter to Diognetus*, written perhaps by Aristides c. 150, the

writer declares:

In one word, Christians are to the world what the soul is to the body. The soul is dispersed throughout all the limbs of the body: so the Christians are dispersed throughout all the cities of the world. The soul dwells within the body, yet is not part thereof: so the Christians dwell in the world, and yet they are no part of it....The flesh hates the soul and makes war upon it, though the soul injures it not, but only hinders it from indulging its lusts: so the world hates Christians, though they injure it not, but only set themselves against its pleasures. The soul loves the flesh that hates it: so do Christians love those that hate them... God has assigned them a certain place, to fill, and it is not lawful for them to refuse to fill it.

This beautiful passage reflects the Platonistic belief that the soul is divine in origin, while the body is earthy and debased. In the Bible, man is totally a creature, body and soul, equally fallen or saved in all his being. But this passage also shows the moral difference between pagan and Christian.

The apologist Tatian (110-172), in his *Address to the Greeks*, presents an interesting study in the contrast between the pagans and the Christians. Tatian was born in Assyria and became first a follower of Greek philosophy and then of Christ. He struck out against pagan dualism. The world of matter is not independent of God: "For matter is not, like God, without beginning, nor, as having no beginning, is of equal power with God; it is begotten, and not produced by any other being, but brought into existence by the Framer of all things alone." Thus Tatian saw all things as created by God; he rejected the doctrine of "Fate, a flagrant injustice," and declared, "as we do not follow the guidance of Fate, we reject its lawgivers." He affirmed the doctrine of creation and declared man's sin to be a product of his original free-will. Tatian, having condemned dualism, still fell under its sway, for he later came to condemn not only marriage, but also the eating of meats. Such ascetic practices rest in a belief that the material world is evil, not of God nor to be redeemed by God, and therefore to be avoided.

Tatian's teacher, a slightly younger man, was Justin Martyr (114-168), a philosopher who held that revelation satisfied reason and crowns phi-

losophy. Unfortunately, his idea of reason was Hellenic, the autonomous or independent reason of natural man which has a right to sit in judgment on all things. In fact, Justin Martyr was almost ready to make Plato a kind of non-Israelite prophet who borrowed from Moses. He said that Jesus Christ is not only the "First-begotten of God," but as the Logos or Word is at the same time "the reason of which every race of man partakes." This made all men more or less members of Christ. "Those who lived in accordance with Reason are Christians, even though they were called godless, such as, among the Greeks, Socrates and Heraclitus and others like them." Thus it was not the historical Jesus who saved men through His atoning death, but Reason instead. Much modern religious existentialism and neo-orthodoxy is simply a development of this same line of thinking.

It must be remembered that these men were not the heretics of their day, but the wandering and blind champions of the faith. Docetism was an early and important heresy which sprang from a dislike or hatred of matter. This was a development of neo-Platonism. The Docetists were unwilling to believe that Christ literally became flesh; His body was thus called a phantasm, or else, if they accepted His body as real, they denied that the Christ was really united with it. Some held that He withdrew Himself from His body before the crucifixion, leaving the man Jesus to suffer. The New Testament denounced Docetism, and I John 4:2, for example, requires Christians to believe that Jesus Christ came in the flesh.

Gnosticism, another very important heresy, was again a form of pagan dualism. It held that the material world was evil and could not be related to God; it must be forsaken. Man was spirit, having a spark of the divine essence, and his salvation lay in developing that spark. There were two gods, the jealous, hateful God of justice of the Old Testament, and the kind God of Love of the New Testament, and they were in continual warfare. Gnosticism was not always even semi-Christian in its form, being originally a

pagan cult; it was close to Manicheism in its faith. Some forms of Gnosticism held to salvation by knowledge, others by mystical union with the God of Love, and others by ascetic practices whereby man forsook the bad God's evil world of matter. One school of Gnostics, the followers of Carpocrates, not only boasted that they were ahead of Jesus, but they also saw Satan as the good shepherd leading lost souls back to the true god and supreme ruler. They believed also that it was necessary to experience every kind of life, and therefore often led lives of great depravity. Each member of this school was branded with a small identifying mark on the inside of the lobe of his right ear.

Irenaeus (120 or 130-202) sought to defend the faith against these heresies. In his writings, Irenaeus stressed, first, the difference between God as Creator and man as creature, and second, the fall of man. Third, he emphasized the equality of the Son with the Father. Fourth, he stressed the actual and historical incarnation, and fifth, he stressed, in Cornelius Van Til's words, "the need for the Word of Christ as present to men in the Canon of the Scripture," so that the faith was asserting itself in his thinking. However, Irenaeus still held to pagan philosophical methods and ideas. For him salvation was not justification through the atonement of Jesus Christ but a kind of deification.

Tertullian (c. 150-220) was one of the greatest of the church fathers. He was a great champion of the faith, even though he became a member of the Montanist Church sometime before 207. Montanism was established by Montanus, a Phrygian, who early began to go into ecstatic trances and frenzies and "prophesied" when in that condition, often proclaiming things contrary to the faith. This "prophesying" became a major part of his movement, as did asceticism. Marriage was frowned on, and second marriages (of the divorced or widowed) were forbidden. They also held that there was no absolution for "mortal sins" committed after baptism. They also refrained from all except dry foods and avoided bathing. They tended to be unpopular people.

Tertullian emphasized the difference between the divine revelation and human reason. To understand the faith, one must believe the faith. In his *Prescriptions Against Heretics*, Tertullian wrote: "My first principle is this: Christ laid down one definite system of truth which the world must believe without qualification, and which we must seek precisely in order to believe it when we find it." He had no use for the philosophers who refused to accept truth because they believed in perpetual seeking: "I have no patience with the man who is always seeking, for he will never find." The idea that truth cannot be found anywhere he strongly opposed. There were inconsistencies in Tertullian's thinking: at times he followed the Greek trust in man, and his distrust of matter was sometimes almost dualistic. Nonetheless, he was a champion of the faith and one of the greatest of the church fathers. He was important, too, in defending the doctrine of the Trinity.

These men and others with them were the anti-Gnostic fathers of the Church. Whatever their failures, they did stress the reality of the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection of the flesh. With this faith they armed the saints against persecution. They paved the way for the Roman Catholic doctrine of the church, but they also kept alive the reality of Christ's life and work.

The persecution of the Christians was a major factor in the history of the church prior to the accession of Constantine. Although before the fall of Jerusalem there was no set imperial policy of persecution, the conflict even then was inevitable. It was only delayed because the Christians were still assumed to be a Jewish sect, and the Judean religion had official recognition. Very soon, especially after the fall of Jerusalem, this situation ended. The empire believed in the divinity of the emperor as the genius of Rome and in political salvation. The emperors saw the issue as Christ or Caesar. Christians could only exist if they recognized Caesar as superior to Christ and as the true Lord and Savior. Thus Polycarp, according to Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, was asked, "Why, what harm is there in say-

ing Caesar is Lord, and offering incense to save thyself?" Polycarp made clear that he could not do so. The proconsul later ordered him, "Swear by the genius of Caesar; repent and say, 'Away with the atheists; revile the Christ.'" Polycarp responded, "Fourscore and six years have I been His servant, and He hath done me no wrong. How then can I blaspheme my King who saved me?" For this faith, Polycarp was burned at the stake. Notice that Christians were called "atheists." To deny Caesar and the State as man's Lord and Savior was considered atheism, for the true god existed for them only in the State.

The first great persecution began before the fall of Jerusalem. When Rome burned in July, 64 A.D., the people blamed Nero for the fire. Nero diverted suspicion from himself by blaming the Christians and ordering their persecution. Some were crucified, others torn to death by savage dogs, and others were covered with pitch and used at night as human torches. From Nero's time on, accusing the Christians of causing every kind of disaster and natural calamity was considered to be a good way of deflecting attention from the central and area governments.

The second great persecution came during Domitian's reign, 81-96 A.D., with Domitian setting himself up as *Dominus et Deus* and demanding worship.

The third persecution came with Trajan (98-117 A.D.). Christianity was viewed as an illegal religion, and profession of it became a capital offense. Ignatius of Antioch and Symeon of Jerusalem were the prominent martyrs of this period.

The fourth persecution in 162 came with Marcus Aurelius. The cry, "The Christians to the lions" was now being raised for every kind of cause: if the Tiber overflowed, or the Nile did not overflow, the Christians were to blame and thus must die.

The fifth persecution came under Septimus Severus (193-211). We have a vivid eye witness account of the death of two young women in this savage wave of persecution. Perpetua, of noble birth and a young mother about twenty-two

years of age, with an infant son at her breast, and Felicitas, a slave girl, were among those killed at Carthage on March 7, 203. Because of Perpetua's noble family, every attempt was made by her family and the Roman officers to persuade her from her faith. Her child was taken from her, and her breasts were full of milk and pained her as she longed for her son. At the trial, Perpetua reported, "My father appeared on the scene with my boy, and drew me down from the step, praying to me, 'Pity thy child.'" Perpetua stood firm and was sentenced to be thrown to the beasts along with others. "And somehow God willed it that neither the child any longer desired the breasts, nor did they cause me pain; and thus I was spared anxiety about the child and personal discomfort." Felicitas was eight months pregnant at this time. In prison, she began to give birth and cried out with labor pains. A prison official called out to her, "You who are in such suffering now, what will you do when you are thrown to the beasts, which you despised when you refused to sacrifice?" Felicitas answered, "Now it is I that suffer what I suffer; but then there will be another by my side who will suffer for me, because I shall suffer for him." She gave birth to a girl, whom her sister reared. They went to their death calling it the day of their victory, knowing Christ was with them, Perpetua singing a psalm as they entered the arena. The Christian men let their judge know their faith: "You may judge us, but God will judge you." The infuriated mob demanded a special beating for the men, so that they had to run the gauntlet. The girls were stripped for the killing, but the usually lustful mob reacted strangely. "The crowd shuddered, seeing one, a delicate girl, and the other fresh from child-bed with dripping breasts. In such plight they were called back and clothed with loose garments." The martyrs received the mauling and tearing of the beasts in prayer and silence, without any outcry, scarcely aware of what was happening. Perpetua did not believe she was touched, until one of the men pointed out her wounds to her. When the half-dead martyrs were to have their throats cut to end the

games, they stood and moved to the appointed place. When it was Perpetua's turn, "she herself placed the wavering right hand of the youthful gladiator to her throat." Her calm self-assurance exceeded his. The eyewitness's concluding comment is of especial interest: "O most brave and blessed martyrs! O truly called and elect for the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ! Whom whoever magnifies, and honours, and adores, surely ought to read these examples for the edification of the Church, not less than the ancient ones, so that new powers also may testify that one and the ever same Holy Spirit is always working even until now, and Almighty God the Father, and His Son Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory and infinite power for ever and ever. Amen."

The work of the Alexandrian fathers of the church was coming into prominence about the same time. Their method, unfortunately, involved the use of Gnostic speculations as a new foundation for the faith. Their approach to Scripture was allegorical. This school of thought was founded by converts and became famous under Pantaenus, a converted Stoic philosopher. Its two great adherents were Clement (c. 150-216) and Origen (185-250). Clement's principle was that the Christians were the true Gnostics, by which he meant those who truly fulfill the Gnostic premises. Clement (Titus Flavius Clement) wrote a famous trilogy, among other things, dealing with Conversion, Discipline, and Enlightenment: *Protepticus*, *Paedagogus*, and *Stromateis*. For Clement, Christianity was superior to Greek philosophy because he saw Christianity as the fulfillment rather than the enemy of that philosophy. For him, Greek philosophy was true, and Christianity had to be true in relation to it, which meant reinterpreting Christianity in terms of Greek philosophy. His starting point was not the sovereignty of God, to be defended against all man-centered thinking, but the freedom of man, to be guarded against all assaults and from God's predestinating power. As a result, he was less interested in submitting man to God's revelation than in establishing man's enlightenment. In consequence, Clement's God is basically unknowable, because He is not truly

revealed. The main function of Christ is as the Logos, to enlighten man in the Greek and Gnostic sense, so that man can know and determine his own destiny. Instead of predestination by a sovereign God, Clement wanted predestination by an autonomous, free, and enlightened man. Because Clement confused Biblical faith with Plato, he had to read the Bible allegorically in order to make it point to man, freedom, and enlightenment, rather than God, predestination, and revelation.

Clement left Alexandria when persecution began in 202. His work was continued by a pupil, Origen, who carried Clement's method further. Origen was tortured savagely during the Decian persecution (c. 250) and later died in Tyre. Origen believed himself to be a true champion of the faith, and he declared that nothing should be received which was not in the Scripture nor deduced from it. All the same, to retain his Gnostic faith in man, he had to maintain a doctrine of eternal creation and the preexistence of man. The fall of man was a fall into matter rather than into sin, into disobedience to God. Like Clement, his view of Christ was semi-Docetic. Origen held that there were two ways of salvation. The exoteric way for most was faith, which was, however, only a condition of salvation. The esoteric way was by knowledge. Morally autonomous man saves himself by *gnosis*, knowing. Because man had to be saved by enlightenment rather than by the revelation and grace of God in Christ, man had to be free rather than predestined. A free man does not require revelation; it is a help rather than a necessity. Therefore, predestination, which requires revelation and grace, that is, the divine initiative in all things, had to be rejected; the initiative belonged to man. Origen termed believers in predestination "heretics" when they pointed to the Biblical texts; he relied on a "secret tradition." His view of morality was ascetic rather than Biblical. Origen's extremism led to the condemnation of his position and to the close of his school, but the effects of the Alexandrian teachings are in the church to this day. Instead of using Scripture, Origen exploited it to defend man's freedom against God. That he was

intensely earnest, dedicated, and courageous must be recognized; that he was the source of many heresies is even more clear.

The great heresy of the second century was Gnosticism; the dominant heresy of the third century was Monarchianism. Monarchianism was a denial of trinitarianism. In various forms, it held that there was one God and but one person in the Godhead. Paul of Samosata held that Jesus was entirely human; Jesus was nonexistent before birth and was simply a man filled with divine wisdom. Others, like Sabellius, said that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were all simply aspects of one person, masks which the one person put on. The Patripassians were also Monarchians. Monarchianism was a kind of Unitarianism. Origen, for all his own heresies, argued against both Gnosticism and Monarchianism while sharing common ideas with them. Tertullian and Hippolytus defended the trinitarian position more consistently.

Meanwhile, as the church battled heresy within, it faced persecution from without. The sixth persecution came with Maximinus the Thracian (235-238), who began by ordering the death of all bishops.

The seventh persecution was more severe than the preceding six and came with Messius Quintus Decius (249-251), who was determined to root up Christianity and wipe it out. Men were savagely and publicly tortured in order to drive the rest into submission to paganism. Nails were driven into their feet; they were dragged through the streets, scourged, torn with iron hooks, scorched with lighted torches, put to torture on the rack, burned, or beheaded. Agatha, a beautiful Sicilian Christian, was desired by the governor Quintian, whom she rejected. Agatha was placed in the hands of an infamous woman, but refused to surrender to prostitution. She was scourged, burned with red-hot irons, torn with sharp hooks, and then laid naked on a bed of live coals mixed with glass. She refused to deny her faith. Carried back to prison to await more torture, she died there on February 5, 251, one of countless numbers who stood fast.

The property of Christians was confiscated and they were exiled, imprisoned, and tortured to break down their faith and lead them to revile Christ and worship Caesar and the state. Many Christians compromised, but many, many stood firm.

The ninth persecution came under the Emperor Valerian (253-260), who first tried confiscation of property, exile of some Christian leaders, and the prohibition of Christian assemblies. This measure accomplished nothing, so he then ordered all the clergy and laymen of high rank to be executed if they refused to renounce Christ. One of the prominent martyrs of this period was Cyprian of Carthage, an important scholar and bishop (248-260). Cyprian had played an important part in the controversy with Novatian. A controversy had arisen over readmission into the church of former members who had offered incense to the emperor to escape persecution. Callistus, the Roman bishop (217-222), and Cornelius, his successor, had taken the view of laxity and readmitted them. They believed that outside the church there is no salvation; therefore, weak yet believing Christians had to be restored to the church. The Novatians made a distinction between forgiveness by God and reception into the church communion. The one could exist without the other, and the church was not the ground of forgiveness. The Novatians denied the idea that outside the church there is no salvation. They insisted that the church had an obligation to guard its purity, especially with the prospect of further trials. Cyprian at first favored the Novatian idea, but soon came to hold that the church must readmit truly repentant persons. He developed a doctrine of the unity of the church in the bishop; rebellion against the bishop was rebellion against God. He insisted, however, on the quality of all bishops. For him, the bishops offered sacrifice, and thus were a priesthood in virtue of their sacrificial work.

During the persecution, Cyprian was ordered to sacrifice to the emperor and refused, saying, "I will not sacrifice." The proconsul cautioned him, declaring, "Consider well." Cyprian answered,

"Execute your orders; the case admits no consideration." He was then beheaded. The formal charge against him in his sentence accused him of leadership in the "wicked conspiracy" of Christianity. In the eyes of the state, this was exactly the case. To believe in Jesus as Lord and Savior was to deny that the state was lord and savior and to be involved in war against it.

Valerian, who ordered the persecution, was himself captured by Emperor Sapor of Persia. Sapor used Valerian as a slave. When mounting a horse, Sapor made Valerian kneel and used him as a footstool. After seven years, he ordered that Valerian be blinded, flayed alive, and then rubbed with salt; during this torture, Valerian died. His skin was stuffed with straw and placed in a Persian temple. Some historians, irked because the Christians saw God's justice in this fall of Valerian, have chosen to deny its historicity.

After Valerian, the church had forty years of peace, except for minor incidents, and a brief threat during the reign of Aurelian (270-275), whose edict of persecution led to more bloodshed, but was short-lived because he was assassinated very soon thereafter.

The tenth and greatest persecution began under Diocletian in 303 and continued until Galerius, his successor, ordered toleration from his deathbed in 311. Not only were all Christian assemblies prohibited, all churches ordered destroyed, all copies of the Bible ordered burned, but relentless persecution aimed at wiping out Christianity entirely. So many Christians were thrown to the beasts that the weary animals finally refused to attack them. Soldiers became weary of the killing, and their swords grew dull or broke. Homes were set on fire; Christians were weighted with stones and tossed into the sea. An entire city of Christians in Phrygia was burned, together with all its inhabitants. The more merciful governors tried to delay the orders, or merely cut off the ears or split the noses, or put out the right eyes, or otherwise maim the Christians. It was a savage blood-letting of the best in the church, who were the salt of the empire. It stripped the empire of many of its finest citizens.

Twelve years later, when Constantine met with the leaders of the church at the Council of Nicea, it was a strange assembly which surrounded him. Many were without eyes, others without arms or without hands, others maimed in various ways: a gathering of men who had faced death for the faith. But the Council also included men of another sort.

The issue at the Council of Nicea in 325 was heresy versus orthodoxy. The church had long been engaged in a battle for its life and could not turn its attention fully to the heresies in its midst. Chief among these heresies was Arianism, the heir of all the previous heresies from Judaism and Gnosticism (which were at points related) on through those of the fourth century. Arianism and orthodoxy differed most openly with respect to the person of Jesus Christ. Arianism's three main points were (1) Christ was a created being, (2) not eternally existent, and (3) not of the same essence with the Father. The orthodox position was that Christ (1) was begotten, not made, (2) begotten before all worlds, and (3) of the same essence with the Father. For the Arians, Christ, who was not truly God, became what was not truly man: a marvelous person, but not a Savior. The Arian view of God was Monarchianist and anti-trinitarian.

The champion of Arianism was Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria. In modern terms, his position would be called Unitarian and statist. From Arius' *Thalia*, the following passages illustrate his position:

The Unbegun made the Son a beginning of things originated;
And advanced Him as a Son to Himself by adoption.
He was nothing proper to God in proper subsistence.
For he is not equal, no, nor one in essence with him.
Foreign from the Son in essence is the Father,
For He is without beginning.
At God's will the Son is what and whatsoever He is.
And when and since He was, from that time He has subsisted from God.

Arius' philosophy was simply Hellenism slightly baptized with Scripture and set to Christian language. It eliminated Christ as Lord and Savior, and it reduced the Bible to legend. In several ways, Arianism destroyed the faith. First of all, by denying that Christ is Lord and Savior, Arianism made the state once again man's lord and savior. Divine authority belonged to the emperor, not to Christ. As a result, Arianism was very popular with many supposedly Christian emperors. It enabled them to claim they were Christians with the support of Arian bishops, and then, in the name of Christ, to persecute the orthodox believers. Arianism as pseudo-Christianity simply gave Rome a new weapon in its war against Christ.

Second, the Arian faith destroyed the Christian answer to the basic philosophical problem of the one and the many. In the orthodox doctrine of the trinity alone is there an answer to that question. In one God of three persons there is the equal ultimacy and importance of the one and the many. Neither total unity at the expense of individuality nor atomistic individuality at the expense of unity is true. It is not, for example, the state alone which is real and citizens nothing, nor the citizens alone important and the state unnecessary, but both are equally important. In the doctrine of the trinity, one God, three persons, unity and particularity are equally important. Arius restored the pagan emphasis on unity, and that unity was the empire. Statism everywhere found Arianism an ideal doctrine, and for a few centuries it flourished in all Europe. It is again prominent under other names.

Third, Arianism reduced God to an abstraction. He was not seen as the personal God of Scripture, the saving and judging God, but as a philosophical concept. The only great person on man's horizon was the emperor. The emperor's hearing was thus better than God's when the implications of Arianism were fully developed.

The great opponent of Arius was Athanasius, who attended the Council as an archdeacon. The orthodox party, which held firmly to the deity of Christ, began in the minority at the Council of Nicea in 325, with most persons taking a moder-

ate position which essentially nullified orthodoxy. The defense of the true faith rested with those orthodox men who refused to compromise, led by Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, Macarius of Jerusalem, Marcellus of Ancyra, Hosius of Cordova, and, above all, the small and young Athanasius. The Arians were led by the powerful Eusebius of Nicomedia (afterwards of Constantinople), Theognis of Nicea, Maris of Chalcedon, Menophantus of Ephesus, and especially Arius himself. The leader of the majority group, compromisers, was the historian Eusebius of Caesarea.

Prior to Nicea, Arius was deposed in 321 by the Council of Alexandria. Presbyter Alexander's "Deposition of Arius" may have been written by Athanasius himself. It denounced Arianism as "this most base and antichristian heresy." It pointed out that when the Arians were asked "whether the Word of God can possibly change as the devil changed, they were not afraid to say that He can; for being something made and created, His nature is subject to change." This means an undependable Christ. The "Deposition" cited the many departures of Arianism from the Bible and declared that there could be no "Communion of light with darkness, nor any concord of Christ with Belial," and warned, again quoting Scripture, of "giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, which reject the truth." Constantine, knowing the deep rift in the church and hoping to retain a united empire, called the Council and invited Arius in the hopes of a compromise.

Athanasius, in two writings of 318, *Against the Nations* (or *Heathen*), and *The Incarnation of the Word*, declared the eternity and centrality of the Word, God the Son, and His necessity to the works of creation and redemption.

At the Council, the Arians first proposed a creed which was quickly rejected by all sides, including all but two of the eighteen signers. Then Eusebius of Caesarea, the church historian, proposed a creed avoiding only one term in speaking of Christ, *homo-usios*, *consubstantialis*, "of the same essence" with God. The emperor

approved this creed before it was submitted, and even the Arians were ready to accept it. It did not affirm Arianism by any means, but by avoiding a hard and fast declaration of orthodoxy, it implicitly left the field open to any opinion, provided a general formal allegiance remained. The orthodox minority rejected it. Their basic premise was a simple one: however good any creed might sound, it was worthless if adherents of all faiths could accept it. The only possible creed was one which excluded heretics, one to which no Arian could *honestly* subscribe. They therefore insisted on adding the avoided word, the Greek term *homo-usios*. The Arians tried to substitute the word *homoi-usios*, "of like substance," which would have implied that Christ was like God but still definitely not of one substance with God; this subterfuge the orthodox men rejected. Finally, with the emperor swinging his weight to the orthodox form, the Creed of Nicea was adopted. In its original form, the Creed of Nicea cited the Arian heresies and declared of all who held them, "these the Catholic and apostolic Church anathematizes." Some who were ready to sign the Creed balked at the condemnatory formula; they were ready to be for the orthodox faith if need be, without being against anything, which was impossible. Those who refused to sign were banished by Constantine, the first use of civil punishment for theological offenses, a disciplinary measure that has a long history. More important, Nicea saved the church. As Philip Schaff has stated it, "The council of Nicea is the most important event of the fourth century, and its bloodless intellectual victory over a dangerous error is of far greater consequence to the progress of true civilization, than all the bloody victories of Constantine and his successors." In 381 the Council of Constantinople dropped the condemnatory clauses and added to the Creed to give it its present form, better adapted for recitation or singing in church and school.

The defeated party at Nicea did not rest. For them it was only one battle in a long war. Through his sister, Constantine was influenced to recall Arius and the Arian bishops and to think

well of them. Athanasius, who was made a bishop in the year after the council, was now the object of religious and civil persecution and never had a day of peace to his life's end. His life was constantly in danger; he was five times exiled; he was continually accused of all kinds of false charges, including immorality and murder, in order to alienate the people from him. Twice troops were used to supplant him with political bishops. He faced trouble with Constantine, Constantius, and Julian the Apostate, and even then his persecution continued until some years after Julian and only ended a year before his death in 373.

Arius did not live to enjoy his victory. On his recall, Alexander, Primate of Alexandria, in tears prostrated himself in the sacrarium, praying, "If Arius comes tomorrow to the church, take me away, and let me not perish with the guilty. But if Thou pitiest Thy church, as Thou dost pity it, take Arius away, lest when he enters heresy enter with him." The next morning, on his way to the church to be formally and publicly reconciled, Arius stopped and left the procession suddenly because of a gastric pain. After waiting some time, his followers investigated and found that the old man had collapsed in blood and fallen into the latrine. The orthodox party triumphantly recalled the words concerning Judas' death, who "falling headlong, burst asunder in the midst" and died. Arius' manner of death was used to discomfit the heretics.

The issue did not end with the deaths of Arius and Athanasius. Christianity had entered into the forefront of the historical scene, and none understood its significance better than its statist enemies. In the succeeding centuries, states were to favor Arianism, Mohammedanism, and Judaism as usable religions for purposes of state, while they battled Christianity. Statism and orthodoxy must always continue as enemies, in that orthodoxy denies the statist claims to dominion over Christ's realm and the saving power of the state.

We have cited only a few forms of the anti-Christian heresies and only a few of the sources of controversy. The next major controversy centered on the person of Christ and on the possibility of

the fusion of the human and the divine. The Greek influence led many churchmen to see salvation as deification. Even some of the orthodox leaders were infected with this tendency. Thus, Athanasius, in his *Incarnation of the Word*, declared, "For He (Christ) was made man that we might be made God." The issue was this: was Christ's incarnation a perfect union of the divine and the human with a confusion of these two natures, or without confusion? Was His deity in perfect union with His humanity without either changing its nature, or did His humanity become divine, and His divinity become human? If the confusion were possible, then the Greek and pagan idea that if God and man were not of the same substance, they were at least potentially one substance, would again triumph. In terms of the Bible, man can be one in substance with Christ's redeemed humanity through regeneration, but man can only have a community of life, not of substance, with Christ's deity. Mysticism is based on the non-Christian idea of a union of substance.

Many heretical schools arose to deal with the problem: the Apollinarians, the Nestorians, the Eutychians, and others. In the main, they either confused the two natures or else reduced them to one nature, denying either the humanity or else the deity of Christ. The Nicene Creed had met the problem of Arianism. An even more exacting statement was now needed to define the orthodox position against this new threat. This formula was developed at the great Council of Chalcedon in 451.

The Council met in an ugly mood, with intense bitterness on both sides. The heart of the issue, God or man, had been exposed by this controversy, and tempers were often lost. At the critical moment, a letter from Bishop Leo I of Rome, defending the orthodox faith, was read. This letter has come to be known as "The Tome of Leo." The cry was raised with loud applause, "That is the faith of the fathers! That is the faith of the apostles! So we all believe! So the orthodox believe! Anathema to him who believes otherwise! Through Leo, Peter has thus spoken. Even so did Cyril teach. That is the true faith."

Although the Church of Rome was later to misuse the reference to Peter, what was meant then was that the apostolic faith of Peter had been affirmed by Leo. *The Definition or Formula of Chalcedon* summarized this position:

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

This definition of the Fourth General or Ecumenical Council has remained as the touchstone of orthodoxy. The church has departed from it repeatedly: in mysticism, in transubstantiation and similar doctrines of the sacrament of the Lord's Table, in modernism, neo-orthodoxy, existentialism, and other heresies, but the definition has remained as a standard of judgment against them. At two points its significance is especially great. First, it separated the Christian faith sharply from the Greek and pagan concepts of nature and being. It made clear that Christianity and all other religions and philosophies could not be brought together. Second, by denying the confusion of the human and the divine, it struck a blow at the idea of the divinity of the state, the

ruler, or the state office. All were creatures of God and under, not over, the law of God. Most subsequent heresies have been rebellions against Chalcedon. The Athanasian Creed, not written by Athanasius but honoring his defense of orthodoxy, is a creedal statement of the Definition of Chalcedon.

Another very important victory for Christianity was won in 451 also, by a church not represented at Chalcedon and a people battling for their lives. The powerful Persian Empire, now strongly championing a dualistic faith, was moving westward. At the crucial battle of Avariar, Vartan Mamigonian, hero of the Armenians, lost his life in a bloody stand which halted the Persian march. Dualism was stopped as a military force, but it was to seep in as a heresy, the Paulician and Bogomil cults, which in France came to be known as Catharism and Albigensianism in a later age.

We saw earlier that with Nicea the civil punishment of religious dissent began. Much has been made of this fact by historians. They have not stated, however, that first, this was simply a continuation of Roman imperial policy respecting religion. The state cult had to be accepted by all, whatever else they believed. The state cult was now a form of Christianity. Second, the state cult then and in following centuries was usually a pseudo-Christianity or a defective Christianity which was subservient to the State. The State was concerned with its own power and welfare, and hence usually protected the church group that best rendered primary allegiance to Caesar rather than to Christ. As a result, it is a mistake to speak of the persecution of Christianity as something which ended with Constantine; it continued through the centuries and is no less present today. We have seen the persecution of Athanasius; he was not alone in this respect by any means. The persecution of Christians under the now powerful Persian Empire was savage and intense. The Arian heretics persecuted and killed many Christians through their control of the state. Julian the Apostate killed orthodox leaders for their opposition to paganism. The barbarians

who divided the Roman Empire usually accepted Arianism and were hostile to orthodoxy. Each new power tended to see orthodoxy as an enemy of state.

Arianism spread northward throughout Europe and into Asia, and continued to be a major factor for a few centuries. It lingered as an influence in many areas. J. G. R. Forlong called Arius "the founder of Erastians, Socinians, Unitarians, and Rationalists," and declared that Arianism "attacked with great effect the foundations of ancient, medieval, and modern orthodoxy." Arius had been a bishop of Alexandria. The next great challenge to orthodoxy came from Pelagius (370-418), a Welshman.

Pelagius' real name was Morgan, which was latinized as Morgantoo Marigena, or "sea born," and was then turned into the Greek Pelagios, "Mariner." He may have retreated to Rome with the legions. An able preacher and teacher, he at first won the praise of his later enemy, Augustine, but Jerome early distrusted him.

The attempt to subvert the faith by an assault on the doctrine of Christ had been met at Chalcedon. There was now a clear-cut creedal statement by means of which the humblest orthodox believer could assess the statements of preachers. The assault now came through another channel, the doctrine of man. The orthodox doctrine of Christ could be true, but if man did not need to be saved because he could save himself, then Christ was irrelevant. Thus, without a word of dissent concerning the orthodox doctrine of Christ, it could be rendered null and void.

Again, the orthodox doctrine of God asserted His absolute liberty and governing power. According to Paul's plain statement and summary of the Biblical faith, God not only foreknew, but did also predestinate (Romans 8:29-30). The Greek idea of God was as a limiting concept; true freedom and predestinating (or planning) power belonged instead to man. Two ideas were thus in conflict: was man under God's plan and control, or was God under man's power and control? Could man's works save him? Could man's work bind and control God and

wrest from God not only the right to heaven, but also control over all being? The Gnostics and other heretics had very boldly decided in favor of man. They had done this by formulating a doctrine of God which made Him less than God, less, indeed, than man. This approach had been exposed by the orthodox fathers, and creedal barriers had been erected against it. The new approach was to leave the doctrine of God untouched and to use as a Trojan horse of entry into the camp of Christianity the doctrine of the freedom of man. Man was basically free, impeded in his freedom only by customs and dogmas, and on being enlightened was able to reveal the mighty powers God had given him; this was the new approach, the freedom and ability of enlightened man.

Pelagius accordingly declared, first, that Adam was created a mortal creature whose sin could not affect the rest of mankind. Men do not inherit a fallen nature from Adam, and sin has nothing to do with death. Second, Pelagius taught that all infants are born as innocent as Adam was created, are without original sin, and do not need baptism to remove it. If children show a propensity for sin, it is not nature but custom which is at work. Third, men could and did live sinless lives before and after Christ's coming. Fourth, the resurrection of Jesus Christ had nothing to do with the resurrection of mankind and had no connection with Adam's sin and fall. Fifth, the law could save men as easily as the gospel. Sixth, human nature itself could save men by guiding them into good thoughts and deeds. Seventh, man has free will, a free gift of God, who does not predestine men, but simply guides them into the right path. Eighth, this guidance is what constitutes the grace of God. These teachings had extensive sway, and Bishop Zosimus of Rome was among those who long supported them, although at length he gave way before the anti-Pelagian party, headed by Cyril of Alexandria and Augustine.

As against the Pelagian doctrine of the freedom of man and the power of enlightened man, Augustine asserted the Biblical doctrines of predestination and of God's grace and man's abso-

lute dependence upon God as the source of all good. Freedom, Augustine held, can be had by man only in Christ. The Christian alone is the free man, and his freedom is an act of grace. True freedom is God's alone: since God made all things, nothing exists of itself or has any power or attribute of itself. Man apart from God is thus in total bondage. He cannot be saved except by the sovereign act of God, and salvation is wholly and completely God's work. As he stated it in *On the Spirit and the Letter*, a man "cannot be said to have even that will with which he believes in God, without having received it." Did this deny freedom to man? "Do we then by grace make void free will? God forbid! Nay, rather we establish free will. For even as the law by faith, so free will by grace is not made void but established. For neither is the law fulfilled except by free will; but by the law is the knowledge of sin, by faith the acquisition of grace against sin, by grace the healing of the soul from the disease of sin, by health of the soul freedom of will, by free will the love of righteousness, by love of righteousness the accomplishment of the law. Accordingly, as the law is not made void, but is established through faith, since faith procures grace whereby the law is fulfilled, so free will is not made void through grace, but is established, since grace cures the will whereby righteousness is freely loved." In other words, the very ground of man's freedom is the predestination of God. This stand, so powerfully stated by Augustine, was later developed by Luther against Erasmus, and by Calvin against Pighius.

The pagan and classical belief in man's freedom left man facing the world without God and with only his free will. Very quickly it was seen that environment can limit man's freedom; then heredity became a factor. An important part of the limiting environment was the cosmos, the stars and the heavenly bodies. Man's freedom quickly disappeared before all these conditioning and ruling forces, and man's hope came to rest in "luck." The Christian doctrine of predestination gave man a new birth of freedom. In the words of C. N. Cochrane, "with the disappearance from

Christian thought of the classical antithesis between 'man' and the 'environment,' there disappears also the possibility of such a conflict. The destiny of man is, indeed, determined, but neither by a soulless mechanism nor by the *fiat* of an arbitrary or capricious power external to himself. For the laws which govern physical, like those which govern human nature are equally the laws of God." The answer of Augustine was in essence this: God made man, and man is nothing apart from God. How can man claim a freedom apart from God, or powers apart from God? Is this not a form of practical atheism? Augustine later wrote in his *Retractions*, "I defend grace, not indeed as in opposition to nature, but as that which liberates and controls nature." There is no freedom apart from the grace of God. Pelagius to the contrary, man is a sinner, fallen in Adam, born to sin and death, born only to freedom, life, and righteousness by the grace of God through Jesus Christ. In one of his last works, *On the Predestination of the Saints*, Augustine admitted that, in pride, he had long rebelled against the doctrine of predestination or grace, but had steadily come to see its glorious meaning.

Another important work of Augustine's, *The City of God*, was prompted in part by the fall of Rome. Two cities underlie all history, the City of God and the City of Man, or of the World. These two cities, often mixed, are still in perpetual conflict. For Augustine, the State of his day was the City of this World. The citizens of the City of Man seek their own happiness in terms of man's freedom and independence from God. The citizen's of God's Kingdom live by faith. They shall triumph in time and in eternity, whereas the earthly city shall inherit misery and damnation.

Augustinianism triumphed for a time, but Semi-Pelagianism, the doctrines of Pelagius adapted to conform with church rites, quickly triumphed in the Eastern or Greek churches and was then adopted by the Latin church. The Semi-Pelagian anthropology, or doctrine of man, governed most medieval thinkers and was only overthrown with the Reformation. Pelagian tendencies quickly

reappeared in Protestant liberalism, Arminianism, latitudinarianism, and modernism, as well as in neo-orthodoxy.

By concentrating on certain key issues, we have passed over many controversies of importance, as well as major Christian figures, like John Chrysostom, Ambrose, and many others.

One movement, however, must be mentioned briefly: asceticism, with its results in the monastic movement. Asceticism was already a factor in pagan society, and the corruption of Rome stimulated pagan, ascetic revulsion to the reigning decadence. Asceticism also entered the church. Asceticism is a word coming from the Greek for “training,” and it means a training for the truly spiritual life. True asceticism is always pagan in origin, in that it implies a contempt for the flesh, which is anti-Biblical; its origins are either dualism or monism, never Christian theism.

Dualistic asceticism believes that two conflicting worlds exist, the evil world of matter and the good world of spirit, whereas the Biblical view is that both matter and spirit were created good by God, are both equally in the fall, and are both redeemed by God and are areas of sanctification. The Christian is called to sanctify matter together with spirit rather than to deny it. Dualistic asceticism sees matter as evil; salvation lies in avoiding matter in favor of spirit. This avoidance is the training or ascetic discipline which saves man. Thus, ascetic avoidance of matter, and not Jesus Christ, constitutes salvation.

Monistic asceticism holds that all being is one, and that everything is more or less divine or part of God. Everything is a part of the great ladder or chain of being. Spirit, however, has more substantiality of being than matter does, so that man, to grow in his divinity, which is his salvation, must forsake the weak being of matter for the stronger being of spirit. By this ascetic, mysti-

cal route he grows stronger and stronger in his own divinity or salvation.

Asceticism, however well-intended by misguided believers, was an implicitly anti-Christian movement. It made the monastic clergy the “holier” and more important clergy than the married rectors of parishes. In the Middle Ages, it gradually forced celibacy onto the parish clergy. However, soon thereafter the power of the monastic clergy began to wane in the Latin church, and the “secular clergy” became dominant.

The early church confronted a great and powerful empire, Rome, as an apparently weak and hopeless cause. During at least the New Testament era, there is no record of even a church building. Persecutions regularly killed off its leadership and many of its members. It was a war unto death, and the enemy held the sword. Logically, the church had no chance of surviving. It was beset by enemies without and infiltrated by heretics, the enemy within. But Rome fell, and the church triumphed; for the church, however frail and faulty in its earthly appearance, was also something more: it was the body of Jesus Christ, who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. How would a Monarchianist define Christ? What are some of the theological and practical implications of Unitarianism?

2. Nero accused Christians of causing every sort of “disaster and natural calamity” that occurred. While Nero was obviously looking for a scapegoat, is this accusation ever true? How does God deal with His people’s enemies? (Think covenant obedience/disobedience and natural disasters as judgment.)

Lesson Sixteen

Chapter #11

Byzantium, the Eastern Roman Empire

When the city of Rome fell, not all of Rome fell; the Eastern Roman Empire continued, not merely as a remnant of the old Rome, but as its important fulfillment. The idea of Rome gained a new lease on life by using Christianity, and its long history is a very important one. Because the men of the Enlightenment hated even the compromising Christianity of Byzantium, they created the myth of a stagnant and unimportant Eastern Roman Empire. Gibbon and others obscured and distorted history in their accounts. Byzantium, or the Eastern Roman Empire, had an 1100 year history, a continuous history that alone marks it as a central factor in world history. Its influence on Western Europe was very great: Byzantine styles in art prevailed into the late Middle Ages. In architecture, government, commerce, and many other areas, Byzantium was long a decisive influence.

In its days before Constantine, Rome had attempted to fuse Greek culture with the Roman idea of the state. This fusion was achieved in Byzantium with a third factor added: the Christian faith. The Roman Empire had two descendants: first, in unbroken line, Byzantium; and, second, in later times, the Roman papacy. In Byzantium, the fusion of these three factors was brought to perfection. Greek ideas of unity and the state were brought to their logical conclusion in the state and emperor. The Roman concept of empire was made a Christian goal. The sacraments of the Eastern Church were Hellenized

and were called *Mysterics*. The Roman emperor, the political messiah, was seen as the representative on earth of the Christian Messiah, Jesus Christ. The milestones in Constantine's day read, "One God, One Constantine." The Western or Latin church, reviving the Roman idea, was later to hold that the church was a continuation of the incarnation and the papacy, the representative and infallible voice of Christ. The ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire was Christ, "Christos Basileus," and the emperor was the representative of Christ. The emperor's palace was thus a religious center, and his throne was located in an apse. The very palace porter was ordained a priest. When the emperor ate, his meals were echoes of the Last Supper and were sacred rituals. His power, like that of the later Western papacy, was regarded as being "ecumenical": it did not stop at the borders of the church, but was universal, because he represented the universal Christ.

Because the emperor represented Christ, the foundation of the empire was imperial grace. There was no standing or position apart from this. As a result, Byzantium was an authoritarian democracy. There was no class prejudice; anyone who had ability, or who pleased the emperor, could advance to high office. The empress, or basilissa, could be of humble birth and means also. Status came not from the person, but from the emperor. There was also extensive equality between the sexes. This equality came from the idea that the only ground of status was relation-

ship to the holy empire and Christ's representative, the emperor. The ugly side of this fact was that any crime against emperor and empire was a sacrilegious offense savagely and fearfully punished, often in ways staggering to the stomach and the imagination. Thus, Byzantium was a city filled with hospitals, old people's homes, and charitable institutions, but it was also a city where one could commonly see fearful tortures and executions inflicted on those who were offenders.

Byzantium also had an unusual civil service, in that its civil servants, including even high military figures and churchmen, were eunuchs. By this means, their loyalty to the state and the emperor, rather than to their family, was ensured. These officials were called "angels" because of their closeness to the throne of Christ, and because they were said to be like the angels, in that they could neither marry nor be given in marriage.

The exalted position of the emperor represented a long Roman history. The Oriental concept of the divine sonship of the ruler, the Greek deification of man, and the Roman deification of the office, had combined by the third century to produce the Roman concept of the divine emperor. To this was added the Christian messianic faith. The emperor now represented Christ and was the earthly head of Christ's kingdom.

Constantine had tried to unite the church under the empire. He had also tried to unite paganism with Christianity, not directly, but by vague, common agreement. Thus, when he ordered confiscated properties to be restored to the Christians, the stated purpose was to make "the deity in the throne of heaven" favorable to the empire. "The deity in the throne of heaven" was a vague and ambiguous expression which could mean either Christ or the sun-god. Again, when he ordered "the venerable sun-day" to be observed by all soldiers, it was left indefinite whether he had in mind the Christian Lord's Day or the Mithraistic faith so popular with the troops. Whatever Constantine's personal Christian adherence, his primary concern was the

unity and the welfare of the empire. The church was so grateful to see an emperor espouse the Christian cause that it failed to see at the Council of Nicea that the emperor had simply usurped the right to summon church councils. Constantine assumed the same rights over the church which he had over the Senate. Until the fall of Byzantium, the Eastern emperors assumed this same right; no decision of any council of the church was valid without their approval. In the West, the church, in Gregory VII's day, assumed this same right to summon councils by means of the Forged Donation of Constantine. According to the Forged Donation, which played an important part in Western history for seven hundred years and has its effects continuing today, Constantine left to Pope Sylvester and his successors his "imperial Lateran palace...and likewise all provinces, palaces, and districts of the city of Rome and Italy and all the regions of the West." It was thus as Roman earthly lords that the papacy later summoned councils; they accepted the Roman imperial idea and merely transferred it from the emperor to the pope. Constantine was *pontifex maximus*, the supreme pontiff over Rome's religions, a title that remained until Justinian. In the West, after Gregory VII, the papacy assumed the same powers, and each pope has been *pontifex maximus*. In Christian Russia, until 1917 the tsar exercised a similar power over the church, and, in the Reformation, wherever the settlement of religion was left to the prince or king, the same idea still lingered. Constantine thus took a step of major importance in usurping power over the church.

Technically, the church retained "religious freedom," provided it recognized the right of the state to govern the church and to assume the superior position. But it was precisely this which the church had fought in pagan Rome. The Christians were never asked to worship Rome's pagan gods; they were merely asked to recognize the religious primacy of the state. As Francis Legge wrote, "The officials of the Roman Empire in the time of persecution sought to force the Christians to sacrifice, not to any heathen gods,

but to the Genius of the Emperor and the Fortune of the City of Rome; and at all times the Christians' refusal was looked upon not as a religious but as a political offense." The issue was this: should the emperor's law, state law, govern both the state and the church, or were both state and church, emperor and bishop, alike under God's law? The orthodox Christians, before and after Constantine, insisted on the supremacy of Christ and Scripture over empire and church, and they did not hesitate to rebuke emperors and bishops who disagreed. The Church for them was free from the State, and both church and state were under God. The religious freedom which pagan and ostensibly Christian Rome granted was very much like the religious freedom of the modern era, freedom of worship, but not freedom from the state. Satan had promised Christ "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them," on one condition, "if thou wilt fall down and worship me" (Matt. 4:8-9); that is, if he would recognize the rightness of Satan's position and Satan's supremacy. The emperors and the modern states offer religious liberty, limited to freedom of worship only, on the same terms. The early church, whatever its other faults, would not have recognized the modern situation as religious liberty.

When Constantine died, commemorative coins showed him ascending to heaven in the sun-god's chariot, and he was described as "Constantine Helius Christus."

Constantine created a new world center, the second Rome, Constantinople, which grew to a population of 600,000, while old Rome declined to perhaps 40-60,000. He established a sound gold and silver currency which lasted for a thousand years. He created a kind of socialistic state that was strengthened by both sound money and by Christianity, which enabled it to survive its obvious defects.

When the barbarians overran the Western Empire they invaded the Eastern Empire also. Very early the barbarians defeated but did not overthrow the Eastern Empire, Valens losing both the battle and his life in 378 near Adriano-

ple. The Eastern Empire, especially under Theodosius the Great in 379-385, followed a policy of appeasement and assimilation. Because it was a vital and basically healthy social order, it was able to absorb the Teutons, enlist them into the army, and give them a place in civil life. The inducement to the Teutons for a peaceful settlement was a tax-free status. Theodosius was the emperor whom Ambrose of Milan repeatedly humbled. The concepts of church and state inaugurated by Constantine did not take a hardened form until much later. Ambrose was able successfully to demand penance of the emperor, and he secured a strongly anti-pagan policy. This event was a forerunner of Canossa, 1077, when Pope Gregory VII compelled Henry IV to do penance.

Very early, the churches in the Byzantine Empire divided into two hostile camps. The Eastern or Greek Orthodox, centered in Constantinople, remained formally faithful to orthodoxy, whereas Egyptian, Syrian, and other churches followed the Alexandrian Monophysite Church, which held to only one, divine nature in Christ. Later Byzantine emperors, while formally orthodox, often leaned towards the Monophysite position.

The law of the empire was codified under Justinian the Great 527-565. The Justinian revision was in the form of a Codex and Digest. The Digest was in seven parts, a sacred number, to indicate its universal and perfect nature as law. Justinian's law was in large measure Biblical as well as Roman, and its influence was very great.

Justinian reestablished Roman power over North Africa, Italy, and parts of Spain, and made the Mediterranean again a Roman lake. Under his orders, extensive construction made the capital more magnificent, and Saint Sophia, the Church of the Holy Wisdom, the greatest church in Christendom, was built.

Justinian's wife, Theodora, may, as a Monophysite, have protected her fellow believers. However, she may have been friendly to them only as a part of imperial policy to keep both sides happy and unite the empire. Justinian himself found that position unconvincing. However,

Justinian felt that he, and not the Church, had the right and power to define orthodoxy. When the Bishop of Rome, Virgilius (538-555), ventured to regard himself as the defendant and guardian of orthodoxy, Justinian imprisoned him at Constantinople. During his long imprisonment, Pope Virgilius first obeyed Theodora's wishes and then Justinian's. Justinian tried to find a formula pleasing to both the orthodox and the Monophysites without formally departing from the Definition of Chalcedon. He wandered into heresy, and died regarded by his subjects as a heretic for his Aphotartocathartic beliefs. The Aphotartocardocites were a branch of the Emythians of the Constantinople variety, which was half Arian and half Eunomian.

In assessing the reign of Justinian, it is well to note that his extensive programs were a tremendous financial drain on the empire and were possible only because the undistinguished Anastasius I (491-518), whom Edward Gibbon only referred to in passing and with contempt, practiced economy during his twenty-seven year rule. Justinian had to resort to extortionary methods and taxes to maintain his program. At one time, angry and rioting mobs burned down much of the city in protest against the king's policies, and the emperor's power was nearly overthrown. Justinian had no conception of a good fiscal policy and did much damage to the empire. He did, however, revive Roman civilization in the West by his conquests, so that the barbarian kingdoms themselves were affected by the authority of Roman culture. His codification of the law was to carry on this influence when the imperial power waned, and natural law was introduced into Western civilization as an ostensible ally but actual enemy and rival of God's revealed law. Natural law became the means within the Church of supplanting the authority of Scripture and, in the State, the means of replacing God's revealed law with "natural" statist law. During the reign of Justinian, although he himself was Latin-speaking and the Code was issued in Latin, the change to the Greek language in the Eastern Empire began to take place.

Justinian was succeeded by his nephew, the weak Justin II, under whom the Empire declined. The Lombards invaded Italy, the Avars began to move against the northern frontier, and, on the east, the Persian Wars had disastrous results. Justin adopted Tiberius, a general, as his son and successor. Tiberius, ruling from 573 to 582, adopted a new policy. Instead of attempting to maintain the entire empire as Justinian had done by recapturing the west, he concentrated on the Eastern Empire. Italy above Ravenna was abandoned. His son-in-law, Maurice (582-602), made this policy effective in saving the empire and, by rigid economy, retained financial stability. But the army, angered by a reduction in pay, revolted and named its general, Phocas (602-610), emperor, only to have a nightmare of corruption and tyranny follow. The empire was saved by Heraclius (610-641), who seized power and destroyed the Persian threat and the Avar advance. Heraclius then met reverses as the new Mohammedan movement began to expand. Syria and Egypt were conquered by the Arabs, and the library of Alexandria was burned. The ten years after Heraclius' death were stormy ones which almost saw the empire extinguished. The empire struggled along for some years, until it was again faced with the Arab menace; the great general, Leo the Isaurian, took over the empire as Leo III (717-741). Leo III saved the capital in time of siege, beat back the Arabs, and re-organized imperial government. Leo was born at Germanica, in Armenia Minor, and was called an Isaurian, although his national origin is unknown. He began his military life on the Lazian frontier and rose to become the greatest general of his day, and then became emperor as well. He defeated the Saracen Sidal-Battal, the great Moslem hero who lost his life in the battle. Many of the stories and romances concerning the Sid were three hundred years later attached to the Cid of Spain. Leo III greatly centralized the administration, a step which added both to his power and to government efficiency. He became the superintendent of the treasury, as were all successive emperors, a move whereby Leo was able to pre-

vent power from gravitating into other hands.

Leo, however, is best remembered as the emperor who began the great Iconoclastic struggle. According to the historians of the Enlightenment, Leo's war against the images of the church was a war against superstition and monasticism in the name of a pure and true religion. It was a war, supposedly, of reason against faith. Actually, the issue was emperor worship against Christ worship, a continuation of the old Roman conflict. In the words of Gerhart B. Ladner, "the truth is that iconoclasm was from its beginning an attack upon the visible representation of the *Civitas Dei* on this earth." It was now a question as to whose icons would be permitted, those of the "supernatural government of Christ" or those of the "imperial natural world." Leo wrote bluntly to Pope Gregory II, "I am King and Priest," asserting his right to sovereignty over the church as Christ's true representative. The omnipotence of the state was thus the issue, and the Eastern Church, as well as those areas of the Latin Church under Leo, resisted.

A long struggle ensued, from 716 under Leo to 867 under Michael III. This period is one of the central ones in Byzantine history, religiously and politically. It began with Leo saving the empire from the Saracens. It also embraces, in the words of George Finlay, "a long and violent struggle between the government and the people, the emperors seeking to increase the central power by annihilating every local franchise and even the right of private opinion among their subjects." The Iconoclastic controversy was the key to this demand for greater power; it represented a demand for total control. Previously, the emperor's image had been venerated in all the empire, even prior to Rome's fall. It was used in religious processions and hailed with the cry, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." Even Ambrose had agreed to this, and Pope Gregory I had placed the images of the sinful Phocas in the Lateran. Statues of Constantine were adored and received sacrifices, candles, incense, and prostration. The veneration of images by Christians began in the fifth century

and had its origin in pagan Roman emperor worship. That which the early church had bitterly opposed, the imperial church in the East and in the West now adopted. It was held that the incarnation of Christ could continue, not only in the church but in images, an idea derived from pagan naturalism and neo-Platonism. Christians had earlier died to oppose this faith; they had refused to offer incense before the emperor's image and had denied the validity of images. Now they resisted only when the emperor tried to destroy all church images in favor of the exclusive use of imperial images. Religious liberty had earlier been reduced to freedom of worship; now worship itself was to be controlled.

As is to be expected, the Byzantine emperors had a long history of hostility to Chalcedon, once they understood its implications. They upheld or favored such heresies as Arianism, Nestorianism, Monophysitism, and Monotheletism wherever they could. They recognized, in Ladner's words, that "narrowing the extension of Christ's government in the natural world widened the extension of the emperor's rulership."

Leo was succeeded by his son Constantine V, 741-773, called Copronymus, who had been married in 733 to Irene, daughter of the Khan of the Khazars. Khazaria was a Turko-Finnish kingdom in what is now Southern Russia. In Leo III's day, the Khazars adopted Judaism as the state religion in preference to Christianity or Mohammedanism. This marriage strengthened the Isaurian antipathy to orthodox Christianity. Constantine tortured the image-worshippers who had come to identify the faith with image worship. He would not even allow the apostles the title of "Saint." For a time, Constantine's power had been limited by his sister Anna's husband, Artavasdus, an Armenian nobleman who reigned briefly as a rival emperor, heading an orthodox revolt, but Constantine triumphed and continued his ruthless policy of imperial consolidation and iconoclasm. Constantine V had himself styled the Thirteenth Apostle by a subservient church synod. A savage persecution of the orthodox believers followed, accompanied by the

destruction of icons, few of which survive from the period prior to Constantine. To these horrors was added pestilence, a plague covering the Mediterranean world. The number who died was so great that ordinary means of handling burials broke down, and rich and poor were loaded into carts and dumped into trenches. The plague lasted a year, wiping out entire families and leaving many houses vacant.

Constantine was succeeded by his son Leo IV, called the Khazar (775-780). His reign was brief but in accord with his father's policies. His son, Constantine VI (Porphyrogenitus), 780-797, took the throne at the age of ten. His mother, also named Irene as was his grandmother, was an Athenian and favored image-worship. Irene was able to save the throne for her son from his uncles. She used her power to turn the tide for a time against the iconoclasts. A second Council of Nicea was called, and it approved of image-worship as an orthodox practice. The Pope, Adrian I, adopted its decrees, but not officially, hoping to get the restoration of certain estates from Irene. Charlemagne, however, opposed the image-worshippers while only mildly blaming the iconoclasts for misguided zeal. In 794, Charlemagne called a council of three hundred bishops at Frankfort to discuss the subject, concluding that church pictures should be respected but not worshipped. Irene was eventually overthrown, and her son came to power, but his stupidity and vengefulness only ruined his standing. In 797, Irene had her now unpopular son seized and blinded and became empress, 797-802. As empress, she no longer exercised the power she had used when regent, but simply turned it over to seven eunuchs. The treasurer, Nicephorus I (802-811), seized the imperial power, exiling Irene. The Eastern or Greek Church canonized Irene for her role in the Iconoclastic struggle. In spite of all the abuses of this era, nowhere else in the Christian world was there social stability and justice comparable to that of the Eastern Empire.

Nicephorus was a descendent of an important Arabian family of royal blood which had broken with Islam on being humbled by the Caliph

Omar for striking an Arab in Mecca and knocking out his teeth. For this his ancestor had renounced Islam and fled to Constantinople. Nicephorus had the historian Nicephoros made a monk and then Patriarch of the Eastern Church in order to further his measures for securing the supremacy of the state over the church, but Nicephoros as Patriarch was a staunch foe of iconoclasm. Since the monks were his primary enemies, Nicephorus had the two abbots, Theodore Studita and Plato, banished and deposed. Theodore was ready to defend images by holding that there is not only something divine in the image, but also in the artist. The artist pours forth his divinity, derived from his creation in the image of God, just as God also poured out His divinity into His creation. This was, of course, a non-Biblical and thoroughly Greek idea of God and creation. Theodore was on surer ground in asserting that the emperor's sphere was the state, not the church. The emperor as a Christian belongs to the church, and in matters of faith and church government is under it, he told the emperor. Theodore told the monks that they were bound "to obey the emperor rather than Christ" only if they considered themselves the emperor's monks rather than Christ's. In answer to the question, "What are we?" Theodore declared, "In the first place, you are Christians, who in every way are bound to speak now; then monks, who, loosed from the ties of the world, are not to suffer yourselves to be determined by any outward considerations." The Patriarch, Nicephoros, proved to be a strong ally to Theodore.

Michael I (Rangabe) succeeded Stauracius, Nicephorus' son, who reigned only briefly in 811 before his brother-in-law Michael was asked to take the crown from his dying grasp. Before being crowned, Michael (811-813) was required by Patriarch Nicephoros to sign a declaration promising to defend the church, protect the clergy, and never to put the orthodox to death. Michael earned the dislike of the people for his weakness as a man in relation to his wife Procopia, for persecuting the Iconoclasts, and for considering the death of the Paulicians and the

Agithans, two heretical groups. He was also disliked for his inability to prosecute the war against Krumm, ruler of the Bulgars, against whom Nicephorus had fought and died and from whom Stauracius had received his mortal wound. The troops made a general, Leo V the Armenian (813-820), emperor, and Michael was compelled to become a monk for the remaining thirty-two years of his life. Leo, who was disinterested in religious issues, had been elevated by the Iconoclasts, and he decided to support his friends. The army was strongly Iconoclastic. Leo's moderate policy earned him the name of Chameleon. He refused to make martyrs of the image-worshippers in an era when both parties wanted blood. His closest military associate, Michael, a Phrygian from Amoriura, organized a plot against Leo, but when he was caught and tried, Michael's life was spared at the behest of Leo's wife, the Empress Theodosia. Michael, from prison, planned Leo's death, and Leo was killed in church on Christmas Day, 820, weaponless and alone. He grasped a heavy cross and kept his enemies at bay for a moment, asking for mercy. The reply was, "This is the hour not of mercy, but of vengeance," and he was killed at the foot of altar.

Michael then went from prison to the throne as Michael II (820-829), called the Stammerer. Michael attempted to be friendly to the image-worshippers while retaining the iconoclastic legislation. Michael secured the support of Emperor Louis I, the Pious, Holy Roman Emperor in the West, against images, and a synod met in Paris to condemn images even as the Council of Frankfurt had done earlier. Michael lost both Crete and Sicily during his inept reign.

His son, Theophilus (829-842), came to power trained for the position. His perspective, however, was the perspective of central power. He recognized that the empire was ailing and that the people were suffering at the hands of the central government. His answer was not less government, but more efficient government. His absurd ideas of strict justice led him to demand the death of the murderers of Leo V, which was done, but he made no move to renounce his

throne, the fruit of that murder. Theophilus' marriage is worthy of mention. Single when he came to the throne, he asked his stepmother, Euphrosyne (daughter of Constantine VI), to arrange a display of girls for him to choose from. The most beautiful and able virgins of Constantinople were presented to Theophilus in Euphrosyne's apartments. He entered the room with a golden apple in his hand for the winner. He went to the beautiful and brilliant Eikasia and declared, by way of opening the conversation, "Woman is the source of evil." Eikasia (or Ikasia) answered, "And surely, sir, they have likewise been the occasion of much good." Disgusted at being bested and corrected, Theophilus turned away, saw Theodora shyly looking down at the floor, and handed her the golden apple without risking another word. Eikasia, who had come so close to being an empress, was left deeply distressed; she founded a religious house, retired into it for the rest of her life, and gained distinction as a hymn writer. Some of her hymns continued to be used in the Greek for centuries.

Theophilus intensified the war against images. However, the empire was now changing. Prosperity had strengthened certain classes and weakened the proportionate power of the army, which was long the source of the emperor cult and of Iconoclasm. The army had long been made up extensively of foreign and non-Christian mercenaries whose position often was either heretical or anti-Christian and whose loyalty was to the emperor, their commander-in-chief. The Iconoclastic position exalted the emperor above God, Christ, and law and believed in total and naked power, a belief which made sense to the army men. The great development of industry and trade, with a corresponding increase in imperial revenues, shifted power away from the army without giving the victory to the monks and the image-worshippers. The army continued to be a source of trouble under John I (969-976) and Basil II (976-1025) because army leaders had come to be drawn from powerful members of the ambitious landed aristocracy. But the major social initiative still lay elsewhere. Changing con-

ditions, rather than a change of political faith, were soon to end the Iconoclastic controversy.

Theophilus died in 842, and his son Michael III (842-867) took the throne at a little more than three or four years of age. Theodora, his mother, as regent, terminated Iconoclastic controversy. Her assistants in the regency were Theoktistos, Manuel her uncle, and Bardas her brother. Theoktistos and Manuel were, like Theodora, zealous image worshippers. On February 19, 842, images were triumphantly restored to the head church in Constantinople, and the day came to be celebrated as the Feast of Orthodoxy. The administration of the regency was an able one, and, what is more, Theodora made no attempt to retain power, even though her son's incompetence and immorality were early apparent. Michael III came to be known as The Drunkard. His immorality was notorious and, even worse, his mockery of Christianity was sacrilegious. Byzantium had reached a point where the religious zeal of both image-worshippers and iconoclasts was out of date. Even Theodora seemed increasingly indifferent to the life her son lived. Prosperity was more important to most than either the religion of the emperor cult or the religion of Jesus Christ. Technically, the image-worshippers won; practically, the state won, because religion was less important to most citizens, and economic well-being was a concern of the state and hence furthered the centrality of the state.

The Iconoclastic period was followed by a period of rule under the Macedonian dynasty, founded by Basil I, the Slavonian or Macedonian, who may have been an Armenian. Basil had attracted the attention of Michael the Drunkard while still a stable-boy; he became a companion and was finally made lord chamberlain. Basil had been ordered to divorce his wife and to marry Michael's long-time mistress Eudocia Ingerina, and he had been forced to share in Michael's degeneracy. However, when Michael made Basil joint emperor with him, Basil immediately reformed his conduct and began an able administration. Michael's reaction was to plan Basil's removal and to appoint a third emperor,

Basiliskian. It quickly became apparent that either Basil must kill Michael, or else he himself would be killed, and Basil acted first.

As we have seen, in an earlier period Latin was replaced by Greek as the language of the Eastern Roman Empire, but the Byzantines were no more Greeks than they were Romans. The imperial line included not only Romans and Greeks, but also very many Armenians, Phrygians (the Amorian dynasty of Michael II), two of Arabian descent (Nicephorus I and his son), and various Asiatics; this revealed that the empire was not a national state with foreign possessions but a fusion of Christian and Roman elements to further an idea of world order. As a result, it was a Roman state formally dedicated to orthodox Christianity, without any nationalistic limitations since its scope was international. Its money was the basic currency of world trade, and the empire was the best market for the world's goods. Whatever its other defects of government, the hard, sound money of Byzantium made it the monetary and commercial center of the world. Morally, Byzantium was superior to the world of Islam, with all of its morally legitimized licentiousness, and to the Frankish empire of Western Europe. Old Rome had usually been guilty of debasing its currency; the Second Rome was careful to avoid this evil.

Old Rome had failed in its agricultural policies and had crushed the small farmer. The Second Rome was aware of this danger. The Macedonian Dynasty, founded by Basil I, ruled from 867 to 1057, a major era of Byzantine history, a time of stability and great prosperity. The socialistic controls and regulations on farmers were not removed, but they were sufficiently checked by counter measures to make it possible for agriculture to flourish. Two imperial comments from the tenth century indicate the concern of the civil government: "Two things are essential to the State, agriculture which feeds the soldiers, and the art of war, which protects the farmers. All other professions are inferior to these." "The great number of peasants is a sign that public needs are being met, through payment of taxes

and the fulfillment of military duties; both of these would fail were the rural population to disappear." By 1025, when Basil II died, the power of the large landowners had been set back, the empire had doubled its territory, and the treasury had a good surplus in gold.

Basil I began life as an infant prisoner of King Krumm, when that monarch invaded the empire and took whole families captive. As a youth, Basil had gone to Constantinople as a poor man in search of work. Hired as a groom, he came, after a couple of changes, to work for the Emperor Michael, and ended becoming emperor himself. Basil proved to be an able monarch. He avoided over-governing and over-taxing, and left this as a policy to his dynasty. Thus, while his dynasty at its best lacked the brilliance and ability of some of the Iconoclastic emperors, they produced a stronger empire by their sometimes cautious and usually indifferent use of power. Basil's was the longest dynasty to rule in Byzantium, and its era was the period of Byzantine greatness. Basil began a war against the Paulicians, a dualistic group masquerading as Christians. The Paulicians had established a small country with a capital at Tephrike and were both trying to divert Christians from their faith and waging military war against them. The source of Paulician support was plunder. This pirate state was destroyed, but the cult succeeded in carrying its continuing program of anti-Christianity into Europe.

Basil I, like all men, was not without his faults, but his character was notable for humility and gratitude. On his coronation he knelt, after the conclusion, at the high altar and cried out, "Lord, thou has given me the crown; I deposit it at thy feet, and dedicate myself to thy service." He later constructed a magnificent church as an expiation for the murder of Michael III.

The dynasty was not lacking in weak characters, and co-emperors were at times the moving powers in this era as in others. Basil II thus had, during his reign (963-1025), two co-emperors, Nicephorus II (Phocas, 963-969) and John I (Tzimiscas, 969-976), in this case as regents for the young emperor. The reign of the cruel but

able Basil II marked the high point of Byzantine power and opulence. It was during this period and earlier that Liudprand, Bishop of Cremona (c. 920-972) made his journeys to Constantinople. Liudprand was a vivid although prejudiced writer. His works present a vivid picture of both East and West. In his *Chronicle of Otto's Reign* he deals with the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I (936-973), with respect to the events of 960-964, events to which he was an eyewitness. Liudprand described Emperor Otto as one who "knows, works and loves the things of God," but spoke of Pope John XII (955-963) as an "enemy of all these things." Declared Liudprand of John:

...the palace of the Lateran, that once sheltered saints and is now a harlot's brother, will never forget his union with his father's wench, the sister of the other concubine Stephania. Witness again the absence of all women here save Romans: they fear to come and pray at the thresholds of the holy apostles, for they have heard how John a little time ago took women pilgrims by force to his bed, wives, widows, and virgins alike. Witness the churches of the holy apostles, whose roof lets the rain in upon the sacrosanct altar, and that not in drops but in sheets.

Pope John was later given a fatal beating by an outraged husband. Liudprand was one of the first in a long line of Western historians who are hostile to Byzantium. In *The Embassy to Constantinople*, Liudprand, who had written of the realities of the papacy at home, could tell his Byzantine hosts, "All the heresies have emanated from you and among you have flourished; by our western people they have been either strangled or killed." Liudprand accused the Eastern emperor of drinking "bath water," his term for their kind of wine! In his *Antapodosis* (Tit-for-Tat) he described a visit to the imperial court:

Before the emperor's seat stood a tree, made of gilded bronze, whose branches were filled with birds, also made of gilded bronze, which uttered different cries, each according to its varying species. The throne itself was so marvelously fashioned that at one moment it seemed a low

structure, and at another it rose high into the air. It was of immense size and was guarded by lions, made either of bronze or of wood covered over with gold, who beat the ground with their tails and gave a dreadful roar with open mouths and quivering tongue. Leaning upon the shoulders of two eunuchs I was brought into the emperor's presence. At my approach the lions began to roar and the birds to cry out, each according to its kind; but I was neither terrified nor surprised, for I had previously made enquiry about all these things from people who were well acquainted with them. So after I had three times made obeisance to the emperor with my face upon the ground, I lifted my head, and behold! the man whom just before I had seen sitting on a moderately elevated seat had now changed his raiment and was sitting on the level of the ceiling. How it was done I could not imagine, unless perhaps he was lifted up by some such sort of device as we use for raising the timbers of a wine press.

This incident reveals not only the Byzantine love of splendor, but also their inventiveness. Little attention has been given to the mechanical skill and ingenuity of the Byzantines; too many of their attainments have been credited to other peoples.

The penultimate period of Byzantine history followed the end of the Basilian or Macedonian Dynasty. It began with the accession of Isaac I (1057-1059) of the Comnenus family and ended with the conquest of Byzantium in 1204 by the Crusaders. The Comneni did much to restore the empire's power, which had declined after Basil II. The Byzantine Empire was not only the center of world culture and finance, but was also both the defender of Western civilization against every new wave of barbarians and the educator and civilizer of those barbarians. Not only were the various Asiatic invaders stopped, but the great power of Islam was also kept at bay. The one continuing thousand-year-long Crusade in defense of Christianity and the West was maintained by Byzantium. When the Crusades were proclaimed in Western Europe by Pope Urban II, in 1095 at the Council of Clermont, the Crusaders were often as much drawn to the East by the prospect

of preying on the rich Eastern Empire as by the desire to free the Holy Land from Moslems. Peter the Hermit, in rousing Europe to the Crusade with his preaching, was guilty of talking like a Moslem, in that he promised instant entry into Heaven to those who lost their lives: "Those who die will enter the mansions of heaven." Gibbon was no doubt too severe, but there was a measure of truth in his harsh sentence, "The promiscuous multitudes of Peter the Hermit were savage beasts, alike destitute of humanity and reason." No doubt, many Byzantines would have agreed. The Emperor Alexius I (1081-1118) Comnenus had to buy off the Crusaders and pay them to wage war against the Moslems. Some land was recaptured by Byzantium, but the cost to the empire was a fearful one. First, because the Crusaders were such a monetary drain, Alexius became financially pinched and tampered slightly with the currency. The effect was deadly. For seven hundred years, through all kinds of crises, the coinage of Byzantium had been absolutely trustworthy and had been the reliable medium of international exchange. That position was shattered, and Constantinople lost its position as the financial center of the world. Second, the Crusades opened a new trade route, directly from Syria to the West, and the role of Byzantium as the great commercial clearing house was diminished. Venice and other states would increasingly handle the East-West trade. Byzantium made many gains in the following years, as under Alexius' son, John II (1118-1143, Calus), but power was moving away from Byzantium.

The critical damage was done by a later Crusade, which the Venetians diverted against Byzantium. In 1204, the Crusaders took Constantinople, and, beginning with Baldwin I (1204-1205), established a "Latin" or Western Dynasty from 1204 to 1261. In taking Constantinople, they sacked it. The treasures, books, works of art, and centuries-old and priceless objects were seized, dispersed, used, and destroyed. These Western rulers were, moreover, incompetent, having no knowledge of how to govern an empire. In their better than half a cen-

tury of rule, they destroyed the great role of the empire as the defender of the West and the storehouse of culture. On taking Constantinople, no property rights of its citizens were recognized: everything belonged to the Crusaders for unrestricted pillage. The Crusaders were forbidden by their commander to rape the women, but Pope Innocent III accused them of not even respecting the nuns in their lust. The churches were looted and defiled by these defenders of the faith, and a prostitute was seated on the throne of the Patriarch of the Eastern Church to sing, dance, and ridicule the hymns of that church. The very graves of past emperors, including Justinian, were opened and robbed. Libraries were burned, and extensive portions of the city went up in smoke. Steven Runciman has said, "It is hard to exaggerate the harm done to European civilization by the sack of Constantinople...The conquest of the Ottoman was made possible by the Crusaders' crime."

Three empires-in-exile prevented the takeover of the entire empire by the Crusaders. In Nicea, Theodore I, Lascaris (1206-1222), son-in-law of Alexius III (1195-1203), established the main government-in-exile. A member of the Comnenus family established another at Trebizond, which remained in existence until 1461. In Epirus, a member of the Angelus Dynasty established a third empire, which soon captured Thessalonica from the Crusaders. Nicea later triumphed over the Angeli, and it became the restored power in Constantinople in 1261 under Michael VIII (1259-1282, Paleologus). It was a ruined and depopulated city. The empire was now too weak to meet the increasing Turkish invasions, and it began its steady decline despite all valiant efforts. The end, however, did not come until 1453, on May 29. There were no throngs of Crusaders to help the defender of Christendom. In 1461, the Turks conquered the Peloponnese, and in 1461 the Trebizond Empire fell.

The overthrow of Byzantium was the work of the ambitious Turkish Sultan Mahmud II. Constantine XI appealed to the West for help, and minor help was sent upon the submission of the

Eastern Church to the papacy. The submission, however, quickly was voided, and the help consisted of only a few galleys and a few hundred soldiers. The seven-week defense was heroic but hopeless. The final assault found a total of 8,000 defenders behind the wall of Constantinople facing 150,000 Turks. On the night before the final battle of May 29, the Sultan had his criers sent to all parts of the camp to make this proclamation, after a trumpet blast:

By the name of Allah, by the name of Mohammed and the four thousand prophets, by the soul of his father, Sultan Murad, by the heads of his children, and by his scimitar, Mahmud swears that when the town has been taken by storm the troops will have unrestricted right to three days' rapine. Everything within the walls — furniture, jewels and trinkets, gold and silver, men, women, and children — shall belong to the victorious soldiery, the Sultan himself renouncing any reward beyond the glory of having conquered this last bulwark of the Western Empire.

The savage shouts of joy of the Turks at this proclamation could be heard within the city, where, in Hagia Sophia, the greatest church in all Christendom, the last mass was celebrated.

The defense of the doomed city was a heroic one. At moments it seemed as though the city could be saved. Then a few Turks in between the walls found that a small door, *Kerkaporta*, used by foot-travellers in peacetime, was unlocked. They moved in quickly and when the defenders saw Turks in the city behind them they raised the deadly cry, "The city is taken!" The Turks behind and before them caught up the cry, and the defense collapsed. The city was ravished and looted, and the first Moslem worship soon took place in Hagia Sophia, the Church of the Holy Wisdom. The greatest empire in world history had been destroyed. On May 30, the crosses were torn down from Hagia Sophia and other churches and sites.

The indifferent West later began to be more fearful. Mahmud (or Mahammed) took Bel-

grade, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, and other areas, and then a Turkish force occupied Otranto in Southern Italy. Pope Sixtus IV made preparations for flight from Italy when word was received of the death of Mahmud at fifty-one. He had hoped to conquer both the First and the Second Rome before his death, but death conquered him first.

But the Second Rome was gone, and Europe was to feel the power of “the unspeakable Turk” in the centuries to come.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. Describe the relationship between church and state in the Byzantine Empire. What role did icons and iconoclasm play in that relationship?
2. To what degree was the Byzantine a Christian civilization and culture? How did this contribute to its lengthy existence?

Lesson Seventeen

Lecture #6

Islam and the Frontier Age

Listen to CD Lecture #6-- "Islam and the Frontier Age," then answer the following questions.

Review Questions

1. What are the dates of Mohammed?
2. How does Mohammedanism go against St. Paul's words in Romans 2:28-29?
3. What do Mohammedans say about Christianity?
4. What political system has been incompatible with Christianity and only Christianity, down through history?
5. How can a Christian be discontented but yet happy?
6. What political system does Islam propagate?
7. Why were Moslems not afraid to die in battle?
8. Where were the Turks finally checked in the advance toward Europe?
9. What were the number of the forces of the Knights of Malta compared to the Turks and what were the losses by each side?
10. What is one meaning of the term "pioneering"?
11. What was the contribution of the Jewish merchants in the Middle Ages?
12. What contributions did the monks make toward Christian reconstruction?
13. What must pioneers first consider in reconstruction?
14. What is the greatest need for reconstruction in our own time?
15. What is one important element of feudalism?

16. How can the so-called Dark Ages be called an Age of Invention?

Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion Questions

1. What are the distinctions between Christianity and Islam? Consider the six outward duties of Islam and the inward duties of Christianity.

2. When the way of righteousness is external, why are you more open to statism?

3. Why does Christianity challenge this?

4. What type of society does Islam foster?

5. Is it wrong to be discontented? What does a discontented person do?

6. What type of society do you get with a civilization concerned with externals? Consider Roman Catholicism, Islam, Humanism, and Eastern Orthodoxy.

7. Describe the battle of the Siege of Malta. Why was this was the turning point of the seventh century? What was the outcome of the battle?

8. Why has Turkey been kept alive through the centuries by great powers? Why is it considered a negative if a Christian power were to be present there?

9. What are pioneers? How could those going out from a falling civilization be considered pioneers? With the collapse of humanism in our day, how can we be considered pioneers?

10. Who were the two groups of pioneers and how were they important? (Jews and Monks)

11. Why were the monks so welcome wherever they went?

12. Describe the important work of the Irish monks.

13. Why is it a mistake when one continues to use something that has worked in the past, i.e., monastic service, tracts? How does this challenge us today? (What did Dr. Rushdoony state at the beginning of this study about those who are interested in history? What else are they interested in?)

14. What is feudalism? What changes occurred under it? What type of people were important and why?

[Recommended reading: *This Independent Republic* by R.J. Rushdoony]

Lesson Eighteen

Chapter #12

Islam

INTRODUCTION

The extent to which Mohammedanism was, from its beginning, an anti-Christian religion is seldom recognized. St. Paul, in Romans 2:29, declared, "But he is a Jew, which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God." To be a member of the covenant people of God, Paul says, means to be so from the heart, in word, thought, and deed. Our faith involves the whole man and our total commitment to Christ.

For Mohammed this was a difficult and distasteful goal. His counter statement was very clear: "He is a Muslim who is one outwardly." For Mohammed, righteousness is essentially externalism and Pharisaism. As long as a man goes through the motions of performing certain rites and maintaining an outward form of faith, he is a true believer. For Mohammedans, God has no business prying into man's heart and mind: the outward form of faith is all God can ask for.

This externalism led, as it always does, to statism. It is not man's heart that needs changing in Islam, but his society. Mohammedanism has as its goal Islam, the Moslem's social order. Islam means "to resign oneself," and Islam calls for submission to a Moslem social order as man's salvation.

The Koran, the Moslem holy book, is both anti-Jewish and anti-Christian. Its theology is

Unitarian and fatalistic. Its goal is the submission of men to a Moslem ruler.

The externalism of Islam led to the ability to organize militarily, but not to govern well. Submission is helpful for military discipline, but in a society it leads to stagnation. Stagnation has indeed marked most of Islam's history.

CHAPTER TWELVE

The religion founded by Mohammed (or Mohamet, Mahmud, Muhammad) is called Islam, a general term for all the many sects among the Mohammedans. "Islam" means "to resign oneself": that is, to profess the way of righteousness. This means accepting the Unity of God and accepting his order. To *profess* the faith of Mohammedanism is *Islam*: to *believe* it in the heart is *faith*, *iman*.

Mohammed (570-632) was born of a Hashemite family of Mecca. The town of Mecca, as well as other communities, had no small Jewish and Hellenic influences, as well as the blood of these peoples. It was an area of continuing paganism, heretical Christianity, and anti-Christianity. Until the age of forty, Mohammed was apparently a pagan. At the age of twenty-five, he married his cousin, a widow much older than himself, Khadija, a woman of means and forty years old. At forty, he began to claim that he had received revelations of the one true religion. On

being rejected, and to a degree persecuted, he and his followers fled to Medina on July 2, 622, which is called the flight, or *Hejira*. He then began to plan the military conquest of Arabia, and, by the time of his death in 632, much of it had been won. In his last years, Mohammed dictated his ostensible revelations, which, revised under Othman, his third successor, became the Koran, the holy and inspired book of Islam. The Koran aimed at being a new bible, a replacement for the Christian Bible as the infallible and inspired word of God. The Koran is in part anti-Jewish, in that sharp remarks are addressed to the matter of the Jews and usury (Surah IV, 160-161). But it is in agreement with Jews, Arians, and others in its unceasing hostility to trinitarianism. As Gibbon put it, "The first principle of reason and revelation was confirmed by the voice of Mohammed: his proselytes, from India to Morocco, are distinguished by the name of *Unitarians*." This approving reference by Edward Gibbon is the key to the very favorable and often dishonest treatment of Islam by historians: they share Islam's hatred of the trinitarian faith and are ready to attribute all kinds of virtues to a depraved religion and history to gratify their anti-Christian venom.

Mohammed claimed to give the truth from God which the Hebrews and the Christians had perverted in the Bible:

O People of the Scripture! Do not exaggerate in your religion nor utter ought concerning Allah save the truth. The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was only a messenger of Allah, and His work which He conveyed unto Mary, and a spirit from Him. So believe in Allah and His messenger, and say not "Three" — Cease! (it is) better for you — Allah is only One God. Far is it removed from His transcendent majesty that he should have a son. He is all that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth. And Allah is sufficient as Defender. (Surah IV, 171)

Here a major premise of Islam is apparent: Unitarianism. The God of Mohammedanism, according to their famous statement, neither begets nor is begotten. Jesus came as a messenger from Allah to prepare the way for Mohammed or

Ahmad (The Praised One):

And when Jesus son of Mary said: O Children of Israel! Lo! I am the messenger of Allah unto you, confirming that which was (revealed) before me in the Torah, and bringing good tidings of a messenger who cometh after me, whose name is the Praised One. Yet when he hath come unto them with clear proofs, they say: This is mere magic. (Surah LXI, 6)

The Koran, a book of amazing ignorance, supposed trinitarianism to be the worship of three gods, the three gods being Allah, Jesus, and Mary, his mother (Surah V, 116).

Because of its Unitarianism, Mohammedanism rejected the Christian trinitarian solution of the problem of the one and the many. The One was now everything; nothing mattered save the will of the One. The result, religiously, was fatalism. Man was simply an automaton in Allah's hands. Politically, it means that a totalitarian unity under Islam was the only true order.

Orthodox Christianity had at Chalcedon sundered the mystical bond of heaven and earth; it had denied that deity and humanity could be confused. The divine empire, as God's presence on earth, was thus ruled out. In Mohammedanism, that Kingdom of Man found a new entrance onto the world scene. No attempt was made to divinize the state and the human order, but, by ruling out Christ as the Messiah who is priest, king, and prophet, man's only savior, the state was again made the saving order. Salvation in Islam is by works, by law. This means a saving social order. Islam has not produced a true church, but it has produced great and holy states whose heads have been the religious leaders of Islam. It has produced a caliphate. A *caliph*, meaning successor, is the name for the temporal and spiritual successor of Mohammed. The spiritual and temporal power are united in the person of the head of an empire, so that this state is the expression of true and holy order; it is Islam.

As a result, everything which ancient states expressed as messianic orders was refined into anti-Christian terms and made into a powerful military faith. The caliph could respond to politi-

cal realities and be controlled by them, but by virtue of his office his power was unlimited, provided that he remained a Moslem and faithful to Islam. As Sir William Muir, in *The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, wrote of Othman, "The power of the Caliph, indeed, as successor to the Prophet, was absolute, uncontrolled by any constitutional authority whatever."

It is customary to excuse the low morality of the Koran and Islam by describing it as an improvement over previous Arab standards, but this is again a misreading of history. Even such a scholar as D. S. Margoliouth saw no moral gain except the ban on infanticide, with some loss in other areas. The lower morality did attract adherents, promising paradise in return for a life of moral depravity and piratical activity.

Islam, moreover, has a rigidity which is its greatest weakness in the modern world. A closed, unintelligent system, it is in essence hostile to development. Sir William Muir remarked, "Christian nations may advance in civilization, freedom, and morality, in philosophy, science, and the arts, but Islam stands still."

Islam has six central articles of faith and six basic duties. The faith requires belief in Allah, the one God; in angels; in Mohammed as the great and last prophet; belief in the Koran; belief in the Day of Resurrection; and belief in fatalism. The duties are reciting the profession of faith; affirming the unity of God and the role of Mohammed; five daily prayers; fasting during the daylight hours of the month of Ramadan; pilgrimage to Mecca; and the Holy War against unbelievers.

The first caliph after Mohammed was Abu Bakr (632-634), followed by Omar (634-644), Othman (644-656), and Ali (656-661), Mohammed's cousin and son-in-law. By this time, Arabia, Syria, Persia, Egypt, and Babylon were captured. Internal conflict and civil war already plagued Islam, ending in Ali's assassination.

The Omayyad caliphate, 661-750, saw more civil warfare, but also more conquest. Carthage was taken, and Spain also. The invasion of France in 732 was defeated by Charles Martel at Tours. Heresies began to develop in this period,

notably the Shi'ite sect, whose members were adherents to the bloodline of Mohammed, the House of Ali, and the prophet's daughter, Fatima. For them the *Iman* or leader was the only legitimate source of temporal and spiritual authority. The Iman was the representative and incarnation of Allah. The Kharijites held, in opposition to the Shi'ites, that any good Moslem could become a caliph by election. These sects were hostile to the Omayyad caliphate and succeeding ones as well.

The Abbasid caliphate, 750-1100, gained power in most areas other than Spain and Morocco, which refused to recognize it. The Abbasid capital came to be Baghdad, which grew to be a world center. The empire, commercially powerful, was now divided into warring Moslem states. In Persia, for example, the Shi'ites were in conflict with the Sunnites, who believed that *sunna*, traditions, were a valid authority alongside the Koran. Another sect, important in Persia and elsewhere, the Zindiqs, was communistic and nihilistic and hostile to all other faiths.

In 1037, the Seljuk Turks invaded Islam and then conquered Georgia and Armenia. Byzantium was decisively beaten in 1071 in the battle of Manzikert, and Byzantine power in Asia Minor was greatly reduced. The Turks soon accepted Islam and became a powerful enemy of both Christianity and of other Moslems.

Other horrors were also being perpetrated in Islam. The Shi'ites held that the Iman or incarnation of Allah was in the Ali-Fatima line. When the sixth Iman, Jaafer Saduk's elder son, Ismael, died, Jaafer appointed as his successor his younger son Kauzim. Many Shi'ites refused to accept Kauzim, believing that only Ismael's bloodline could carry on the incarnation, and the Ismaelite sect was born, known also in one branch as the Karmathians. The Karmathian (or Carmathian) form of Ismaelism was a rationalistic and occultistic attempt to bring all religions into one fold as one religion. Missionaries were sent everywhere for this purpose. One convert who became an important missionary was Abu Said, who converted a country (Bahrein) which

had previously accepted, to a degree, Judaism as its faith. Abu Said, moreover, became the ruler of Bahrein in a successful revolt against Saracen rule. His son, Abu Tahir, succeeded in taking Mecca itself in 930. After his death, the Karmathians waned rapidly, although other branches of the Ismael faith continued.

Another offshoot of the Ismaelites was the Assassin cult, a secret military and religious order. It organized secret lodges, comparable to masonic orders, with seven grades of initiation, in various parts of the Islamic world. Its three basic premises were, first, an allegorical interpretation of the Koran, so that any meaning might be read into the symbolic or mythical structure of the Koran; second, the members of the lodges or orders had to accept the invisibility or hiddenness of the *Iman*, or incarnation of Allah, and they had to give full obedience to the representatives of the hidden ruler; third, total relativism was affirmed, so that no religious or moral law had any value; only the internal feelings of the person had any meaning. More openly stated to the initiates of the higher degrees, the heart of the doctrine was simply this: "Nothing is true and all is allowed." This was the logical conclusion of the Kingdom of Man. Ahmed Karmath began the application of this system, and Karmathianism was a form of it; the grand lodge of the order was in Cairo. One missionary of the Ismaelites, Hasan Ben Sabbah, after a period of prominence in Cairo, left for Persia, where he gained possession of the strong mountain fortress of Alamut and founded the lodge or society called the Assassins. Their practice was secret assassination of all enemies; the word *assassin* came from *hashish* (marijuana), its eaters, the sect members, being called *hashishiyin*. The sect, although given to much internal dissension and murder, was a terror to the East until its dynasty, founded by Hasan, "the Illuminator" as he was called, was swept away, together with its "illuminated ones," by the Mongol Mangu Khan in 1250. But the lodge had extended itself into various parts of the world and became the model of revolutionary and esoteric cults everywhere. The Syrian branch

of the Assassins continued in power for some time longer, and the Druses are a related remnant surviving today. But the real descendants of the Assassins are to be found in many movements cited by Nesta H. Webster in *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements*. Remnants of the Assassins may be found in Syria, Lebanon, Persia, and Zanzibar, but the real strength and vitality of that faith long ago moved into the arena of power, the Western world. The Eastern remnants are not, however, inoffensive because they are weak.

The Druses had their origin in the Egyptian caliphate of Al-Hakim (996-1021), who persecuted Christians savagely and is said to have destroyed thirty thousand churches and monasteries. Some of Hakim's followers, who ascribed divine honors and powers to him, on being assaulted by Egyptians, were advised by Hakim to settle in Syria. In less than ten years, much of Lebanon had been won by the Druses. The higher degree Druses were initiates in the doctrine; the ordinary believer was in essence a believer in blind obedience to those above him and an adherent of Islamic faith, with such things as metempsychosis added. The Druses call Allah "El Hakim," their doctrines are still mainly secret, and passwords and signs by members are used to identify one another. As late as 1860, the Druses were guilty of a savage massacre of Christians.

Another offshoot of the Ismaelite school is the Nusayris (or Nausairis, or Ansariyeh), a people surviving in Syria. It is a secret order whose beliefs are not extensively known. Its origin is at least from the 800's, but the Nusayris sect bears evidences of an ancient paganism which has adopted semi-Christian and Islamic practices to accommodate itself to its environment. They believe in metempsychosis, but they do not believe that women are immortal, since they hold that women have no reasonable soul.

Many other sects sprang up around Islam. It is significant that, although Mohammed reestablished the ancient idea of a saving messianic state, but did so without claiming that this state or its rulers were divine, these pagan ideas quickly reasserted themselves. The human and the divine

orders were no longer separate, but were one order, one world, and the Islamic state was the expression of that one divine order, the caliph the incarnation of that one god.

Since the Islamic state had reunited humanity and divinity, the logical conclusion was that individuals could also effect that union through mysticism. Through love, man and God could become mystically one substance, the Moslem mystics declared. Sufism was the best expression of this faith. A Persian Sufi, Al-Hallaj, executed for his heresy, openly identified himself with God, declaring, "I am the Truth." In a poem translated in R. A. Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Al-Hallaj declared:

I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I.
 We are two souls dwelling in one body.
 When thou seest me, thou seest Him:
 And when thou seest Him, thou seest us both.

Asceticism and monasticism appeared in Sufi orders after the twelfth century. These mystics developed the idea of the saving power of love as their creed, their way, and their life.

In 1290, a new leader of the Turks, Osman (or Othman) founded the Ottoman dynasty. The Ottoman Empire continued the march of Islam, and Constantinople fell in 1453 before Mohammed II. Venice was attacked, 1463-1479, as the two powers fought over the control of trade stations in Greece and Albania. The Ottoman Empire also began to subjugate the various Moslem states.

Suleiman I (the Magnificent, 1520-1566) moved rapidly into the heart of Europe. Belgrade was taken in 1521, and Austria and Hungary raided. Rhodes fell in 1522, and the Knights of St. John retreated to Malta, given to them by Charles V in 1530. On August 29-30, 1526, King Louis of Hungary was killed and his army defeated in the Battle of Mohaco. In 1529 Vienna was besieged, but not taken, in part because of bad weather. The first major setback, and a costly one, came to the Turkish Empire in 1565 in the siege of Malta. In one of the most amazing defenses in all military history, the Knights of St. John, under the seventy-year-old

commander, Jean Paresot de la Valette, withstood an almost four-month siege. About forty thousand of the best Turkish troops faced less than nine thousand men, many of them untrained, in a battle without quarter. The Turkish forces had modern equipment and wore light clothing and little armor. The Knights wore heavy armor of up to one hundred pounds over leather or quilted jerkins, in heat over ninety degrees. The garrisons of the Knights were under continual fire and 7,100 miles away, at Syracuse and Catania, people heard the roar of guns as of distant thunder. When it was over, the defenders had lost seven thousand men, and, of the two thousand remaining, only six hundred were well enough to still bear arms. The power of Suleiman was broken, and the Turkish attempt to take the Western Mediterranean had been defeated. The Turkish power was no longer on the march and, after the naval battle of Lepanto in 1571, declined rapidly. Western Europe was saved.

Turkey declined steadily. The Turkish ability had been military; in government, agriculture, and every other area, they showed only incompetence. Subject peoples were used by the Turks to create, build, and govern, and were then liquidated lest they become too powerful. For the past two hundred years, Turkey has been an artificial state, kept alive primarily by subsidies from the great powers. Tsarist Russia sought repeatedly to defend the Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire, but the powers, led by Great Britain, refused to permit the Russian advance beyond a certain point. They refused to trust possession of the Dardanelles, key to Central Europe, to anyone but an unprincipled, parasitic, and puppet state, Turkey. As a result, Turkey had external security against conquest. It turned, therefore, to eliminating any internal threat of overthrow by the Christian subjects, who were usually ethnic Greeks and especially Armenians. Despite formal protests made to please their upset churchmen, the great powers of Europe, led by Britain, gave their tacit assent to the liquidation of these people. World War I gave Turkey the ideal opportunity for finishing this task, and, except for those

Armenians rescued by the Tsarist Russian forces, the Armenians were massacred; except for submerged handfuls here and there, they ceased to exist in their ancestral homeland. The Greeks were massacred in their coastal cities in Asia Minor after World War I.

All this, while tragic, was not surprising. The Western Powers, especially since the French Revolution, have been under the influence of the Enlightenment, with its humanistic ideas. Their states have been progressively de-Christianized and made more and more conformable to the Kingdom of Man. The war against Christianity which was openly waged in Turkey was less and less secretly being waged in the Western world as well.

Finally, a word about the advanced Arabic culture of the early and middle centuries of the Christian era. Philosophy, medicine, and other disciplines flourished for a time in Islamic countries, influenced Europe, and then disappeared.

They had no roots in Islam; they were essentially remnants of Hellenic and Byzantine cultures, taken over by a Moslem ruler and indulged in by his court. When the favorable court atmosphere disappeared, the culture vanished. Many of the scholars represented, as did many of the rulers who were their patrons, a mixed marriage. Their mothers were often Christian captives who communicated a superior culture, but not faith, to their sons. Here, as in other matters, the Islamic world was parasitic.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. Why has Islam produced powerful and (often) militarily successful states?
2. Why did Islam necessarily give birth to certain forms of mysticism?

Lesson Nineteen

Chapter #13

The Frontier Age

INTRODUCTION

The historian James Westphal Thompson spoke of the so-called “Dark Ages” as the “age of pioneers.” Pioneering is not necessarily confined to a new continent, as in early America, but, in any age, when men strike out to establish new ways of life in the face of a perishing culture, they can become pioneers.

The centuries after the fall of Rome were pioneering times, in that great and important inventions created important social changes. Lynn White Jr., in *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, tells us that between the sixth and tenth centuries, inventions rapidly altered life, provided the base for urbanization, and increased food supplies. The foundations of capitalism were laid in this era.

Among the pioneers were the Jewish merchants of Europe, who laid the foundations for future cities by establishing centers of trade, and who made Biblical law the basis of commercial and urban law. Irving A. Agus has demonstrated this in *Urban Civilization in Pre-Crusade Europe*. These merchants were laymen, not rabbis, and they kept their interpretation of the law practical and simple.

The monks were also pioneers. Because of their lack of family ties, they moved freely and readily across borders and into difficult areas as missionaries of the faith, as educators, as peacemakers,

and as builders. They travelled amazing distances on foot. James Westphal Thompson, in his *Introduction to Medieval Europe*, refers to a statement by J. O. Westwood when he analyzes the contribution of the Irish monks:

What the Irish monasteries represented in this whole cultural development is well expressed by an American enthusiast. They were schools, all the way from kindergarten to university, hospitals, hotels, publishing houses, libraries, law courts, art academies, and conservatories of music. They were houses of refuge, places of pilgrimage, marts for barter and exchange, centers of culture, social foci, newspaper offices, and distilleries. A score of other public and practical things were they: garrison, granary, orphan asylum, frontier fort, post office, savings bank, and general store for surrounding agricultural districts. We carelessly imagine the early monasteries as charnel houses of cant and ritual — whereas they were the best-oiled machines for the advancement of science, the living accelerators of human thinking, precedent to the University of Paris.

The Venerable Bede, writing in England, tells us how, in 644 A.D., people regarded the clergy, especially the monks. He says of them:

They had also no money, but cattle; for if they received any money from rich persons, they immediately gave it to the poor; there being no need to gather money, or provide houses for the entertainment of the great men of the world; for such never resorted to the church, except to pray and hear the word of God. The king himself,

when opportunity offered, came only with five or six servants, and having performed his devotions in the church, departed. But if they happened to take a repast there, they were satisfied with only the plain and daily food of the brethren, and required no more; for the whole care of those teachers was to serve God, not the world — to feed the soul, and not the belly. For this reason the religious habit was at that time in great veneration; so that wheresoever any clergyman or monk happened to come, he was joyfully received by all persons, as God's servant; and if they chanced to meet him upon the way, they ran to him, and bowing, were glad to be signed by his hand, or blessed with his mouth. Great attention was also paid to their exhortations; and on Sundays they flocked eagerly to the church, or the monasteries, not to feed their bodies, but to hear the word of God; and if any priest happened to come into a village, the inhabitants flocked together to hear from him the word of life; for the priests and clergymen went into the village on no other account than to preach, baptize, visit the sick, and, in few words, to take care of souls; and they were so free from worldly avarice that none of them received lands and possessions for building monasteries, unless they were compelled to do so by the temporal authorities; which custom was for some time after observed in all the churches of the Northumbrians.

Paganism was joyless in its faith. Christianity offered joy, hope, and victory in Christ. Bede tells us that this was a reason behind the conversion of the English to Christianity in 627:

The king, hearing these words, answered, that he was both willing and bound to receive the faith which he taught; but that he would confer about it with his principal friends and counsellors, to the end that if they also were of his opinion, they might all together be cleansed in Christ the Fountain of Life....To which the chief of his own priests, Coifi, immediately answered, "O king, consider what this is which is now preached to us; for I verily declare to you, that the religion which we have hitherto professed has, as far as I can learn, no virtue in it. For none of your people has applied himself more diligently to the worship of our gods than I; and yet there are many who receive greater favours from you, and are more

preferred than I, and are more prosperous in all their undertakings. Now if the gods were good for any thing, they would rather forward me, who have been more careful to serve them. It remains, therefore, that if upon examination you find those new doctrines, which are now preached to us, better and more efficacious, we immediately receive them without delay."

Another of the king's chief men, approving of his words and exhortations, presently added: "The present life of man, O King, seems to me, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your commanders and ministers, and a good fire in the midst, whilst the storms of rain and snow prevail abroad; the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door, and immediately out at another, whilst he is within, is safe from the wintry storm; but after a short space of fair weather, he immediately vanishes out of your sight, into the dark winter from which he had emerged. So this life of man appears for a short space, but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. If, therefore, this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed." The other elders and king's counsellors, by Divine inspiration, spoke to the same effect.

Conditions were not always this congenial to the gospel. In many countries the missionaries were killed. In other countries the faith was accepted for political reasons, and the most degenerate associates of the king were appointed to be bishops and abbots.

Meanwhile, the unity of most of Europe under Roman rule gave way to a process of decentralization which we now call feudalism. This meant that the battle to civilize the barbarians was a local struggle. It is important to realize that the myth that the Germanic and English tribes were a noble and advanced people has no foundation. They were backward and often ruthless peoples. That some persons or groups among them sometimes were advanced does not eliminate the basic fact of their barbarism. The Vandals deserved their bad name: they left a trail of pillage, cannibalism, and general savagery throughout Europe.

The Alani were scalp hunters, and this practice was common to other groups as well. The Visigoths settled down in Aquitania, only to exhaust the rich soil by their agricultural practices. Jean Decarreaux, in *Monks and Civilization*, gives a vivid picture of the problems faced by the monks in Christianizing and civilizing the barbarians.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

For many years, it was customary for historians to speak of the centuries between the collapse of Roman civilization and the Renaissance as the Dark Ages. The reason for this name was philosophical and not historical. Christianity was for them a dark episode between the light of classical culture, Greece and Rome, and the Renaissance and the Enlightenment; the Reformation was to them merely an ugly but temporary delay in the restoration of "civilization." An older textbook, in speaking of the fall of Rome and the barbarian invasions, concluded by declaring, "Europe had entered on the period known as the Dark Ages." A more recent textbook, while avoiding the term "Dark Ages," succeeded in giving the same idea in a chapter entitled "Civilization is Almost Forgotten in the West." Somehow, all convey the idea that civilization collapsed when Rome collapsed. Basic to such thinking is the belief that Christianity and civilization are incompatible; the success of the one means the death of the other.

Historians eventually began to retreat from this idea of the Dark Ages, and the term "Medieval Period" was introduced as a separate term to indicate that some culture and civilization existed before the Renaissance. The "Middle Ages" came to be, according to W. P. Ker, in *The Dark Ages*, about 1100 to 1500, whereas "The Dark Ages" in their more limited meaning are the centuries of the barbarian migration before the establishment of the Romance literatures, or the kind of civilization that is implied in them." This is a literary dating. Another dating is from 400 to 800. A more revealing one is that of Will Durant in *The Age of Faith*: "While Islam was on the march,

and Byzantium was recovering from seemingly fatal blows, Europe fought its way up through the 'Dark Ages.' This is a loose term, which any man may define to his own prejudice; we shall arbitrarily confine it to non-Byzantine Europe between the death of Boethius in 524 and the birth of Abelard in 1079." These two dates are revealing. *The Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius is a pagan document in the Platonic tradition; Abelard reintroduced Aristotle into Western thought. "Darkness" is thus clearly the "Christian" interlude between old Hellenism and revived Hellenism. The only "light" in the intervening span of time was the occasional manifestation of pagan philosophy in such men as Erigena. Historians therefore found the "Dark Ages" dark because Hellenism was absent, and Christianity more or less prevalent.

William Carroll Bark, however, in *Origins of the Medieval World*, has cited the frontier spirit of that era:

We know now that the Dark Age was not that dark. Ignorance, lethargy and disorder existed then as now, but they were far from blighting an age eager for learning, vigorous in living and in expressing itself, and idealistically constructive. Perhaps it is not too much to say that medieval society was functional in ways not even dreamed of by antiquity and leading to ends beyond the imagination of earlier times. By "functional" I mean that it was a working, striving society, impelled to pioneer, forced to experiment, often making mistakes but also drawing upon the energies of its people much more fully than its predecessors, and eventually allowing them much fuller and freer scope for development. That conditions, events, and peoples came together as they did in the early Middle Ages was extremely fortunate for the present heirs of the Western tradition.

There were great movements of populations during certain periods following the fall of Rome. Prior to Rome's fall, the German tribes were already moving into the empire. The Romans welcomed them into their army and, in many areas depopulated by plagues and economic crises, resettled them. When the barbarians later invaded the empire, the defense of the empire

was extensively in German hands. These Germans were strong partisans of the empire, respectful of its advances, and more concerned with reforming it than with destroying it.

The new barbarians who entered Rome were bent, certainly, on plunder and on enriching themselves, but, having accomplished that, they wanted to continue the civilization they had discovered. The result was that, after the ruthless plunder, new attempts were made to continue the Roman culture. The barbarian kingdoms were the consequence. The Vandals moved into North Africa, after excursions into Italy and Spain. The West Goths settled in Spain, which Alani also had invaded. The Alani had probably come from central Asia and joined the Germans in their invasions. The West Germans or Goths (Visigoths) drove out the Vandals, then in 428 or 429 the Vandals, a nation of some 80,000 people, moved into North Africa and established a kingdom there. The Vandals took Carthage in 439 and soon became an important sea power in the Mediterranean. Among their marauding expeditions was the sack of Rome in 435, at which time it is said that the Temple vessels from Jerusalem, taken to Rome by Titus, were carried to Carthage by Genseric (Gaiseric). The Vandals gained a reputation for destruction, not so much for their activity against Rome, as against orthodox Christians and their churches; as a result, they have many defenders among historians. The Vandals had become bitter Arians. The Eastern Roman Emperor Justinian, through his general Belisarius, conquered the Vandal Kingdom in 534. Later, many of these people were ready to receive Islam in preference to Byzantine rule. The Vandals were in Spain long enough before going to Africa to give their name to Andalusia (Vandalusia).

The Visigoths had earlier (376) entered the Roman Empire, crossing the Danube to escape from the Huns. Although admitted by Valens, the Eastern emperor, they turned on their hosts and defeated and killed Valens in 378 near Adrianople. The battle was important in that the Roman infantry was defeated by the Visigoth cavalry, foreshadowing new military trends. It

was the Visigoth Alaric who in 410 took Rome. In the East, it was Stilicho, another Vandal, who had commanded the Roman forces against Alaric. Alaric died in Italy, and his brother-in-law, Ataulf, led the Visigoths into Gaul, which they plundered. They then moved into Spain, and Ataulf was murdered there. The Vandals, Sueves, and Alani were already in Spain. Two Visigothic kingdoms within the Western Empire resulted: the Kingdom of Toulouse (419-507) and the Kingdom of Spain (507-711), which finally fell to the Moslems.

An important Goth was Ulfilas (311-381), an Arian bishop, who translated the Bible into Gothic and is regarded as the founder of German prose. The German invaders, except for the Franks and a few minor groups, all turned to Arianism. Since the orthodox cause was facing a struggle everywhere with Arianism, the loss of some orthodox areas to Arianism was a serious setback. Barbarian Christianity, which was to exercise a powerful sway over Europe, thus began by accepting Arianism, with its subordination of Christianity to the cause of the Roman state. There was, however, an important and crucial difference: this barbarian Christianity did not have a concept of state sovereignty or of a State. With them, Erastianism prevailed, but with a difference: the church was under the new Gothic states, which lacked concepts of the absoluteness and sovereignty of the state. Sovereignty for the Germanic peoples rested with law, but law for them meant the custom of the people or folk, their ancient and traditional rights. As their Christianity gradually became orthodox, the orthodox faith in the sovereignty of the law of God and its authority over the state was united to the Germanic idea of law, with very important consequences for Western history.

The Burgundians under Gundicar entered Roman Gaul and established a realm (411-532) which became another kingdom in the empire and technically a part of it. They were a part of the East German tribes.

The East Germans or Ostrogoths (Burgundians, Bastarnae, Gepids, Goths, Heruls, Rugians,

Sciri) also faced pressures from the Huns. Having first moved into areas north of the Black Sea, they then moved into the empire. Under Theodoric, they took Italy, on commission from the Eastern emperor, and killed the last Western emperor, Odoacer (Odoacar, c. 434-493). Odoacer was a barbarian who had become emperor as a result of a revolt on the part of the Roman troops, who were barbarian mercenaries. Odoacer, who had gained the throne by murder, finally surrendered to Theodoric upon agreement that they would be joint rulers. At a banquet, the Arian Odoacer was killed by Theodoric. Odoacer, in seeing the treachery, cried out, "Where is God?," and Theodoric, before cleaving him with his sword from shoulder to flank, shouted, "Thus didst thou deal with my kinsmen."

Theodoric the Great (489-526) sought to preserve Roman civilization in his kingdom. An able ruler, technically ruling under the authority of Constantinople, he allowed no Roman to hold military office and no Ostrogoth to hold civil office. Each was used where best suited. Theodoric himself was the only Ostrogoth with Roman citizenship. His secretary of state was Cassiodorus, and Boethius was one of his officials. Boethius and Symmachus were both later executed for treason. Justinian, at a later date, 535-554, reconquered Italy for the Eastern Empire and drove out the Ostrogoths. Southern Italy was alone held permanently. The north was a ruined and desolate area, and the City of Rome half deserted and in ruins. The Lombards later entered the north to establish their own state.

The Frankish Kingdom (481-752) resulted from the invasion of Gaul by the Franks. Their great ruler was Clovis (481-511), who made a strategically wise move in deciding for orthodox Christianity; Arianism was already waning, and was no choice at all. The bishops of northern and central Gaul were orthodox, as were the people, and their support was gained by his "conversion." Also, the Burgundians, whom he first opposed and finally made dependent, were Arians, and it was a sound move to capitalize on that fact. Roman rule had gradually enslaved the people;

the serfdom of the rural populace was a product of declining Rome, not of the Middle Ages, which steadily reduced serfdom, and, in many areas, eliminated it. Northern and eastern Gaul were extensively depopulated, and many farms were abandoned. By instituting law and order and by favoring orthodoxy, the Frankish Kingdom quickly assumed leadership in Western Europe.

The Merovingian kings, after Clovis I, ruled with declining power, with feudal decentralization steadily encroaching on royal prerogatives. Royal powers were delegated increasingly to local officials. The mayor of the palace, moreover, became more and more the real authority rather than the king. The kingdom was still an important source of control, not weakened by the decentralized structure, and it was a mayor of the palace, of the House of Pepin, Charles Martel (714-741), who defeated the Moslems at Tours in 732. The Moslems soon retreated over the Pyrenees. The son of Charles Martel, Pepin III (the Short, 748-768), deposed the king and may have been, in 752, anointed King of the Franks by Saint Boniface, "the Apostle of Germany," an Englishman whose loyalty was to the Bishop of Rome. Boniface succeeded in aligning German and Frankish churches with the Roman see, an important step for European history. The son of Pepin III was Charlemagne (768-814). It should be noted that Charlemagne was a German (as were all Franks) whose name was Karl, Karl the Great.

Before continuing with Charlemagne, a few other aspects of the invasions should be noted. The Huns had appeared in Europe in the fourth century. They were a Mongol people who were probably driven out of their own homeland by other invaders. They crushed before them a number of nations, including the Alani, who lived between the Volga and the Don, and whom the Huns allied to themselves after defeating them. In 374 they destroyed the Ostrogoth Empire under the aged Hermanric. The Visigoths under Athanaric were next defeated. From 445 to 453, they reached the height of their power under Attila, and they went as far as conquering Metz

and plundering the Belgic provinces. Attila then withdrew before the threat of a Roman army under Aetius. For a time he turned into Italy, but plagues and food shortages forced him to withdraw. Attila died in 453, and the Hun power declined. The Ostrogoths, who had been his allies after their defeat, now revolted and separated themselves.

The Huns were succeeded by other Mongol invaders, the Avars and the Bulgars. The Slavs, a gentle, blond and blue-eyed people, suffered most heavily from their ravages. The fact that the word slave comes from Slav indicates the nature of their suffering, for they were sold on the slave markets of Asia, Africa, and Europe. We are given vivid pictures of their ordeal:

In summer when attacked they had to disappear like frogs into the water or into the woods; in winter they had to take refuge behind the shelter of their numerous stockades...They dive under water and lying on their backs on the bottom, they breathe through a long reed and thus escape destruction, for the inexperienced take these projecting reeds for natural. But the experienced recognize them by their cut and pierce the body through with them, or pull them out, so that the diver must come to the surface if he will not be stifled.

It is recorded, moreover, that the savage Avars took the wives and daughters of the Slavs and harnessed them "like beasts to their wagons, violating them systematically, destroying their family life, and indeed reducing their whole level of existence to the level of brutes."

Later invaders were the Khazars, Tartars, and various Mongol peoples, the Turks, the Mongols under Genghiz Khan and Tamerlane, the latter ones coming in the later "Middle Ages." It is indicative of the missionary outreach of the times that, although Genghiz Khan (Genghis Khan) favored Taoism, many of his soldiers, generals, leaders, and even family members were Nestorian Christians. Under Genghiz Khan's successors, the Nestorians became important at the Mongol court, and the Nestorian patriarch at Bagdad established a Peking archbishopric.

The ravages of the Norsemen throughout

Western Europe were fearful, Britain and Ireland suffering heavily. Britain had been a Christian realm under the Romans, but successive waves of invasion caused it to lapse into paganism more than once.

To recount even briefly the horrors of these invasions is enough to tempt one to agree that the era could be called the "Dark Ages." Lest we jump to this conclusion, it is well to remember that the Rome that was destroyed was a greater darkness. Moreover, the plunder and murder of that era did not begin to equal the horrors of the twentieth century. Since the beginning of the century, millions of Christians have been systematically executed: a sizable percentage of the Armenian people by the Turks; and millions of Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and Russian believers, as well as some Central European believers, have been murdered by Communists. Two world wars and many smaller wars have involved every continent. When World War II ended, entire nations were turned over to the Communists; ten million Germans were dead, and their strongest Protestant areas were turned over to rape and plunder and Communist rule. The Huns and Avars in their raping and looting were outdone by the unspeakable atrocities systematically carried out by the Communist forces. Instead of thousands being sold as slaves, as of old, millions were sent to slave labor camps, including some of those who had been Communist allies. The Western nations cooperated with this greatest disaster of history, and they continued to enrich the bankrupt Communist conspiracy. The "Dark Ages" were by comparison ages of light. Worst of all, while the victims of the Huns and Avars and other barbarians knew what was happening to them, and all Christians shared in their horror, today few are aware and fewer are concerned with what has transpired, and most are ignorant of the events of current history. The blackout of faith and of news emphasizes the darkness of the twentieth century.

Before continuing, another historical myth must be disposed of. According to the usual histories, one united church existed through the

centuries, until the tragic schism between East and West erupted in 1054 when the pope excommunicated the East and Patriarch Michael Coerularius excommunicated the papal legates. The cause of trouble between these two sees was the bitter quarrel over the transfer of the churches of Apulia, when the Normans conquered it, from the patriarch to the pope. But had one church existed prior to that date?

Before the Council of Nicea, the church had no organizational unity, although the various orthodox sees and groups had fraternal relations. Within a single area, churches could exist under a bishop or, later, in relationship to a monastery. In some areas, as in Armenia, there was conflict between the bishop's state-supported churches and the independent primitive church. The leadership exercised by a bishop, presbyter, or see, whether Constantinople, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, or any other, was spiritual and theological, not, outside its area, institutional. Constantine, by calling the Council of Nicea, tried to unite the church institutionally, not under one bishop, but under the state. The conflict between East and West was thus, who best represented that Roman State which had material and spiritual jurisdiction over the church? Because of the preeminence of the Eastern Empire, the patriarchate regarded itself as superior to Rome, although it was under the authority of the emperor. The Bishops of Rome, known later as the papacy, used the Forged Donation of Constantine and the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals to declare that Constantine had donated certain of his powers to the Bishops of Rome, so that they had royal power in central Italy and over the Western Empire, and full institutional and spiritual sovereignty over all the churches. This forgery, which dates back to the eighth century, was increasingly used by the Roman church thereafter. It was joined to a misuse of Augustine's *City of God* to strengthen the papacy. The Church, meaning Rome, was the City of God, and the State was the demonic City of Man, an interpretation by no means valid with reference to Christian States. Moreover, to limit

the City of God to the church, and then to one church by implication, was to institutionalize Augustine's theological statement. But Rome declared, "All the rulers of earth are bound to obey the bishop and to bow the neck before him." The Eastern Patriarch (and, after him, the Eastern churches, including later the Russian) bowed before Constantine and accepted his Roman conception. The papacy instead claimed to be the true successor of Constantine, and therefore the true Roman Empire, so that their church is properly called the Roman Catholic Church, as the revived and continuing dream of the Roman Empire, and the papacy created around itself the Roman college of cardinals, called itself the Roman *pontifex maximus*, and, in the election of the papacy, followed the old Roman formula.

The Frontier Age is that era in which the struggle of the Christian churches of Europe against this Roman concept took place, ending in the victory of Rome. Except for the Frankish church, the churches of Europe were independent of Rome. Indeed, the great Irish church had closer spiritual ties, as did others, with Constantinople, and its monks were instructors in Greek to Europe. The barbarian churches, first Arian and then orthodox, denied the Roman idea of papal sovereignty; they affirmed the royal control of churches but placed the king, the realm, and the church alike under God's law. The Frontier Age ended in the captivity of the Western churches, including those in England and Ireland, to the papacy, but, until the Reformation, these churches, except for the French church, continued to revolt against that captivity. Wiclif and Hus are only two of the more prominent names in that struggle. France, however, in the Avignon period, made the papacy captive to the French state. The Roman dream did not die with the Enlightenment, but simply took many new forms; the best example of it today is the United Nations.

The goal of orthodox Christianity in the Frontier Era was not an institutionally united church but a spiritually and theologically united church. Until the Cluniac movement, the monasteries

themselves were each independent units, neither under a central authority nor interested in such unity. Every Benedictine monastery was independent in spiritual affairs and had its own abbot. St. Benedict (born c. 480) was the great figure in the monastic movement, and the purpose of each of his monasteries was to be a center of learning and spiritual power for its area. The monastery of Cluny, founded in 910, spread its cause far and wide: the reform of monastic methods, centralization of monasteries, celibacy for the parish clergy, and, soon, very steadily, the subordination of all the churches to Rome. Until this time, and even later, the parish clergy were married men and ordained men. At least one pope, Hadrian II (or Adrian, 867-872) was a married man. Monks were usually not ordained men until later. The impulse to sacerdotal celibacy was a neo-Platonic and unbiblical contempt of the world and of material things; it infected every area of the church in the West, but it was fought bitterly in every area also. In this struggle, the papacy sided with the monks. There had long been a bitter struggle in each area between the local monasteries, which were completely independent, and the parish clergy and their bishops. The monks looked with contempt on the parish clergy, who were married, deeply absorbed in political issues, alive to social trends, and clearly, as Christians, living in the world. The monks at their best were living out of the world, unconcerned by its problems, dedicated to learning and to spiritual exercises. They were, however, through their lack of involvement, their work, and the receipt of gifts, quick to become far richer than the parish clergy and bishops, immoral, luxurious, and yet proudly contemptuous of the "worldly" clergy. Some of the greatest learning came out of the monasteries, but also much of the greatest corruption. The raiding Norsemen always attacked monasteries in particular, knowing them to be centers of worldly wealth. Bishops sought to control the monasteries out of a concern for Christian decency, and to achieve unity in their area, but the monasteries resented every interference with their independence. The parish clergy had to please, humanly

speaking, their people and the bishop. The monks had no responsibility to any man, had their own lands and source of wealth, had time to work and to study, and they were thus easily irresponsible. The papacy interfered in this contest to side against the bishops and parish clergy in favor of the monks. The popes were anxious to break down the independence of the bishops, and intervention was a means of doing so. The monasteries increasingly placed themselves under papal jurisdiction, a remote control, to escape the very close local supervision of the bishops, and the papacy took up the cause of sacerdotal celibacy in return. Sacerdotal celibacy was an important cause to the papacy from Hildebrand on. First, by denying marriage to the parish clergy, feudal ties were cut, and the church was severed from dependence and interdependence on the local feudal structure. Second, by severing the local ties, it was possible to build up centralizing ties to the bishop and the papacy.

Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085) inaugurated the great papal campaign against clerical marriages. Significantly, Hildebrand, a papal politician and the power behind several popes, had been ostensibly a monk. At a time when monks were now as a rule ordained, he dressed as a monk but was neither ordained nor took vows. By 1000 A.D., monks were almost always ordained. Hildebrand, a man possibly of Jewish descent, was one of the greatest developers of papal power. Because of his lack of ordination, apparently, Emperor Henry IV denounced him as a "false monk." Gregory VII, or Hildebrand, was elected pope on April 22, 1073; before he could be consecrated on June 30, he had to be ordained a priest on May 22, not a surprising fact, since the papacy had long been a political office.

Gregory VII launched an attack on the married clergy, and, in Italy in particular, celibacy was enforced ruthlessly. Cardinal Damiani attacked the wives of the Milanese clergy with the coarsest and vilest kind of invective, saying in part:

I address myself to you, you darlings of the priests, you tidbits of the devil, poison of minds, daggers of souls, aconite of drinkers, bane of eaters, stuff

of sin, occasion of destruction. To you I turn, I say, you gynaeceae of the ancient enemy, you hopoes, vampires, bats, leeches, wolves. Come and hear me, you whores, you wallowing beds for fat swine, you bedrooms of unclean spirits, you nymphs, you sirens, you harpies, you Dianas, you wicked tigresses, you furious vipers...

Every means was used in Italy to break up these lawful marriages of the clergy and to enforce the new idea of a celibate parish clergy. In Italy, as elsewhere, most of the bishops resisted, and in much of Europe the marriages continued to be the rule for a few generations more. It should be noted that celibacy was not even the rule for all monks. After 1200, most Western churches complied, but they now faced the increasing immorality of the clergy and the growing contempt of the laity for the clergy.

The means of enforcing celibacy were often savage. In Italy, under Gregory VII, and for some time thereafter, married priests were castrated and lost their noses and ears as well. By awarding the property of married clerics to informants, hoodlums were encouraged to plunder the homes of the clergy and to plant feminine garments on even the "innocent" and complying clergy, so that both married and celibate clergy were attacked by the armed mobs. The wives and daughters of the clergy, usually the outstanding of the parish, were treated as prostitutes.

Up to this time and for a time thereafter, monasticism had been central to Christian scholarship and missions. In the twelfth century, lay movements began to replace monasticism, now too centralized to have its old vigor. Moreover, having used the monks to break the independence of the parish clergy, the papacy steadily bypassed the monks to emphasize the work of the now independent parish priests.

The contribution of monasticism was a great one. When the original Celtic church of Britain, for example, had been forced to withdraw with the Celts to the western part of the island, it was the monks who came in to convert first the Anglo-Saxons and then the Danes. The various layers of paganism, Celtic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon,

and Danish, left their mark on Britain and on the church, which had to battle against paganism within and without. Thus, the earliest pictorial representation of the murder of Thomas Becket shows the archbishop wearing not a mitre, as later pictures added, but a Phrygian cap such as was common to the old military cult of Mithraism. It is quite likely that, as Margaret Murray in *The Divine King in England* maintains, Becket and others were knowing members of a pagan faith and played the part of the sacrificial divine victim. In England and throughout Europe, the old fertility cults were fought by orthodox Christianity as the "witches' covens." In the later "Middle Ages" they flourished as Christianity declined.

The glory of monasticism came to focus in Ireland. Ireland was the one country of Western Europe not only unconquered by the Romans, but also untouched by Roman influences. Ireland was then known as Scotia, with only the north called Erin. When, in the fifth century, Roman influence and power in Britain waned, the Irish began to raid Britain, and so many moved into Caledonia that the name Scotia was lost to Ireland and was given to Scotland. During these raids, a young Briton, Succath, son of a Christian Roman decurion or town councilman in the garrison near Dumbarton, was captured and taken to Ireland. Succath escaped six years later, and then he returned to Ireland as a missionary. He is known to history as St. Patrick. Succath's father and grandfather had been clergymen. The Irish had killed his father in a raid and had sold his sister as a slave in County Louth. Succath himself became a slave to Milchu, near Broughshane, five miles from Ballymena. At the time he was captured he was sixteen years old and not yet a Christian. His captivity shook him into a return to the faith of his fathers, so that he tells of praying as much as a hundred times daily during his slavery. He returned to Ireland as its missionary. As even an Irish historian, George T. Stokes, D.D., admits in *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, Succath or Patrick had no connection with Rome: "The pope then neither exercised the control nor

received the reverence afterwards yielded him.” Much of Ireland was converted to Christianity during Patrick’s lifetime.

Many myths have grown up around Patrick. Although Ireland was long free of snakes, Patrick supposedly drove them out. Many of the myths “Romanized” Patrick. One such myth says that Patrick’s sister, Lupait, became a nun, broke her vows, and mothered a son who later became famous for his sanctity. The repentant Lupait threw herself before Patrick’s chariot, begging for pardon. Patrick drove over her. She stood up, still alive and pleading, and threw herself in front of the chariot again, and again Patrick drove over her. Only after a third drive over his sister did Patrick forgive her! This myth endows the life of Patrick with the “reformed morality” of Gregory VII.

For a time, Ireland became the center of Christianity and of learning in the Western world, especially during the sixth and seventh centuries. It was an independent Christian church, free also of state control because of the weakness of Irish rulers. Ireland was politically divided, the reason later for its downfall, with various rulers perpetually at odds with one another. This left the church free to fulfill its destiny.

The illuminated manuscripts of Ireland, especially the *Book of Kells*, are without equal in the Western world. The fine and accurate detail is such that a tradition arose that angels did the work. J. O. Westwood has said of one manuscript,

I have counted in a small space, measuring scarcely three-quarters of an inch by less than half an inch in width, in the Book of Armagh, not fewer than one hundred and fifty-eight interlacements of a slender ribbon-pattern, formed of white lines edged by black ones upon a black ground.

The Irish missionaries went to Britain, the Continent, and to Iceland long before the Norsemen. They introduced not only Irish learning and the study of Greek, but also Irish monasteries, strong agricultural centers which helped Christianize many an area. They also introduced practices unknown to the other churches, such as the system of private confession to a priest, and a system of private penance. This system was later

adopted by Rome. After 700, the Irish houses on the Continent were brought closer to Rome and its authority, but they did not entirely lose their ties with Ireland. The Irish missionaries were not institutionally minded; they were individualistic and evangelistic. Theirs was a happy, not a melancholy or somber, Christianity. Among their great missionaries were Columba, Columbanus, Gall, Colman, and Fursa.

The Irish church differed from Rome and also from the various Continental churches in a number of ways. It was a thoroughly monastic church. This was an intensification of the Eastern influence. From the fifth century through the seventh, Syrian monasticism and colonies were very strong in southern Gaul, and the Syrian and even Assyrian languages were extensively spoken by the people. Chaldean inscriptions from this period have been found at Treves. Although the Frankish church was the European church that worked very early with Rome, even that church was more influenced by the East than by Rome. Because of the close connections of Southern Gaul with the East, the Albigenses and Manicheans of later centuries found their strongest support from people who were closer to Eastern influences and had a tradition of respect for them. The Irish church, born of this influence of the East on Southern Gaul, was markedly Oriental. Greek and Hebrew were studied by the learned Irish monks in preference to Latin.

The decline of Ireland came with the invasion of the Norsemen, beginning in 795 and serious from 823 on. The inability of the warring Irish kings to unite against their invaders proved to be their downfall. First came the “white pagans,” the Norwegians, and then the “black pagans,” the Danes. The Norwegians established a Kingdom of Dublin, which stood until 1014. The country as a whole was regularly plundered and ravaged, and many scholars, including perhaps Sedulius Scotus and Scotus Erigena, fled to the Continent. The Irish chiefs or kings were more interested in killing each other than in attacking the enemy, and they were all ready to aid the invaders if and when it helped them plunder a local enemy. In

the tenth century, the Dublin Danes became Christians and were ready to do more for the faith than the Irish chiefs. To this day, the diocese of Dublin is identical, not with an ancient Irish tribe's territory, but with the boundaries of the Danish Kingdom of Dublin. Because the Danes allied themselves with Rome instead of Armagh, the Irish center, the papal legates later made Dublin rather than Armagh the site of an archbishopric. Even in the eleventh century, however, the Irish church remained independent. Not until the middle of the twelfth century did Armagh submit to Rome, and even then Irish independence lingered in places like Clonard. In 1172, Gelasius, the first archbishop of Armagh, submitted to Henry II of England, and, in 1276, Pope Innocent V made over Ireland to England so that Henry II could enforce Catholic usages. This ended Irish religious and national independence.

Practical independence long survived the formal end of independence. The centuries-old bitterness of the Scots and the Irish towards the English rests more in the church than in racial differences. The Anglo-Norman peoples and the Celts were distinct races, a fact which led to some conflict. But more conflict was due to the fact that the Celtic churches retained much independence. The papacy resented Celtic religious independence and used the English monarchy to destroy it. The people often had Celtic bishops, and the English appointed rival bishops, as the English monarchy sought to suppress the independence from Rome and England of the native clergy. The battle between these peoples was bitter and savage; in a later era, the wars of William Wallace and Robert Bruce were waged as acts of vengeance.

In Celtic Wales, the golden age of culture was much later than in Ireland, coming under Prince Llewelyn the Great (1195-1240). Wales had, unlike Ireland and Scotland, been conquered by the Romans, between 48 and 79. Edward I (1272-1307) of England subjugated Wales, which had become more or less independent of England during the reign of Henry III; Henry had killed Llewelyn and executed Llewelyn's

brother David. Because most of our history is written from the English perspective, we usually read little about the important developments of the Celtic church and the Celtic culture. It is often imagined that the Welsh were a backward and primitive people who were gradually linked to civilization by the English. But the Welsh were the Britons of the days of the Roman occupation, and they were the first Christians of Britain: civilized, cultured, and Roman. These Britons had been pushed back into the mountains of Wales by waves of barbarian invaders. The roots of their culture therefore ran deep.

To return to the Franks, the change from the Merovingian kings to the House of Pepin had been made with papal approval. The Lombards had been a problem for Rome at least since the days of Marcus Aurelius. In 568 they invaded Italy and established themselves in the Po Valley region, which has been known ever since as Lombardy. The Lombards made no attempt to relate themselves to the empire. Although they finally dropped Arianism and accepted Roman Catholicism, and by the beginning of the eighth century spoke Italian, they remained Lombards, and the feeling of hostility between Lombard and Italian was real. Pope Gregory I, the Great (590-604), the first monk to become pope, was active in battling the Arian Lombards, who had seized the papal lands in northern Italy. A major portion of Gregory's charity had to go to refugees from the Lombard attack, but, while this was done in the name of Christian charity, it was a continuation of the old Roman imperial corn dole, and the line between statist action and Christian charity became blurred. Gregory began the close alliance between the papacy and the Benedictine monks as against the bishops and parish clergy. One fruit of this relationship was the mission to Britain in 596 of Augustine of Canterbury, so that Britain was evangelized by both the Irish monks and monks related to Rome. It should be remembered that the original English church still existed among the Celtic believers when these missionaries arrived.

When the Lombard king Liutprand (712-744)

began a campaign against the Byzantine territories in Italy, the papacy looked first to the Eastern Empire, preferring a distant lord to a near one. Leo the Isaurian, Eastern Emperor, took papal lands in Sicily, Calabria, and the Duchy of Naples as he moved up towards central Italy. The papacy had meanwhile already lost lands in Illyricum to the Slavs, and in north Africa and southern Gaul to the Arabs, and the result was a great financial loss. The papacy decided that it must become a strong and independent temporal power in Italy. As a result, with designs on the Lombards, an alliance was formed with the Lombards to keep them away from Rome, which lasted until Gregory II died. Liutprand, in view of the alliance, turned over some of the lands near Rome which he had conquered and which had not previously been under the papacy. The ability of the Lombards to defeat the Byzantine forces only made them a greater enemy to the pope's plans. Gregory III (731-741) sent three missions to Charles Martel, offering him a protectorate over the City of Rome if he would aid Rome in making war on the Lombards. Martel's son, Pepin the Short, made the alliance with Pope Stephen II. Meanwhile, the Lombards under King Aistulf drove the Byzantines out of Ravenna, held all of north and north-central Italy, and turned to conquer Rome itself. Stephen II went to France, approved of the dethronement of the Merovingian king, and anointed Pepin as king, apparently in return for a promise that the papacy would receive all the lands conquered from Byzantium by the Lombards. In 754 and 756, Pepin defeated the Lombards, forced them back to their earlier territories, and gave the Byzantine lands to the papacy in the Donation of Pepin. The Carolingian monarchy was now also the protectorate over the papal lands.

Charlemagne in 774 conquered all the Lombards and absorbed them into the Frankish Empire. Although Charlemagne (or Karl, for the Franks were Germans) confirmed the Donation of Pepin in 774, he made it clear that he was sovereign over even the papal lands. The last attempt

of any consequence, until the nineteenth century, to unite Italy had failed; the Lombards were destroyed. But the papacy now had an overlord, however friendly, in Charlemagne.

Charlemagne, a typical German of the day, was a large and tall man, vigorous in mind and body, and a powerful warrior. He considered the pope to be his subject and treated him as such. He was ready, for his own reasons, to bring autonomous churches like the Bavarian church under the papal power, since it simply served to unify his own realm. For the same reason he forced Christianity on the last pagan German nation, Saxony, beheading 4,500 Saxons at Verdun and moving many Saxons into Frankish territory and Franks into Saxony to accomplish his purpose. The penalty for avoiding baptism was death, to make sure that the Saxons would submit; the penalty also was death for Saxons who ate meat in Lent. The result was a long bitterness towards the church by Saxons. However, fear of offending God led the Saxons to abandon human sacrifice; having been baptized, they felt they were under God's love, and this was Charlemagne's purpose.

Some of the Saxons who accepted Christianity also suffered. A Saxon named Gottschalk, born about 806, had been put to school at Fulda under the monks, to be trained as a monk. When he later sought to leave, the abbot, Rabanus Maurus, held him against his will, declaring that no human power could annul the contract made by his parents. Gottschalk was subsequently ordained a Benedictine. As a result of his studies in Augustine, Gottschalk became convinced that the church had departed from the faith, and he began to preach the sovereignty of God and predestination. He visited Rome, Caesarea, Alexandria, and Constantinople, trying vainly to revive the old doctrines. In 849 his teachings were condemned, and he himself was suspended from office, whipped before the king and the bishops, and then imprisoned for life. As Gottschalk lay dying, Hinemar demanded either his submission or the denial of a Christian burial. Gottschalk refused to submit, and, after eighteen years of

imprisonment, the unwavering Gottschalk died on October 30, 867, in the prison of the monastery of Hautvillers. Eugena had written against his doctrines earlier.

To return to Charlemagne, it should be noted that he maintained an older, pagan attitude towards marriage and had four successive wives and five concubines, by whom he had eighteen children, eight of them by his wives. He was a devoted family man and could not bear to see his daughters marry and leave home, and they obediently remained single. He was not unduly concerned when they then bore several children out of wedlock. He was capable of great cruelty and of great kindness, and in his own way was zealous for the faith. Charlemagne brought such scholars as Alcuin and Peter of Pisa to the palace school, where young men were trained to teach in the bishop's schools.

In Rome, Pope Leo III was having serious problems, and his enemies accused him of adultery and perjury. In April, 799, Leo journeyed to Germany to ask for Charlemagne's protection. Charlemagne went to Rome on November 29, 800. The pope was allowed to clear himself on December 23 by an oath affirming his innocence. Two days later, December 25, 800, when Charlemagne went to mass, Leo, without Charlemagne's knowledge, crowned him Western Roman Emperor, declaring, "To Charles, Augustus, crowned of God, great and pacific Emperor of the Romans, life and victory!" According to Einhard, his secretary, Charlemagne remarked, "that he would not have entered the church that day, although it was a great festival, had he been able to foresee the Pope's intentions."

There was good reason for Charlemagne's annoyance. His empire was already larger than Byzantium, which was at this period weak. He had a position of superiority to the papacy; now, Leo had turned the tables and made Charlemagne the recipient of dominion from the papacy. The Western Roman Empire had been revived, to the advantage of the papacy, in bringing Western Europe under its power. In 813 Charlemagne had his son Louis crown himself

emperor, but an unfortunate precedent had been established. By crowning Charlemagne, the pope had severed himself from Byzantine control and indicated his position in relationship to Charlemagne and the Western Empire. The coronation also left Charlemagne with a problem of relationship to Byzantium. He offered to unite the empire by marrying the Byzantine empress, Irene, but her deposition in 802 ended his plan. After some negotiations with Michael I, Charlemagne was recognized as Western Emperor. Charlemagne also accepted a vassal's relationship to Caliph Harun ar-Rashid.

Charlemagne had inserted into his royal title the words "by God's Grace." This formula is very important to Germanic or barbarian Christianity. It placed the king and the state under Christian law. Charlemagne saw himself as the "bishop of bishops," clearly superior to the papacy, but also very clearly under God's law.

It is important here to analyze briefly the Germanic ideas as they fused with Christianity. Christianity denied the idea of human sovereignty, asserting instead the sovereignty of God and the binding authority of His Word, the Bible. The Germanic peoples also denied the idea of human sovereignty, as F. Kern has shown in *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, and they held to the authority of law. Law was sovereign, if any sovereign existed, law as ancient custom, justice, and right. Every king was under law and therefore could be *lawfully* resisted if he broke the law. Government meant not a continuing power with unchanging authority, but office and duty. Not the *state* but *law* was the abiding factor; the state could crumble, but the law remained. This Germanic reverence for law became Christianized. This meant that the function of the monarch became the creation of a Christian society. No monarch remained a monarch if he turned away from law. For this reason, German states could rise to great power, become empires, and then disappear completely when they ceased to move in terms of law. The disappearance of these states and empires did not produce anarchy, because their collapse came out of a concern for

law. For this reason, the excommunication of Henry IV by Gregory VII could threaten to dissolve the empire, for, if the people decided that Henry IV was outside the law, he was no longer an emperor but a criminal. The modern state retains and even increases its power when it violates or abandons God's law. The Germanic states simply began to crumble when the law was violated, because law was supreme, not the state. Constitutionalism was a revival of this ancient Germanic-Christian conception of the supremacy of law.

The tenth century German coronation-order is very instructive at this point:

Let the lord archbishop question the prince in these words:

"Wilt thou uphold the Holy Faith transmitted to thee by Catholic men, and follow after righteous works?"

He answers: "I will."

"Wilt thou rule and defend this the realm which is vouchsafed to thee by God, according to the righteousness of thy fathers?"

He answers: "In so far as I am able, with divine aid the succour of all His faithful, I swear to act faithfully in all things."

Therefore let the lord archbishop address the people:

"Will you submit yourselves to such a prince and governor, and uphold his rule with sure faith and obey his commands?"

Then the clergy and the people standing by shall acclaim with one voice: "Yea, yea, amen!"

Here is the essence of constitutionalism. A ruler did not hold office until he took the oath before God to keep the faith, and his office was valid only if he were faithful. To this day, in this tradition, a man officially takes office *only* after the oath to uphold the law is administered. The doctrine of interposition in the United States is a means of asserting the supremacy of the law over the man in office.

In direct conflict with this Christian conception of the Germanic peoples was the reviving Romanism of the papacy. In contrast to the supremacy of law was the supremacy of the papacy. The old Roman idea of sovereignty was

applied to the papacy. The total pagan obedience to a god-man who ruled a divine state from a divine office was steadily transferred to the papacy.

The Christian duty to obey God rather than men and to render to God the things that are God's (Mark 12:17, Acts 5:29) led to a distinction between *fealty* and *obedience*. To man one gave fealty, which is reciprocal. Fealty was obedience in terms of a higher law, so that the obedience was conditional upon the observance of the law. Unconditional obedience could be rendered to God alone. The Church of Rome denied that this distinction was valid with reference to the papacy. Some time before the great Investiture Struggle, Bishop Wazo of Liege (1042-1048) summed up the Roman attitude when he told the king, "To the pope we owe obedience; to you we owe fealty."

When Aristotle and his doctrine of state sovereignty were reintroduced in the West, the irresponsibility of the papacy was strengthened and increased. The European states, under the influence of scholasticism and Aristotle, dropped the idea of the supremacy of law, opting instead for state sovereignty. The divine right of kings was one outcome of this new doctrine. The supremacy of law was revived by the Reformation and triumphed in colonial American Puritanism and the Constitution.

Charlemagne, however feebly, began a stand which later German emperors were to develop in their struggle against the papacy. They held that they and all others were bound to the law and limited by the people's primary allegiance to the law. As Kern has summed up this "principle of responsibility" and "right of resistance": "It is the individual's task to protect the law against all, even against the State."

The Germanic-Christian perspective was defective in that it failed to recognize that church and state are separate spheres; it included the church into the feudal structure and made of the bishop a feudal lord. However, it did have one of the highest concepts of law in Christian history, and it placed law above the state as the permanent force.

The papacy fought for the freedom of the church, but it was a Roman and not a Christian idea of freedom. It now refused to recognize the state, although much earlier the bishops of Rome had seen the state as an independent sphere, as a separate area under God, and it worked to make the state a subordinate division of the papal empire. It insisted finally on ordaining emperors into the clergy. At his anointing, the emperor became a canon of St. Peter's in Rome, and various kings sometimes held canonries in several cathedrals. This first made the emperor's holy officers equal to bishops, then demoted them to canons, and then only their arm and not their head was anointed, to indicate their inferiority to the priesthood. With the Investiture Contest they were told they were not priests, nor could they represent Christ. The state was in effect cast out of the Kingdom of God if it did not subject itself to the papacy.

Pope and emperor each considered himself to be superior, but the imperial concept of law made the emperor the more responsible person. We have noted Charlemagne's caution with respect to Leo and his earnest desire to avoid a public trial. Let us consider the relationship of empire and papacy during the infamous Pornocracy, or the Rule of the Courtesans or Harlots, when harlots ruled over the papacy, 904-963, although the entire period, from 867 to 1049, with only brief interludes, was one of degradation. The election of a pope required the consent of the Roman clergy, nobles, and populace, and this Roman orientation ensured the primacy of politics over faith.

The harlots in question were three women: Theodora, wife of a leading nobleman of Rome, and her daughters, Theodora and Marozia. Liudprand of Cremona gives vivid details of some of their activities. Their lovers, bastard sons, and a grandson of Marozia were made popes, and these popes were men of the most outrageous character, even, as with John XII, openly drinking toasts to the devil and invoking pagan gods and goddesses as he rolled the dice. When a cardinal dared to rebuke him, he had the cardinal castrated. These charges and others were not mere

gossip, but sworn testimony in a trial at which Liudprand was present.

When Otto I, the Great, came to Rome to be crowned in 962, his first reaction to the charges was hardly commendable. Pope John, he observed, was "just a boy" and would outgrow his "wild oats" phase. When prelates called the detailed record to his attention, he deposed John and asked the Roman clergy to find a respectable priest to replace John. The only decent man they could find was a layman, Leo VIII, who was put through all the orders in a day and made a pope. The reaction of the Romans was to fight for Pope John, and Leo VIII interceded for the Roman rebels. John returned to Rome as soon as Otto left and began to wreak vengeance on the prelates who agreed to his deposition. One cardinal lost his nose, tongue, and two fingers. Otto, hearing of this, started back to Rome only to learn on the way that an outraged husband had killed Pope John when he caught John raping his wife. The official epitaph on Pope John's tomb at Rome calls him "an ornament of the whole world." The Romans then rejected Leo and elected Benedict V; Otto restored Leo, who died, however, in the following year. Despite his leniency towards Rome, Otto was concerned that Christian order be maintained, and to this end in 963 he gained a pledge from Rome that no pope would be elected without his approval. Otto's control of the German clergy was surer and less indulgent; the distance from Rome made control difficult, and Otto grew weary of trying to reform Rome.

Otto III (983-1002) was brought up by his mother, the Byzantine Princess Theophano, and his grandmother, Adelheid, Otto I's widow, and Archbishop Willigis of Mainz; these three instilled in him a high sense of duty. Otto was also under the influence of the great and learned scholar Gerbert, a Frenchman. His thinking was less Germanic than that of his predecessors, and was at times Byzantine. Otto III tried to reconstitute the old Rome, with himself as emperor, exercising Constantine's sway over the church, and Gerbert as pope, ruling as Sylvester II (Sylvester I having been Bishop of Rome in Constantine's

day). Gerbert was made pope in 999. The year 1000 was to see a new beginning in Rome, a new age with a new Constantine and a new Sylvester, a reformed church and a new Jerusalem in the empire. In two years Otto was dead, and in 1003 Sylvester was dead.

Sylvester had described a close predecessor, Boniface VII, as a "horrid monster" and, at a synod at Rheims, said that Boniface was "a man who in criminality surpassed all the rest of mankind." Worse was to follow. Benedict IX (1033-1045), the son of Count Alberic, was elected pope when he was barely twelve. His brother was made prefect of the city to give the family total control. By the age of twenty he had a record of vice and murder which amazed all Europe. One older historian has said that, in their style of rule, the two brothers "resembled two captains of banditti." Pope Victor III (1086-7) spoke with horror of Benedict's "rapes, murders, and other unspeakable acts." The Romans drove out Benedict in self-defense. At this point the defect in the German system comes clearly to the front. The Emperor Conrad (1024-1039) reinstated Benedict when the pope offered to excommunicate all prelates who were supporting rebels against Conrad.

Meanwhile, a "reform" party of the clergy and monks was active in Rome, headed by Cardinal Peter Damiani and Hildebrand. Another of their number was John Grarian, a simple and devout man. Although against simony, the purchase of church offices, the "reform" party encouraged John to buy the papacy from Benedict for 2000 pounds of gold, which was what Benedict's family had paid for the office originally. Benedict wanted the money to help win the hand of a lady for whom he felt a great passion.

John took the papacy as Gregory VI (1045-1046), only to face two rival popes: Benedict IX, who returned and seized the Lateran, and Sylvester III. Gregory spent his remaining funds trying to hire soldiers to bring law and order to Rome. Assassins swarmed the streets, killed within the churches, violated women pilgrims, and reduced Rome to such a state that now the

Romans were ready to appeal for imperial help to Henry III, offering him a coronation at Rome in return for aid. Henry did more than help the Romans; to their dismay, he took charge, called a Synod (1046) at Sutri, and disposed of all the popes; and since, as Bishop Benno said, no Roman priest was found who "was not either illiterate, or guilty of simony, or living in concubinage," the emperor ordered the naming of the German Bishop of Bamberg as Pope Clement II.

Clement II was the first German pope. He called a synod immediately to order the degradation of any prelate involved in simony, the sale or purchase of church offices. The meeting broke up in disorder. The bishops accused Clement of wanting to empty all episcopal sees. Clement died in a few months, said to have been poisoned by Benedict, who resumed office for eight months, until he was supplanted by Pope Damascus, who came with German guards; but Damascus died only twenty-eight days later. Another reforming German pope followed, Leo IX (1049-1054), who wore himself out travelling everywhere in the cause of reform. Simony was now so deeply rooted everywhere in the church that the character of bishops was at times beyond comprehension. This wretched state of affairs is evident in the order of Leo that all bishops must be asked, before consecration, if they had been guilty of sodomy, fornication, bestiality, or adultery.

When Leo died, Hildebrand, who at first had been hostile to German reforms, now looked to Germany for another reforming pope. Most of the German bishops, in view of the high rate of papal deaths, viewed the prospect of election with horror. Victor II, the last German pope, lasted two years (1055-1057), and Stephen IX lasted six months. Stephen, before dying, had sided with Hildebrand's plans to gain independence from German control by turning to Lorraine, Stephen's brother being Duke of Lorraine.

The Emperor Henry III died in 1056, and Henry IV was only five years old. The Roman nobles and provincial barons named Benedict X as pope and then looted the churches, stealing even the gold and silver vessels of St. Peter's.

Hildebrand returned from Germany, bribed away some of Benedict's supporters, consecrated the Archbishop of Florence as Nicholas II (1059-1061), and then through him issued a decree that papal elections would henceforth be restricted to cardinals, who would then merely notify the emperor. This became the standard method, although ignored by Hildebrand in his own election.

Gregory VII (Hildebrand, 1073-1086) brought ruthless and unscrupulous dedication to the papacy in his crusade for its supremacy, sometimes shocking even Cardinal Damiani and Abbot Didier of Monte Cassino. When Didier wanted to punish an abbot who had the eyes of some of his monks gouged out for their sins, Gregory instead made a bishop of this abbot.

His opponent, the brilliant Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV (1056-1106), was no less proud and ruthless. He did not hesitate to humiliate the defeated Saxons in 1075. He was fully capable of countering anything Gregory could do, and, having been reared and spoiled by a weak mother, his desires and pride ranged high, and his intelligence was equal to them. Henry, however, had a serious check to his conduct: the Germanic Christian concept of law. An Ante-Nicene Father, Clement of Alexandria, had declared, in *The Miscellanies* (Bk. I, ch. 24), "He is a king, then, who governs according to the laws and possesses the skill to sway willing subjects." This faith had deep roots among Henry's northern subjects. It meant that at any moment he could cease to be king if the people believed him to be against the law.

The clash between Henry IV and Gregory VII came in the Investiture Contest. Bishops were both church officers and, by virtue of church lands, powerful lords. The prince of each realm therefore found it necessary to regard these bishops, often able warriors, as subject barons or lords. The monarch therefore invested the bishop with ring and crozier as symbols of his authority and required homage of him for his feudal possessions. The bishop was thus a dual person, having, as it were, two bodies, one as a lord temporal

and the other as a lord spiritual. The struggle involved authority over both. A distinction was made between the two persons of a bishop, and the bishop himself was always conscious of it. In an extreme case, a French bishop laid claim to strict celibacy as bishop while being a married man as a baron. In another instance, a French prelate, Odo of Bayeaux (or Odo de Conteville, 1032-1097) half-brother of William the Conqueror, was guilty of trying to raise troops in England in order to go to Italy and seize the papacy on the death of Gregory VII. As a bishop, Odo claimed to be beyond William's jurisdiction and only responsible to the papacy. At the suggestion of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, William arrested and imprisoned Odo, as an earl, and not as a bishop. For a monarch to invest a bishop meant that the church could be used simply as an instrument for governmental policy, and it was so used, although monarchs on the whole were more prone to reform than the papacy. For the papacy to claim the right of investiture meant that the church belonged to the papacy and was no less under control and limited in its freedom; and for the papacy to claim, as it increasingly did, the right to supremacy over the state, meant the destruction of the liberties of both church and state in that a single bishop would be all-powerful. In *Dictatus Papae*, c. 1075, Gregory VII set forth the claims of the church:

1. That the Roman Church was founded by God alone.
2. That the Roman pontiff is alone to be called universal.
3. That he alone has power to depose or reconcile bishops.
4. That his legate takes precedence of all bishops in council, inferior Orders, and can give sentence of deposition against them.
5. That the pope has power to depose (bishops) in their absence.
6. That we ought not even to remain in the same house with those who have been excommunicated by him.
7. That he alone has the power of making laws in

case of necessity; of gathering new people; of making an abbey out of a house of canons, and the reverse; of dividing a rich bishopric and uniting poor ones.

8. That he alone may use the imperial insignia.
9. That all princes should kiss his feet, and his alone.
10. That his name alone should be recited in church.
11. That his name is the only one of its kind in the world.
12. That he may depose Emperors.
13. That, in case of necessity, he may translate bishops from one see to another.
14. That he may ordain a clerk from any church, according as he wills.
15. That he who is ordained by him may be set over any church but may not bear arms; and ought not to accept promotion from any (other) bishop.
16. That no synod ought to be called general, except with his permission.
17. That no chapter and no book of canons be accepted apart from his authority.
18. That no sentence of his ought to be revised, and that he alone has the power of revising it.
19. That he himself can be judged by no man.
20. That no one dare to condemn an appellant to the Apostolic See.
21. That the greater causes of every church must be referred to it.
22. That the Roman Church has never erred nor, according to Scripture, will ever err.
23. That the Roman pontiff, if canonically ordained, by the merit of Peter is, without doubt, rendered holy: according to the testimony of St. Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, many holy fathers agreeing thereto, as is contained in the decree of Pope Symmachus.
24. That by his ordinance and permission, subjects may accuse their superiors.
25. That without summoning a synod, he may depose and reconcile bishops.
26. That no one be reckoned a Catholic, who does not agree with the Roman Church.
27. That he may absolve the subjects of wicked

rulers from their allegiance.

The German bishops were outraged at this and other claims, and at the threats of excommunication, and in January 1076, at the Synod of Worms, issued a letter to Gregory, stating in part:

Who is not astounded by thine unworthy conduct in arrogating to thyself a new and unlawful power in order to destroy the due rights of the whole brotherhood?...And since, as thou didst publicly proclaim, none of us has been to thee a bishop, so thou henceforth wilt be pope to none of us.

Henry refused to put away the excommunicated counsellors and continued to invest new bishops, and Gregory excommunicated him. Not only that, Gregory declared him deposed as monarch. Rebellion against Henry was thus sanctified. The result threatened chaos in Germany. The Saxons were ready to revolt. The feudal nobility saw it as an opportunity to advance themselves. Common people were ready to see Henry as an outlaw, since their conception of law was not strictly Biblical, and religious superstition and convention were strong. The church saw many bishops at first stand fast, but then waver or submit to the disintegration of Henry's position.

Henry moved quickly and shrewdly, turning defeat into victory, and public penitence into public triumph. In one of the coldest winters on record, he crossed the snows and ice into Italy. He was greeted with joy by the Italians, who were ready to provide him with troops against the pope, and Gregory hastily retreated to Canossa, a strong castle southeast of Parma. The Italians were disgusted at Henry's refusal to take arms; to them, war against a pope, or the murder of a pope, meant nothing. Henry had the German sense of law in mind, and shrewdly wanted to satisfy rather than offend it. By going to Canossa, Henry kept Gregory out of Germany; and by standing barefoot, dressed as a pilgrim, for three days in the snow, from dawn until evening in January of 1077, Henry forced the unwilling pope to withdraw the excommunication and deposition. The pope's unpopularity was increased and

Henry's dramatic sense of respect for law enhanced.

The peace between pope and emperor was soon broken and the excommunication and deposition renewed, and an anti-king was named by the pope. But the pope and his appointee were less successful and less effective now. The rival emperor, Rudolf of Swabia, had his right hand blessed by the pope, only to lose his arm and life in battle. The German clergy again declared Gregory deposed; in 1084, Henry conquered Rome and installed Guibert as anti-pope and had himself crowned emperor. Gregory's cardinals were also deserting him. He turned to the Norman realm in southern Italy for help, and Robert Guiscard recaptured Rome, looted it, burned a third of it, and left it more devastated than the barbarians had done. As a result, Rome was no safe place for Gregory, and so the Normans mercifully spared him from public wrath by taking him south with them to Monte Cassino. Gregory died a miserable man, declaring, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity and therefore I die in exile." All the same, he had won: he had successfully laid the foundations of papal absolutism. In an earlier era, Pope John VIII (872-882) had declared of the Carolingian Emperor Charles II, that he was the *saltator mundi*, "the savior of the world constituted by God," whom "God established as the Prince of His people in imitation of the true King Christ, His son...so that what he (Christ) owned by nature, the king might attain to by grace." John's statement was a Roman exaltation of the emperor; Gregory's stand was a Roman exaltation of the papacy.

Urban II forbade all lay investiture in 1095 at Clermont (the Crusading Council) and in 1099 at Rome. Later, a compromise was reached at the Concordant of Worms in 1122. Laymen could not invest with ring or crozier; the clergy were granted the right to free election, but the election had to be in the king's presence. In Germany, the bishop's temporal rights were granted by a touch of the royal sceptre after doing homage. In principle, lay investiture was alien to the freedom of the church, but the papacy had fought it for the

wrong reasons. The Investiture Contest in England was also a bitter one, but easier for the papacy than the battle in France.

The Holy Roman Empire was to attain its greatest power under the Hohenstaufen emperors, Frederick I and Frederick II. The Hohenstaufens came from Waibling, and their main rivals were the Welf family, giving rise to the Guelf and Ghibelline parties, but the conception of the empire was now less Christian. These German states and empires, amazingly powerful as they were, did not usually outlast their sovereignty among the Germans; hence, the German monarchs could not create permanent states because it was law, not the state, which was permanent and sovereign. For this reason, the denial of worldly sovereignty of the state, the Reformation under Luther and Calvin took root among the Germanic peoples rather than elsewhere; for this reason also the Germanic principalities and states long resisted the trend to absolutism and centralization.

Gregory VII had resisted tradition in his struggle, and he once wrote, "The Lord hath not said, 'I am Tradition,' but 'I am the Truth.'" Nothing could have been more clearly stated. But the more papal authority became Roman, the less it became Biblical, and the more important tradition became to Rome. Gregorian and post-Gregorian Catholicism had to posit, in Roman fashion, a confusion of the human and the divine. The incarnation of Christ was continued in the church, and the church and the hierarchy acted as the incarnating link between heaven and earth. In the Biblical perspective, the church is the body of Jesus Christ in His perfect humanity, as the new Adam and fountainhead of the new human race. The church enjoys a community of life, but not of substance, with His deity.

This bypassing of Chalcedon was apparent also in transubstantiation, which received strong formulation in the ninth century from Paschasius Radbertus. The elements were changed into the body and blood of Christ, and simple souls debated the propriety of eating, digesting, and voiding God Himself! The distinction between

the created and the uncreated, between the human and the divine, had been blurred and destroyed.

Feudalism was an important aspect of this era. It has been strictly defined by Carl Stephenson as “the peculiar association of vassalage with fief-holding that was developed in the Carolingian Empire and thence spread to other parts of Europe.” It was thus a political relationship of lord and vassal in terms of the protection of property. Property was thus central. Feudalism in a more general sense can be used to describe a decentralized society in which a variety of land tenures, courts, authorities, and jurisdictions prevail. The modern American complex of governments, town, county, state, and federal, with the county as central, is a feudal inheritance and a Protestant feudal restoration. It is a modern mistake to assume that feudalism was incompatible with a strong state. William the Conqueror introduced feudalism into England both to strengthen England and his own royal power. Feudalism was, however, incompatible with state sovereignty and absolutism. Feudalism meant local government and local protection. Medieval Germany alone had more than ten thousand castles, most of them now gone. These castles meant shelter and security to the local people. They were the dwelling places of the local aristocracy and central to the function of that aristocracy were law, justice, and protection. In England, the castles were extensively built after the Norman Conquest, when Stephen was king, and the weakness of the monarchy enabled the Norman nobility to plunder the Anglo-Saxon populace from their strongholds. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 1137 makes fearful reading. This is in sharp contrast to the entry for 1087, which says of the “good peace” which William the Conqueror established, “so that a man of any account might go over his kingdom unhurt with his bosom full of gold.”

Despite the victories won by the papacy, this era was not one of defeat. Not only were concepts of law developed and made a part of Western culture, but the idea of the separateness of the law

spheres, which Augustine and others had taught, was introduced into the political arena. There were very great present and future victories written into the era.

It was also, as William Carroll Bark has made clear, a changing society, resourceful in technology, adaptation, and invention. Many of the basic inventions of pre-mechanized agriculture were first put to use in this era. Architecture made great achievements. The crank, an important discovery, came from this period. The efficient use of horses (“we might almost speak of an equine revolution,” observes Bark) and many other advances took place. According to Bark, “the ancient world had lost its capacity to originate.” This capacity the Frontier Age amply possessed. It was by no means the unchanging, sterile era of most caricatures; it was an important nursing ground and battlefield of basic Christian liberties.

It is easy to portray this period, as well as the “medieval” era, as savage, cruel, and primitive. Certainly, fantastic acts of cruelty in high places existed in that era; they still do, but they are less spoken of. The men of those centuries dressed colorfully, with a delight in bright, strong hues. Their character matched their sense of color: whether good or evil, they were strong. In every age, of course, compromisers and time-servers abound, but in some eras, uncompromisingly good and evil men appear and dominate history. In our time, the “good” man is too often the grey, neutral, uninvolved man; whereas in this Frontier Era, and through the Reformation, men were forthright in holiness and righteousness, unashamed in seeking saintliness, and sensitive to what godliness required of them.

It is important to remember, too, in thinking of men in this era, that travel was extensive. It was commonplace for men from western Europe to travel to or settle in Russia, Byzantium, and Armenia, and, later, in Ghenghis Khan’s empire. Until the Turks appeared, they also travelled extensively throughout the Islamic world. Europe, Asia Minor, North Africa, and portions of Asia were closely linked. The sense of being

Christendom was real. Thus, a very extensive colony of Armenians settled in Poland in the early “medieval” period and retained their identity into the twentieth century. The monasteries were centers of learning, with monks of many nationalities and languages as members of them. Men did not think in terms of “Europe,” but rather in terms of Christendom, and Christendom was not limited to the papacy.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. Concerning the conflict between natural and revealed law: Our American Declaration of Independence, reflecting the language of the Enlightenment, speaks of natural rights based on natural law. If there is no natural law, only the revealed law of God, can we truly be said to have any “rights”? If so, how must we define “rights”?

2. The emphasis on reason during this period was largely based on the belief that man, as a rational creature, was intellectually and emotionally objective. Can fallen man ever achieve true objectivity? What is “true objectivity”?

Lesson Twenty

Lecture #7

The New Humanism or Medieval Period

Listen to CD Lecture #7-- "Time and History: Why History is Important," then answer the following questions.

Review Questions

1. What was one of the changing characteristics after the fall of Rome?
2. What were some of the characteristics of the Germanic tribes?
3. Tell how Charlemagne converted many of the Germanic people.
4. What marked the end of the Dark Ages?
5. Who besides the Turks became victims of invasions by the Crusaders?
6. The Pope equated the church with what kingdom?
7. What three institutions claimed to be sovereign during these times?
8. What did the revised teachings of Aristotle teach?
9. What is wrong with romantic love?
10. What is the difference in the kinds of prayer of the early and later medieval times?

Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion Questions

1. How did the monks help foster civilization?
2. How did Charlemagne civilize the people? What kind of people did they become?
3. What were the Crusades? What was their original purpose? What happened in reality?
4. What are some of the errors that secular scholars teach about this period?
5. Is there a difference between the kingdom of God and the church?

6. What three agencies claimed power? What was their power?
7. What did the revival of Aristotelian philosophy lead to and why? Describe the philosophy of Aristotle.
8. Discuss the marriage described. What do you think are its benefits or problems? Discuss the advice of the letters. What are some problems with “Romantic” love?

Lesson Twenty-One

Chapter #14

The New Humanism

INTRODUCTION

One of the modern errors concerning the so-called “middle ages” is to see them as church oriented. As against this, we must see the era as one which sought to be Christian. Civilization was not controlled by the church, although the church sought control and for a time gained central power. Men were more governed by their faith than by the church. Again, some think of it as a time of stagnation, when instead it was a time of vitality, initiative, and change. Another myth depicts it as a time when old men, kings, priests, and bishops controlled Europe, whereas perhaps no other period of history has been more dominated by youth.

Four great powers were interested in controlling European civilization. First, the Holy Roman Emperors sought to consolidate their power in order to govern Europe. Their sense of mission was usually Christian, and, although there were exceptions, most saw themselves as protectors of Christian Europe. Friedrich Heer in *The Holy Roman Empire* and Giorgio Falco in *The Holy Roman Republic* give us interesting perspectives on the function of the empire.

Second, the developed monarchies also sought to gain supreme power in their own realms, and they struggled against both the Holy Roman Empire and the church to realize their independence.

Third, the church sought to gain ascendancy

over the empire and over the national states as the true representative of Christ’s kingship over men and nations.

Fourth, the universities sometimes claimed that scholars could better interpret God’s law and truth, and that they were thus the logical authorities to be heeded by church and state.

Meanwhile, the revival of Aristotle’s philosophy was shifting the emphasis from God and revelation to autonomous reason and nature (and natural law). Man was viewed in terms of Aristotle’s philosophy as a rational animal rather than a religious creature, so that humanism was beginning to infect every area of life through education.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

As we have seen, the “Dark Age” and the “Medieval” or “Middle Ages” are terms which indicate a prejudice against the Christian era. All that happened from the collapse of Rome to the revival of the classical or humanistic perspective was seen by humanists as essentially an interlude, an in-between era when mankind was failing to achieve its destiny. History textbooks are full of the horrors committed in these centuries, but are too often unwilling to describe the atrocities of twentieth century Communism or the perils of living in the “great civilization” of New York City. Thus, a new story on Yemen during the summer of 1964 spoke of “Medievalism’s long

grip on the country,” and then made it clear that this meant “filth, poverty, ignorance and disease as a matter of policy, to ward off the hobgoblins of western civilization.” This too often is the popular idea of “Medievalism,” and it is an expression of prejudice, not a report on history.

The “medieval” period is seen as an era followed by the “fresh air” of the “Renaissance,” the revival of classical humanism. But humanism never died; it was constantly in warfare with Christianity and often successfully infiltrated it. Neoplatonism was influential in the early church and in the frontier era. Aristotelian thought was very powerful in the “medieval” era, and Platonism and neoplatonism were especially important in the “Renaissance.” The “Renaissance” can be seen either as a renewal of civilization, if we understand civilization to be humanism, or it can be seen as the collapse of civilization, if we define true civilization in terms of the Kingdom of God.

We have already seen the revival, in triumphant form, of the new and ostensibly Christian humanism in the doctrine of papal sovereignty. As this new humanism developed, it became more and more clearly humanism and less and less Christian. Basic to Christianity is the sovereignty of God; basic to humanism is the sovereignty of man or of some human or this-worldly institution. When sovereignty is denied to God, whether openly or implicitly, it means too that predestination or total government and planning is also transferred from God to man. For a time, this transfer can be done under a semi-Christian guise, but, sooner or later, this illegitimate union breaks up. Either man openly asserts his sovereignty and denies God, or the sovereignty of man and the state is rejected in the name of God. The old classical paganism reasserted itself in the papal doctrine of sovereignty, and the era from the eleventh century to the Reformation can be described as New Humanism.

Humanism became prevalent in the doctrines of church, state and university, but Christian faith did not perish. It remained strong and vital throughout the era, manifesting itself in many revivals and culminating in the Reformation. It is

instructive to study the preaching of the period before Hildebrand and to see how little it resembled Roman Catholicism. For example, in Anglo-Saxon England Aelfric (955-1025) wrote homilies for the use of the parish clergy. In one of these, extensively used, he wrote:

Jesus then said, “What say ye that I am?” Peter answered him, “Thou art Christ, the living God’s son.” The Lord to him said for answer, “Blessed art thou, Simon, dove’s child,” & c. Bede the expounder unveils to us the deepness of this lesson.

The Lord said to Peter, “Thou art rocken.” For the strength of his faith, and for the firmness of his confession, he received that name: because he joined himself with steadfast mind to Christ, who is called a Rock by the apostle Paul.

“And I will build my church upon this rock”: that is, upon the faith which thou confessest. All God’s convocation is built upon the rock: that is, upon Christ; because he is the groundwall of all the structures of his own church.

“Rocken” here means, in relation to Rock, what golden is to gold, and earthen to earth. This is superb exegesis, clear-cut, and in line with both the ancient faith of the church and the later stand of the Reformation. Preaching of this sort continued, although it later came to be called heresy by Rome. The people hungered for it and resented unbiblical preaching. Even after the twelfth century, a clergyman in the diocese of Worcester, England, was faced with the indignation meeting held by his congregation after church because he had quoted poetry in his sermon. The people resented the intrusion of classical learning.

An important form of the spiritual battle which marked this era was the struggle between revealed law and natural law. Three answers are possible in this situation: victory for revealed law, victory for natural law, or victory for compromise. The “medieval” period saw victory go first to compromise and then to natural law. The victory of natural law resulted in renewed statism and the Renaissance. The revival and triumph of revealed law was the Reformation. Very often this struggle is pictured as one between “reason” and “faith,”

but this tends to obscure the basic issue. St. Anselm (1033-1109), born in Italy and later Archbishop of Canterbury, was certainly a great champion of reason, but he held that one must believe in order to understand, that a religious commitment precedes reasoning and is basic to it. Anselm held that thought itself is impossible without God and the idea of God, so that a man's reasoning assumes God as the only way of reasoning intelligently. Anselm was thus not against reason, but he was against the idea that reason can be independent of God and independent of God's revealed law, the Bible. This was the basic issue: revealed law versus natural law.

In the political order, natural law meant that sovereignty belonged to a human order. This idea of human sovereignty led much later, in the "modern" era, to the doctrines of the divine right of kings and the divine right of the people, by which was meant the absolute sovereignty of either the ruler or the people, who were beyond and above the law. According to Otto Gierke, "There appeared already in the twelfth century the germ of a doctrine of Sovereignty which in its monarchical form exalts the one and only Ruler to an absolute plenitude of power...It was within the Church that the idea of Monarchical Omnipotence first began to appear." The states began to answer the papal claims to sovereignty with their own doctrines of sovereignty, derived also from Roman natural law; the people, whose security had once been their rights in terms of revealed law, now began to derive those rights from natural law, an idea which led to popular sovereignty and the social contract. And, as sovereignty began to be asserted on all sides, by people, church, state, and university, the authority of law began to recede.

In Germany, the Holy Roman Empire went to the Hohenstaufens after 1125, to Lothair II (1125-1139), Conrad III (1139-1152), and Frederick I (1152-1189, Barbarossa or the Red-beard). Frederick Barbarossa steadily replaced the bishops, favoring Roman centralization with strong-minded bishops of the old school: men who favored the Empire and the Emperor but were

stern and independent men. The papacy had once favored the Empire as a strong power to be used in gaining independence for the papacy as a civil state and in getting and holding central Italian lands. Having achieved this power, the papacy was hostile to German control of northern Italy. The papacy made the new Norman realm in south Italy, established by Norman invasions after 1016, its fief and used it against the Empire. When the people of Rome rebelled against the papacy and established a Roman republic on the old Roman principles, Frederick I waged war against the republic, executed one of its leaders, Arnold of Brescia, and thereby helped reestablish the papal power. But because Frederick refused to crush the Roman republic or commune, and because he refused to wage war against the Normans, as the pope, Hadrian IV, the only English pope, wished him to do, the papacy allied itself with the Norman kingdom. The pope granted, in exchange for support and a large tribute of money, the status of papal fief to William I, Norman king of Sicily (1154-1166), called "the Bad," and the right to control the elections of bishops in his realm. William I lived in a style more in conformity to Islam, with eunuchs and concubines. The Germans, who were used to endless trouble with the papacy in the election of their bishops, were resentful. When the papal legate, Cardinal Roland, the future Pope Alexander III, read a papal letter to Frederick which implied that the Empire was a fief or beneficia conferred upon Frederick by the pope, the angry Otto of Wittelsbach was prevented from cutting down Roland only by Frederick's quick intervention. The papacy was clearly claiming both political power and supremacy over the Empire and spiritual supremacy over all the churches. Hadrian IV was compelled on challenge by Frederick to retract his claim, but the retraction was an evasion. The hatred of the papacy for German power was intensified when Frederick betrothed his eldest son, Henry, to Constance, heiress to the throne of William II, King of Southern Italy and Sicily (the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies). Frederick drowned while bathing in a Sicilian river during the Third Crusade.

Under Frederick's son, Henry VI (1190-1197), the center of the Empire was transferred from Germany to Italy in order to ensure the addition of the Norman kingdom to the Empire. An international conspiracy against Henry VI was led by Richard the Lionhearted, whose sister was William II's widow. Henry was able to capture Richard on his way home from the Third Crusade and to use this to dissolve the alliance. Henry began to think in terms of an empire more Roman than German. He planned to make succession in the empire hereditary rather than elective. He tried to unite the Empire with Byzantium by marriage but failed, although he did receive some tribute from Constantinople. The kings of Little Armenia and of Cyprus became his vassals. The Mohammedan princes of North Africa paid to him the tribute formerly paid to the Norman kings. Germany was now a great world power, but it had ceased to be a German empire and had become Roman. (Frederick I had begun the usage, "Holy Roman Empire.")

Henry's successor was his child Frederick II (1211-1250), called *Stupor Mundi*, a brilliant but skeptical ruler when he came to maturity. Frederick II, it was observed, was half Norman by blood and all Sicilian by taste and training. Frederick I (Barbarossa) had held to Roman law and its claim to world dominion by the Roman emperor. Frederick II's tutors were Popes Honorius III and Innocent III. Innocent III held to the Roman claims for the papacy. Ernst Kantorowicz, in *Frederick the Second, 1194-1250*, summarized Innocent's position: "The Royal High Priest of the Christian Church, the *verus imperator* of the Christian Empire, the first judge of Christendom, these three are one and of one origin: they are the Pope." Frederick II saw himself as a new Justinian and Augustus. Augustus was emperor in the Biblical "fullness of time" and gave to the world, Frederick believed, its only age of peace since Paradise. Frederick hoped to restore the Augustan age of peace and law, and he reproduced the gold coins of Augustus as the Savior Emperor and simply substituted his image for Caesar's. The poet Dante held to this same faith

and, in *De Monarchia*, asserted the divinity and saving power of the state; for the salvation of the world, every creature must be in submission to the Roman emperor. Frederick has been seen as the "Apostle of Enlightenment" by many because of his "modern" and secular views. Frederick saw himself as the Messianic world-king, and Innocent III saw the papacy as the world-king; conflict was inevitable. Although Frederick II was sympathetic to Islam and apparently a "free-thinker," he persecuted heresy as *treason*, for, as Kantorowicz has noted, for him "God and Emperor were one." Two "Christs" were thus in conflict: papacy and emperor, and the advocates of each saw the other as anti-Christ. Dante, in *The Divine Comedy*, placed popes in hell in terms of this faith. Both ably played the part of an anti-Christ; Innocent III even set out to have Frederick II murdered. Two deified Roman rulers were in competition. Innocent III held that the royal power is subordinate to "pontifical authority" even as the moon is inferior to the sun. Innocent III also asserted the *Decretal Venerabilem*, 1202, the Roman imperial claim to sovereignty over the empire: "the right and authority to examine the person so elected king to be elevated to the Empire, belongs to us who anoint, consecrate and crown him." Kantorowicz has summed up Innocent's thinking effectively:

Innocent in an unprecedentedly ambitious exposition of the papal role of mediator inculcated this doctrine most explicitly. All power is from God. The Pope, however, is placed as "mediator between God and man; nearer than God, further than man; less than God but more than man," and to complete the circle of transmitted power he further states: "God is honoured in us when we are honoured, and in us is God despised when we are despised." From this latter postulate sprang the later dogma, probably first formulated by Thomas Aquinas, "submission to the Pope is essential to every man for the salvation of his soul."

Both papacy and emperor claimed the mantle of pagan Rome; both now operated on the same premises. The Empire was now clearly not German Christian but openly Roman. The Empire's

greatest champion too was not German; it was a citizen of Florence, Italy, Dante, whose works are a hymn of praise to almost every heresy of his day. His *Divine Comedy* has as its guide the Roman poet, Vergil, the great official voice of the Roman imperial dream, because Dante speaks himself a similar voice. Vergil could not enter Paradise; Dante, with his dream of a one-world empire, goes to the highest circle of heaven. Dante defended the Templars, recently condemned for participation in Eastern Illuminism and had heaven itself speak against Pope Clement V for being used by the French monarchy to liquidate the Templars. The Templars, an order of crusading knights, were eventually converted to the hidden Illuminism within Islam and had become an immoral, anti-Christian power in Europe. The trial of Jacques du Molay, Grand Master of the Order, revealed the nature of the order, as did other trials. Dante also echoed Arab and Jewish philosophy, some of it gained from his Florentine Jewish friend, Immanuel Ben Saloman. He saw Beatrice as a Joachimite symbol. Abbot Joachim of Flora (died 1202), later regarded by the Cistercians as a renegade, saw history in three stages. For Joachim, who was of Jewish descent, the first age was the Age of the Father, the second or Christian era the Age of the Son, and the third period the Age of the Holy Ghost. But the Holy Ghost was identified with the spirit of man, so that the new era was to be the Age of Man, or of Humanism. The Spiritual Franciscans and other groups were clearly Joachimite. Hugh of St. Victor tried to give a more nearly orthodox expression to the Joachimite faith. For Joachim, the Spirit was "activating intellect" (*intellectus agens*) in every man and, as man used his intellect, he became God. This faith, a mixture of Jewish and Roman humanism with Christian heresies, was also held much later by another Christian Jew, Christopher Columbus, who hoped to evangelize the world in terms of the Joachimite faith. For Frederick II, as for Dante and others, including especially the Joachimites, man could, if properly guided by the state, create a paradise on earth through the

power of natural reason. The world-monarchy was basic to this use of natural reason, since man is nothing without the state. Remigio de' Girolami, pupil of Aquinas and Dante's teacher, asserted, "The Whole has more being than the part. The Whole, as a Whole, is existing in actuality, whereas the part, as part, has no being except in potentiality." This meant that man can only become real in and through the state. This was a development of Aristotle's idea of man as a social animal. The papal assertion that papal overlordship was essential to Christian salvation was a product of the same kind of thinking. For Dante, according to Kantorowicz in *The King's Two Bodies*,

The curse of mankind was conquered, without the intervention of the Church and its sacraments, by the forces of intellect and supreme reason alone, forces symbolized by the pagan Vergil who, with regard to the individual Dante, took the place and the functions entrusted to the emperor with regard to the whole human race, the *humana civilitas*.

Earlier, the Empire had upheld the supremacy of God and His revealed law over pope and emperor; now law was under the pope and emperor both. Frederick II was twice excommunicated in the long struggle between popes and emperor, and a crusade against Frederick was called for by Innocent III, and anti-kings were named. The struggle ended with the sudden sickness and death of Frederick in 1250. The papacy had won, and the victory was completed in 1254 when Frederick's son Conrad, aged fifteen, was beheaded at Naples with papal approval, if not orders. The Empire was effectually ended, although it continued in name until Napoleon's day. The German princes were now hostile to the Empire and ready to let others claim to be the emperor.

The consistent ally of the papacy in its anti-German campaign was France. The kings of France were steadily increasing the royal power over the nobles and the church with the usual approval of the papacy. The Capetian kings thus developed a strong, centralized monarchy with-

out the battle against Rome which others, such as the German rulers and the English kings, faced. There were tensions, but no all-out struggle as against the Empire. In England, Henry II had made important judicial reforms which strengthened the idea of law, and the nobles, in securing the Magna Carta, had demonstrated their loyalty to the old feudal and Germanic sense of law. While perhaps the barons who in 1215 secured King John's signature to the Magna Carta were rougher and intellectually inferior men to the intelligent and cultured French nobility, they did have a concept of law which the French lacked. There was no Magna Carta in France. No king of England ever neared Louis IX (1226-1270, St. Louis) in Christian piety, but St. Louis ruled in terms of personal piety and a personal sense of justice; he gave no structure of law to France and did indeed further centralization and royal supremacy. In England, the personally profligate Henry II (1154-1189, husband of the famous Eleanor of Aquitaine) made law basic to English government and to his kingship.

Under Boniface VIII (1294-1303), the papacy turned its attention to England (Edward I) and France (Philip IV), and sought to bring them into submission, as it had the German empire. He had a good argument, too, in that both monarchs wanted to tax the clergy to meet their royal expenses. Boniface threatened excommunication to all who taxed the clergy in a Bull of February 25, 1296, *Clericis laicos infestos*. The liberty of the church was involved. About the same time, however, Boniface involved the papacy in money-making by proclaiming the Jubilee in 1300 and by encouraging lucrative pilgrimages through the offer of "not only full and free pardon, but the fullest pardon for all their sins" to pilgrims to "the revered basilica of the Prince of the Apostles," St. Peter's. In *Unam sanctam ecclesiam*, 1302, Boniface declared all earthly powers to be subject to the papacy: "Therefore we declare, state, define and pronounce that for every creature to be subject to the Roman Pope is altogether necessary for salvation." The answer of Philip was to draw up an indictment against

Boniface and to attempt to try him. At Anagni, 1303, an attempt was made to seize the sick pope, who died soon thereafter. The next pope was Clement V, a Frenchman, whose election was gained by manipulation. Clement never went to Rome, but took up residence at Avignon, beginning the Babylonian or Avignon Captivity of the papacy (1309-1376), during which time the papacy had to serve the French monarchy. In Avignon the papacy grew richer and more bureaucratic. The suppression of the Knights Templars, who had acted as bankers to the popes and to King Philip, had to be supported by Clement on Philip's orders. In 1306, the Jews were arrested, stripped of their wealth, and expelled from France. They had been expelled from England by Edward I in 1290.

The "Jewish problem" was one which Europe had created. Byzantium had no such problem. The Byzantines read differently the Biblical laws concerning usury, allowed Christians to be usurers, but prohibited Jews from entering this business. In most of Europe there were restrictions on the Christian practice of usury, so that Jews usually became the usurers in Europe. However, heretical groups like the Templars quickly entered banking as an avenue to power. Power was thus thrust into Jewish hands, monetary power over the peoples and states. Some monarchs saw control of the Jews as a means to power. Richard the Lionhearted had killed many Jews, made himself their sole heir, and seized the claims on all debts to the Jews for himself. Usury was as basic to European society as to Byzantine, but, by making it a primarily Jewish trade, tremendous power was simply handed to the Jews and then foolishly resented. The foundations for a continuing conflict in Western society were laid by this policy.

The Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, in Chapter 67, spoke out against "the excessive usuries of the Jews." In Chapter I, it also cited as a major problem the Manichean heresy in southern France. Chapter II condemned a treatise of Abbot Joachim and the Illuminist errors of Amauri (or Amaury), who taught that Hell is merely igno-

rance, that God is identical with all that is, that the only Heaven and “resurrection” for man is to recognize truth, and that man has only this life in which to fulfill himself. A decree for a crusade to the Holy Land was also issued. Thus the Council saw the enemy without, Islam, and the enemies within, the Albigensians of southern France, the Amauricians, Joachimites, and the usury of the Jews; but it failed to see the greatest enemy, the new humanism of the Church itself.

In the intellectual and academic sphere, the great triumph of the new humanism was Scholasticism, a rationalistic system of thought based upon Aristotle. The scholar whose thinking set the temper of all subsequent “medieval” philosophy, as well as much of the “modern,” was Peter Abelard (1079-1142), born at Le Fallet, near Nantes, in Brittany, Canon of Notre Dame at Paris, 1115, and Abbot of St. Guildas, 1125. Abelard was a man easily championed and easily criticized. Hugh (or Hugo) of St. Victor (1096-1141), a follower of Abelard in his Conceptualism, described Abelard as “the son of a Jewish father and an Egyptian mother.” Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux (1091-1153), called, along with Anselm, the last of the Church Fathers, saw Abelard as a menace to the faith. Abelard is both famous and notorious for his love affair with Heloise, niece of Canon Fulbert of Notre Dame, whose tutor he was. They fell in love, he seduced her, and a child was born. Fulbert demanded a marriage, and Abelard agreed, provided it be kept secret to avoid ruining his career in the Church. When Fulbert publicized the marriage, Heloise denied it and entered a nunnery to save Abelard’s career. Fulbert and his relatives then assaulted Abelard and castrated him to prevent his promotion in the Church, which was barred to a maimed man. Abelard was also inclined to Unitarianism, held that Plato might have known more about the Trinity than Moses, and held that the New Man of the future was Woman, who was a higher type of Man and capable of closer communion with God. His rationalism is summed up in one of his statements: “A doctrine is not to be believed because God has said it, but

because we are convinced by reason that it is so.”

Abelard was, however, a forthright preacher against the corruption within the Church, the primitive superstitions of many monks, the barely Christian conduct of the nobility, and the ugly power politics of the Church hierarchy. An able poet, his hymns indicate that, while his faith was defective, it was not lacking in zeal. In the last three verses of *O quanta qualia*, Abelard sang of the heavenly sabbath:

There dawns no Sabbath, no Sabbath is o’er,
Those Sabbath-keepers have one and no more;
One and unending is that triumph-song
Which to the Angels and us shall belong.
Now in the meanwhile, with hearts raised on
high,
We for that country must yearn and sigh,
Seeking Jerusalem, dear native land,
Through our long exile on Babylon’s strand.
Low before him with our praises we fall,
Of whom, and in whom, and through whom are
all;
Of whom, the Father; and through whom, the
Son;
In whom, the Spirit, with these ever One.

Abelard’s condemnation by the church was partly due to the fact that he *first* expressed certain opinions; later, they were more readily tolerated. The heart of Abelard’s deviation from orthodoxy was his belief that, not God’s revealed word and faith therein, but rather *reason* was the key to truth, reason in Aristotle’s sense, an independent, autonomous faculty of man which could pass judgment on all things. The Church had asserted the sovereignty of the monarch and the state. Scholasticism now asserted the sovereignty of reason and developed the idea of the sovereignty of the university over church and state. The modern idea of academic freedom, that is, the freedom of the school from any responsibility to God or man, is a development of Scholasticism. Scholasticism was thus the academic and intellectual form of the New Humanism. Even those who denied the sovereignty of reason, as St. Bernard of Clairvaux did, were still a part of the New Humanism. St. Bernard gave to religious experience a central role which led to the later idea of

the sovereignty of experience. Friedrich Heer, in *The Medieval World*, speaks rightly of Bernard's thought as the "Cistercian brand of humanism."

There were three "schools" or forms of thought on the question of reason. Some tried to carry on the battle for "the faith." A leader of this first school was St. Bonaventura (1221-1274). Their answer to Aristotle and Scholasticism was not Scripture but rather Platonism and mysticism. Henry of Ghent (1217-1293), another leader of this "school," sought to unite Platonism with some Aristotelian ideas. Although these men were ostensibly Augustinian, they were more Hellenic than Augustinian in many matters. Thus, while they rejected the supremacy of reason, it was not to replace it with God's revealed word and law and faith therein, but with another form of Greek thought. As a result, these men simply represented another form of humanism rather than a protest against it.

A second group of thinkers were the Latin Averroists, named after Averrhoes (or Averroes), 1126-1198, an Arabian philosopher and commentator on Aristotle. These thinkers included Siger or Brabant and Boethius of Dacia. For them, reason was autonomous, self-contained, final, and sovereign. These men were usually strong statists.

A third group were the Christian Aristotelians, notably Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, who held that reason and faith are each self-sufficient in their spheres. The sphere of reason is the natural world, and the sphere of faith is the spiritual world. Reason is independent of faith in natural affairs. These men sought to defend the Christian faith by means of the enemy's weapons, to make humanism admit the truths of God. Aquinas, a relative of Frederick II, was known as the Sicilian Ox for his self-control and patience. He was attacked from both the "left" of the Averroists and the "right," by men like Bonaventura and the Franciscans. Many were deeply suspicious of his use of Aristotle, and indeed he was deeply involved with the Arab and Jewish works which were being translated. The influence of Maimonides, the great leader of the Jewish

"Enlightenment," has been noted by some scholars. But Aquinas was intensely zealous for the faith, and he also believed it best to defeat the enemy with his own weapons.

St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) gives us the backbone of modern Roman Catholicism. He was canonized in 1323 by Pope John XXII, made the fifth Doctor of the Church by Pius V in 1566 (after Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome), and had his teaching confirmed in its authority by papal encyclicals, by Leo XIII in 1879, Pius X in 1903, and Pius XI in 1923. For Aquinas, all knowledge is based on sense experiences and the deductions made from them by an independent reason. On this foundation, Aquinas hoped to demonstrate Romans 1:20, "for the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." His work is a great attempt, one of the monumental and most influential systems of thought in history, but it was a failure.

The failure was due to a few elementary facts which hampered the great and involved reasonings of Aquinas. We need but cite two here. First, Aquinas had made the independent reason of man an impartial and sovereign judge over all things. The hidden premise of this assumption is that reason is, in a sense, god; it is sovereign. This is the hidden premise of all Hellenic thought. Can reason, when it has made itself god, then admit the Triune God? Aquinas tried to "prove" the Trinity, which should have been his starting point and ground of proof for all else. What he got was not the Biblical Trinity, but simply all reality or being, as such, analyzed into substance (the Father), structure (the Son), and act (the Holy Ghost) in Greek fashion. The new god which he created was actually the independent reason of man. In the *Summa Theologica*, he wrote, "Now it is natural to man to attain to intellectual truths through sensible things, because all our knowledge originates from sense" (pt. I, Q. 1, Art. 9). This means, as we have noted, that all knowledge comes from sense experiences and that the mind is clear and neutral before it receives these sense experiences. This

idea became the foundation of the Enlightenment and of the modern university and modern education: the mind is a blank sheet on which the educator can work his will. Instead of being a sinner, man is a neutral, independent mind. Man is thus truly man when he is rootless and neutral. All these implications stem from Aquinas' position, and modern Arminianism in Christian thought and liberalism in philosophy and education stem from Scholasticism.

A second great error of Aquinas' philosophy was his anthropology, his doctrine of man. Theology teaches that man was created in the image of God but has fallen and is a sinner. Man is inescapably a *religious creature*, either a covenant-keeper with God or a covenant-breaker. According to Aquinas' philosophy, however, man is not a religious creature but is Aristotle's *rational animal*, an objective, reasoning mind. Aristotle's man needs no God and plays at being god. Again, this concept of rational, non-religious, non-fallen man has had a very dangerous history in Western thought.

Aquinas was trying to hold to Christian theology and to explain the faith by means of Aristotelian philosophy, and it was impossible. Apparently, he saw a little of its impossibility, although perhaps in terms of mystical experience rather than Biblical thinking. December 6, 1273, he returned from mass and pushed away his work on the *Summa Theologica*, declaring, "I cannot do it. I cannot do it. Everything I have written seems so much chaff," then added, "compared with what I have seen and what has been revealed to me." He refused to do more writing, and died six months later.

Centuries later another great thinker comparable to Aquinas, Immanuel Kant, sought also to rescue belief in God, freedom, and immortality by means of the same premise of the sovereign reason of autonomous man. The result of his great work was instead the culmination of Enlightenment thinking, for he only succeeded in making autonomous and sovereign man the judge and arbiter of all reality. The god, freedom, and immortality he "rescued" had no relation to

the Christian faith. To cite one minor but revealing point: salvation for the Christian is not immortality as such, but redemption from sin through the atoning blood of Jesus Christ and a life of grace in this world and of glory in heaven.

Aquinas used Aristotle in part to answer the problem of the one and the many. Aristotle's answer was again a failure. William of Ockham (or Occam, 1280-1349), head of the Franciscans in England, was a nominalist; that is, he denied the reality of universals or the oneness of things. All that existed was individual, particular things. Everything is individual and unique, unrelated to everything else. There is thus a "democracy" of values. God and man both exist and both are free, side by side. Morality is what a man finds to be reasonable. Law is a universal, and therefore it is not real; it is simply a social convention. He did not believe that philosophy could demonstrate that God was the first effective cause of all that exists. For Ockham, there was no human certainty for anything, only blind faith. The alternatives Ockham left were either scepticism or mysticism, and both began to flourish.

As we have seen, the Fourth Lateran Council saw the Albigensian faith as one of the threats to the life of Christian Europe. The Albigensian or Catharist faith was basically a non-Christian religion in Christian disguise. It was ancient dualism. At the battle of Avarair in 451, the same year as Chalcedon, Armenia under the leadership of its general, Vartan Mamigonian, and its spiritual leader, Ghevont Yereztz, had stopped the westward military march of Mazdaism, a dualistic religion. Some Armenians had, however, treasonably worked with the enemy faith. The traitors were expelled by the Armenians; these Paulicians, as they called themselves, were later moved into European territories by Byzantium. Here they united with the many remnants of Manicheanism and other ancient pagan dualisms to form strong crusading cults which grew especially in Bulgaria (the Bogomils), the Rhineland, Italy, and southern France (the Albigensians). In Bosnia under Ban Kulin (1180-1204), it was the state religion, and it survived in the Balkans until

the Turkish conquest. Then, according to Friedrich Heer,

As an underground movement, Bogomilism divided into two branches: one was a radical and military secret society, one of the roots of the secret fraternities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which played their part in determining the course of the first and second world wars; the other branch was a pacifist brotherhood, equally radical, which from the sixteenth century joined forces with idealists from Western Europe in Transylvania, Poland and Moravia, and from there penetrated into Russia. The last remaining Bogomil clan, in Herzegovina, is said to have been converted to Islam in 1867.

In nineteenth century Russia, the Bezpopovtsy, the Dukhobortsy (many of them later migrated to Canada), and especially the Skoptsy and the Khlysty sects were members of the same movement. The Skoptsy became powerful bankers, colonized in various countries, and are reportedly powerful in twentieth century communist circles.

In "medieval" Europe this dualistic faith readily joined forces with old strains of pagan fertility cult worship and often became a form of Satan worship. Heer cites, as a modern instance of this surviving faith, the Catholic intellectual Simone Weil, who "during the second world war...made a pilgrimage to Toulouse, where neo-Catharism was being preached." Monsignor Leon Christiani, in *Evidences of Satan in the Modern World*, adds the names of Giovanni Papini and Leon Bloy. Bloy wrote, for example:

This is the way in which I understand at the present moment the great drama of the Fall. The Serpent, *the dark image of the Holy Spirit*, deceives the woman who is its *light* image. The woman accepts, and eats death... Now pay attention! The man and the woman are together, in conflict, and they are alone, for the Serpent has passed into the woman, has become one with her: light and shadow have melted into the other for all time. The man and the woman, that is to say, Jesus and the Holy Ghost are there, facing each other, under the terrible authority of the Father.

The woman, image of the Holy Spirit, represents all that is fallen and will fall. The man, image of Christ, represents universal salvation, by the delib-

erate assumption of every fall, of every possible evil, and by the miracle of infinite tenderness he consents to the loss of his shining innocence, in order to share in the fruits of death, in order to triumph one day over death itself, when his freedom shall have been so greatly enlarged by suffering.

In this kind of thinking salvation can come either through an ascetic denial of the world of matter, or through denying the value of matter by assuming "every possible evil," to use Bloy's words. Albigensianism had its ascetic way of salvation, purity by forsaking marriage and all earthly things, and its way of salvation by living "beyond good and evil." Illuminism rests on this latter way. Mysticism often reaches the same conclusion. As Johan Huizinga stated in *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, in extreme mysticism, "the soul absorbed in God, and therefore, having no will, can no longer sin, even in following its carnal appetites."

A Crusade against the Albigensians was proclaimed by Innocent III, who promised that, upon victory, the confiscated properties of the heretics would be given to the crusaders. This bait of rich properties drew many into a harsh war and also a relentless Inquisition. That atrocities took place is clear, and many scholars are ready to regard the crusade as one long massacre, an idea reflected in Zoe Oldenbourg's *Massacre at Montsegur, A History of the Albigensian Crusade*. The attitude of many towards the Inquisition, whose purpose was to detect and punish heresy through local bishops and courts, is like that of many modern Americans towards the House Committee on Un-American Activities: they believe it to be wrong in principle, and therefore cannot credit it with any honesty of procedure or intent. The plain words of D. B. Wyndham Bewis in *The Soul of Marshal Gille de Raiz* are appropriate here:

Difficult as it may be for minds swaddled in the sentimental agnostic liberalism of the Nineteenth Century to realize it, such crimes would have flourished enormously today had they not been held in check by medieval and Renaissance judges as ruthless in their duty as the men who saved Christendom from the Albigensians...and if trials

of patient and patent fairness often ended for the Devil's servants at the gallows or the stake, it is hardly for modern beneficiaries of this direct method to bewail the brutality of our forefathers.

A cancer is not cured with rosewater.

The greatest failure of Innocent III and the Crusaders was their inability to recognize that the New Humanism of the church, and of the states and universities as well, was the surest means of destroying Christendom.

The best known Crusades were against Islam for the recapture of holy places. For some centuries previously, Byzantium had been crusading against Islam with considerable success. At the time of the rise to power of the Turks, Byzantium faced other internal and external problems. Byzantium lost the Battle of Manzikert, 1071, to the Turks, and almost at the same time lost Italy to the Normans, who also attacked Byzantium on the Greek peninsula while the Petchenegs in the north began to make trouble. Byzantium appealed to the West for help.

The First Crusade was the result. One of the leaders of this Crusade was Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, the Norman ruler of Byzantium's former Italian territories and its recent enemy in Greece. Emperor Alexius I (Comnenus) had good reason to be suspicious of such help. A working agreement was finally reached, and the Crusade began. Count Baldwin of Flanders, one of the leaders, first deserted the Crusade along with his men. He married an Armenian princess, was adopted by the ruler of Armenian Edessa as his son, and made Christian Armenian Edessa the first of the Latin or Crusader states of the east, and an important one. The Crusaders and Byzantines, who had first captured the Turkish capital at Nicea in June, 1097, moved into Syria, captured one hundred sixty-five towns and fortresses, and then took Antioch with Genoese help, June 3, 1098. Bohemond claimed Antioch for himself and refused to go on to Jerusalem, establishing a second Latin state and immediately attacking and taking Byzantine territories in southeastern Asia Minor. Bohemond then left his nephew, Tancred, in charge and returned to Norman Italy to orga-

nize an attack on Byzantium itself across the Balkan Peninsula. Raymond of Toulouse led the rest of the Crusaders to Jerusalem and, again with Genoese help, seized it in 1099 with great bloodshed and killing, so that, as one witness reported, "the slaughter was so great that our men waded in blood up to their ankles." Other areas were also taken with aid from three Italian city-states, Genoa, Venice, and Pisa, who wanted commercial advantages over Byzantium and Islam. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem lasted from 1100 to 1291, although the city of Jerusalem was lost in 1187. The Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (or, the Knights of Malta) arose out of the First Crusade.

The Second Crusade came when Edessa was taken by the Moslems in 1144. St. Bernard of Clairvaux called Europe to the crusade in his sermons, and Conrad III of Germany and Louis VII of France responded. This Crusade was virtually a total failure.

The Third Crusade resulted when Saladin, Sultan of Egypt and Mesopotamia, reconquered the city of Jerusalem in 1187. Emperor Frederick I, Richard the Lionhearted of England, and Philip II (Augustus) of France led in this Crusade. Frederick drowned in Cilicia, and Richard conquered Cyprus after delaying to meddle in Sicilian affairs, trying to thwart Emperor Henry VI. Richard then stopped to conquer Cyprus from a Byzantine usurper and then went to Acre, which was captured after a siege of a year and a half. Joppa and Ascalon were also captured, but little else was accomplished.

The Fourth Crusade, called by Innocent III, led to the capture of Constantinople. No kings were involved in this Crusade, only ambitious noblemen. To pay off the Venetians for their passage, Crusaders destroyed the Christian town of Zara on the Dalmatian coast because it rivalled Venice and blocked Venetian control of the Adriatic. Innocent III, shocked by this, excommunicated all the Crusaders en masse. They then sacked Constantinople in April of 1204. The Byzantine historian Nicetas, an eyewitness, reported the sacking of the churches. In Santa

Sophia, they even killed one another's pack animals, which stumbled and fell, in order to gain or seize more loot:

For the sacred altar, formed of all kinds of precious materials...was broken into bits and distributed among the soldiers, as was all the other sacred wealth of so great and infinite splendor... Mules and saddled horses (to carry away the booty) were led to the very sanctuary of the temple. Some of these, which were unable to keep their footing on the splendid and slippery pavement, were stabbed where they fell, so that the sacred pavement was polluted with blood and filth. Nay more, a certain harlot...sat in the patriarch's seat, singing an obscene song and dancing frequently... In the alleys, in the streets, in the temples, complaints, weeping, lamentations, grief, the groaning of men, the shrieks of women, wounds, rapes, captivity, the separation of those most closely united.

The Westerners were already hated in Byzantium, where belief in the "corrupt West" was extensive. Tension from earlier Crusades had earlier led to the mob killing of some Westerners. The "Latin" or Western rule of Byzantium ended in 1261. Soon thereafter, Pope Martin IV, ruled by the French Angevin monarchy, excommunicated the Byzantine emperor. Emperor Michael VIII retaliated by destroying the threat of French forces in 1292 with the Sicilian Vespers, a massacre of the entire French population in Sicily.

In 1212 a Children's Crusade took place, based on the heretical belief that the children were pure, and their purity, without a single blow, would enable them to conquer the Holy Land. They expected the sea itself to divide before them on their way. Some were sent home, others were sold into slavery by merchants of Marseilles. These were German children, the French being stopped on their way.

The Fifth Crusade sought to attack by way of Egypt, captured Damietta in 1219, and quickly lost it.

The Sixth Crusade of Frederick II was a peaceful one, aiming only at gaining certain rights for pilgrims, gaining certain areas of Palestine by treaty, and accomplishing much by the cordial

relationship between Frederick and Al Kamil, Sultan of Egypt.

St. Louis of France attempted a Seventh Crusade in 1244, when the ceded Jerusalem fell back into Moslem hands, but it ended in defeat.

Other crusades were attempted in Tunis, Spain, and elsewhere against Islam. The Spanish Crusades culminated in the work of Queen Isabella (1451-1504), a crusade to drive the Moslems and the Jews out of power in Spain. When the Moslems conquered Spain the Jews were divided, some working with the Moslems, others fighting with the Christian Visigoths. During the period of the Christian reconquest, the Jews became increasingly powerful. There were four to five million in all Spain, out of a total population of twenty-five to thirty million by the end of the thirteenth century. Their wealth and power was so great that Albigensians moving from France to Spain would circumcise themselves in order to become Jews and have freedom of activity. The Jews were almost the only bankers in Spain, and their power was enormous. By virtue of their power, they drew every anti-Christian group, such as the Albigensians, to themselves. By becoming ostensible Christians, they entered and extensively controlled the Catholic Church. The Moslems, long masters of Spain, were also bitterly hated by the zealous Christians, and Isabella felt it her destiny to create a new, a united and Christian Spain. Warfare and the Inquisition were used to gain this goal. It should be noted that during the last twenty-three years of Isabella's reign, one hundred thousand persons were tried by the Inquisition. Torquemada, the Inquisitor, was a conscientious man, and his methods careful for his day. As a result only about two percent, or two thousand, were executed. These included offenders other than heretics, such as bigamists, false priests, usurers, and employees of the Inquisition who raped female prisoners. Many Jews remained in Spain as outward converts and, known as Maranos, were, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a secret fraternity with grips, signs, and passwords.

Because the crusades were so many and so

diverse, it is difficult to generalize about them. Some have spoken of the advance to “the mental horizons of Europe,” a rather meaningless phrase. There is evidence of a restriction of “mental horizons” in this era, but the crusades were not the cause. Some heresies were defeated and others introduced by the Crusaders. Because the armies were largely made up of feudal lords and knights, feudalism was weakened and the national states strengthened, but the new doctrine of state sovereignty was already working successfully to this same end. Urban life was reviving and increasing rapidly in this era, and working, with the national state, many changes.

As the power of the papacy became more and more absolute and arbitrary, so the Christ it presented became increasingly a harsh and autocratic Judge who relentlessly damned men. As a result, grace was increasingly absent from the message of the Church; it presented a more and more relentless system of penance and works. Mariolatry arose as a popular rebellion against this and was at first opposed by prominent churchmen. Mary offered grace, but the grace offered by Mariolatry was pagan, antinomian grace: that is, grace without any regard for law. Christ’s grace in the Scripture comes through the cross; the justice of God must be satisfied before grace can be conferred. The believer must accept the sentence of death on his sin, the substitutionary death of Jesus Christ, and then the grace of God’s favor on him, as a member of the redeemed humanity of Jesus Christ. Because the Christian is a member of this new humanity and of Christ, he lives in terms of its nature, which is the righteousness of Christ. He is thus a covenant-keeping, or law-abiding, man. The grace of Mariolatry, being antinomian, was therefore establishment in sin. In the modern era, St. Alphonse Ligieori made this antinomian grace into a formal system in *The Glories of Mary*.

The New Humanism was steadily eating away at Christian faith. Earlier, the faith of Europe had been a joyous one. The churches were strongholds where man found peace and joy. Men had the assurance of grace and a resultant confidence.

Heer has vividly described the change in worship:

The sense of great joy and inward freedom which the early Church derived from its possession of the Good News (which every one could read for himself), and its sense of union with the resurrected Lord, had long since been overlaid by feelings of terror and estrangement. Men at their prayers no longer raised their arms and turned toward Christ, their rising sun, but folded their hands in the attitude of serfs, serfs of God and of their sin. Where formerly the priest had celebrated the Mass facing the people, in proof of his accessibility, now he turned his back on them and retreated to the fastnesses of the sanctuary, separated from the people’s part of the church by a forbidding screen. Finally, the Mass was read in a tongue the people could not understand.

As a result, heresies began to increase. The Dominican Friars, founded by a Spaniard, St. Dominic (1170-1221), made it its mission to battle against heresy. Aquinas was a Dominican, and, after 1286, Thomism, the philosophy of Aquinas, became the official theology of the Order.

The battle was waged in another way by St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226). The official Christ of the Church had become a harsh, unrelenting Judge, an unapproachable and fearful monarch. Francis emphasized the humanity and compassion of Jesus. He had Christ celebrated as the child in the manger, and people were soon thronging to portrayals of the manger scene, to delight in the God who became like themselves, man. Francis celebrated the world as God’s creation and hence friendly to man: “my brother sun” and “my sister moon.” His mission and the Franciscan mission was largely to the new urban peoples who were spiritually sick and homeless. He wanted his friars to own no property either as persons or as an order; to have no houses or churches; and to beg for their support. The friars were to make no effort at reforming the church; simple evangelism in the language of the people was to be their task. Some years prior to his death, illness forced Francis to surrender the leadership, and he saw the Order steadily renounce the vow of poverty as well as the goals

Francis had set. He never complained outwardly, but he felt himself and his cause to be crucified, and, before his death, he reproduced in himself the stigmata, the five wounds of Christ. Philosophically, the Franciscans were voluntaristic rather than rationalistic; that is, stressing the will and the emotions rather than reason, and sentimentality has been a common Franciscan religious trait. The Franciscans began their work under church suspicion. The Spiritual Franciscans had justified that suspicion for many, but the works of Francis and the Joachimite Spiritual Franciscans were clearly different. The real problem was that a hunger for church purity was almost becoming to be suspect, because the church was so political an institution that any reform was a threat to the ruling powers of the church.

Accordingly, reformers began to look to lords and princes for support in church reform. This could take place most readily in Germanic lands, or areas where the Germanic influence had been strong. Two such reformers were John Wyclif (1320-1384), an Englishman, and the Czech John Hus (or Husenec, 1369-1415). Both men, incidentally, introduced spiritual training and instruction into the universities, which had previously given students no such instruction. Wyclif demanded a return to Scripture alone as the law and foundation of Christian thought and life, and he was responsible for the first English translation of the Bible. After his death, the Lollards carried on his work to the Reformation era. Wyclif, an Oxford don and chaplain to King Edward III, had been protected by John of Gaunt. The Council of Constance in 1415, long after Wyclif's death, condemned his remains in judgment on him. In 1428, the remains were dug up, burned, and cast into a neighboring brook.

Hus was, like Wyclif, a strong patriot as well as a zealous Christian. The church in Bohemia in his day was always called the German church because of the influence of the old Empire. Hus sought to substitute Czech for Latin sermons and the Bible for hierarchical authority. In his nationalism, Hus aimed at a supranational justice. As

Paul Roubiczek and Joseph Kalmer have noted, in *Warrior of God, the Life and Death of John Hus*, "When he repeatedly declared...that he preferred a good German to a bad Czech, it meant that for the sake of justice he strove for national freedom but regarded it as a means to a supranational justice and order." It was the age of the Great Schism, with rival popes waging unChristian battle against each other. When the flagrant vices of the clergy were attacked by Hus, the vices were publicly defended and Hus labeled wicked. When these most flagrant vices were practiced by popes, the clergy quickly followed suit. There were priests who boasted that through the Mass they could create God or God's body at will and were therefore greater than "the Mother of God," Mary, since she could only bear Christ once. The Council of Constance, called as a reform council, ended by condemning Hus and failing to secure reform. Its "reform" proved to be compromise. Fantastic charges were levelled at Hus, such as that he had called himself the fourth person of the Godhead. When he was sentenced to death, Hus fell on his knees in prayer: "Lord Jesus, forgive my enemies. You know that they have accused me falsely, brought false witnesses against me and drawn up false articles. Forgive them for the sake of Your great mercy." The Council laughed. The compromising reformers were more merciless than many of the evil churchmen they sought to replace. As Hus was burned at the stake, he sang thrice loudly and clearly, "Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy upon me," and then died. Jerome of Prague, burned the next year, also sang and prayed as he died. A little earlier, as he was being abused and given a tall paper cap, he said, "Our Lord Jesus who died for such wretches as I was crowned with thorns for my sake; shall I not willingly for his honour, wear this crown."

Meanwhile many of the sins of the Pornocracy were being committed in Rome on a more lavish scale, and now there was no emperor to bring reform. Papal churchmen thought nothing of owning brothels as investments and of protecting them in court from puritanical reformers. Pope

Alexander VI (1492-1503), a Borgia, bought the papacy and, on his way to the Lateran Palace, passed under triumphal arches with such mottoes as "Caesar was a man, this is a God." When Leo X (1513-1521) became pope, this enemy of Luther was greeted by a triumphal arch raised by the cynical Romans reading, "Mars has reigned, Phallas has followed, but the reign of Venus goes on forever." These were Renaissance popes. The New Humanism had triumphed. Aesthetic and political virtues and correctness were more important to the Vatican than Christian graces. In Greek fashion, the *form* was important, not the *matter*. The art of the New Humanism flourished, as did its man-centered thinking. Italy and France, the areas of the greatest papal influence, were also the central areas of the Renaissance.

Erotic mysticism and the conventions of Courtly Love had earlier paved the way for adultery as a way of life and as true love. Nudity began to be preached, and cults such as the Adamites, who emphasized man's natural goodness, spread far and wide, a revival of a second century cult which appeared again in the twelfth century and spread into Bohemia and Germany about the beginning of the fifteenth century. A secret society, one of their fundamental maxims was, "Swear, forswear, and reveal not the secret." They may still exist in various forms. The Adamites denied belief in a personal God.

The Renaissance turned away from Aristotelian humanism in favor of Platonic (rather than neoplatonic) humanism. In Florence, Italy, a Platonic Academy was founded, and Ficino was the interpreter there of Plato. Petrarch, while leading in a formative literary development of the Italian language, felt it to be his real mission to revive the Greek and Latin classics and their humanism. The sins of the Church were described by Petrarch's assistant, Boccaccio, as objects of amusement. Erasmus, who struck sharply at the sins of the Church, was still ready to see personal advancement in the hierarchy as more important than reformation. Lorenzo Valla wrote *On the Donation of Constantine* and exposed it as fraudulent without any more than minor trouble from

the Church; this did not affect the Church's present power or purse. Later, Valla was summoned to the Vatican by Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) to be made Apostolic Writer, "with magnificent appointments." The blackmailing pornographer, Aretino, was addressed by everyone as "Divino," and there was talk of making the "divine" Aretino a cardinal.

Prominent artists of the era included Giotto (1276-1336), Fra Angelico (1387-1455), Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), Raphael (1483-1520), and Michaelangelo (1475-1564). Important "promoters" of the Renaissance, in addition to Petrarch, were Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) and Pope Pius II (1458-1464).

It was an era of important exploration, in which Portugal took an early lead under Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), a scholar who encouraged exploration and commerce. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and about ten years later Vasco da Gama founded a colony in India.

Christopher Columbus (c. 1446-1506), sailing for Queen Isabella, "discovered" America on October 12, 1492. America had been previously discovered by at least the Vikings under Leif Eriksson around the year 1000, and a settlement called Vinland was established, but contact with America was soon lost by the Vikings. John Cabot sailed to the Labrador area for the English crown in 1497, and Magellan, a native of Portugal but sailing for Spain, led the first complete voyage around the world (1522), although he himself was killed by natives in the Philippines (named so later in honor of Philip II of Spain).

Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) gave clear expression to the Renaissance faith in *The Prince*, a study of "practical politics" with no moral consideration other than success: "Where necessity demands, we must admit of no consideration of justice or injustice, of mercy or cruelty." *The Prince* is a study of these political methods as they were employed by Cesare Borgia, son of Pope Alexander VI. These were for Machiavelli the "firm...foundations" of power. Of Pope Alexander VI, he wrote that he, "of all the pontiffs

who have ever reigned, best showed how a Pope might prevail both by money and by force.” Moreover, Machiavelli a little later wrote,

Alexander VI did nothing else but deceive men, he thought of nothing else, and found the occasion for it; no man was ever more able to give assurances, or affirmed things with stronger oaths, and no man observed them less; however, he always succeeded in his deceptions, as he well knew this aspect of things.

It is not, therefore, necessary for a prince to have all the above-named qualities, but it is very necessary to seem to have them. I would even be bold to say that to possess them and always to observe them is dangerous, but to appear to possess them is useful. Thus it is well to seem merciful, faithful, humane, sincere, religious, and also to be so; but you must have the mind so disposed that when it is needful to be otherwise you may be able to change to the opposite qualities. (Chapt. XVIII)

A very good way to understand modern politics is to understand Machiavelli.

Another great expression of the Renaissance spirit was *The Courtier* by Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529). Machiavelli’s “Prince” was one expression of the Renaissance ideal; Castiglione’s “Courtier” was another. The earlier ideals had been the saint and the knight. The Renaissance was a time of political tyranny, which went hand in hand with the humanistic exaltation of man; the two always go together. The principle of the prince was, “First my will, then the right.” The principle of the courtier was “fame” as an aesthetic work of art within society, to be its ideal gentleman. The courtier lived in terms of relativism. For him, as John S. White has shown in *Renaissance Cavalier*, “Good and bad are not absolute concepts, but products of their time... Good is what conforms to its time, what corresponds to actual society — in other words, good usage. Bad is what is out of date — the antiquated.” (Twentieth century humanism, in its education and in its ideas of mental health, has adopted a similar position.) Guicciardini spoke of his courtly education and its purpose as “things which give Man ornament rather than substance.” For Castiglione, “honor” was social

acceptance, not Christian character. For him, social relations and friendships should be based upon social acceptance. The courtier has no moral scruples in sexual matters and seeks above all to avoid involvement and responsibility, to treat sex as a game and entertainment, and the goal of the game is not physical enjoyment, but the mental enslavement of the other person. Man was now the universal, a law unto himself, and even in his lovemaking he had to prove his superiority and power, his ability to toy with and to use other people.

In the sixteenth century the Renaissance spread from Italy, where it had begun more than a century earlier, to the rest of Europe. In Germany and England its influence was more educational than aesthetic. In Germany, its leaders were two humanistic scholars, Jakob Wimpfeling (1450-1528) and John Reuchlin (1455-1522). Reuchlin was the great Hebrew scholar of his day. In England, the Oxford scholars, led by Sir Thomas More, author of *Utopia*, led in the humanism of the Renaissance. John Colet and Thomas Linacre were also prominent in English humanism.

The invention of movable type and Gutenberg’s press, with his famous Bible of c. 1455, greatly furthered the availability of books and made possible the great work of popular education in the Reformation era, when books of profound character were extensively written and read. The Reformation was a Christian scholarly movement to which the people responded.

The “medieval” period, in a broader sense of that word, gave western Europe constitutionalism (the supremacy of law), parliaments, trial by jury, and universities. The New Humanism of that era was hostile to some of these things, and this humanism, which culminated in the Renaissance, ended in widespread statism and tyranny. At the beginning of this New Humanism, Bishop Otto of Freising (1111 to 1158), grandson of Emperor Henry IV, nephew of Henry V, half-brother of Conrad III, and maternal uncle to Frederick I, said that kings are “set above the laws and reserved to be weighed in the divine balances only, (and) are not held in restraint by the laws of

this world.” But Otto grieved, as he wrote, because the two cities, the City of God and the City of Man, were now *one* in the Church. In the Prologue to the Fifth Book he said plainly, “I seem to myself to have composed a history not of two cities but virtually of one only, which I call the Church.” As he described the beginnings of his own century (1103), he declared that men, having little hope in the Church, were seeking salvation through two new channels, the Crusades and Asceticism. Those two answers failed men, and the Church became more than ever an offense to the godly. To many people it now

resembled only the City of Man.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. Show that the central religious conflict in the Renaissance period was between revealed law and natural law. (Give specific examples.)
2. Briefly describe the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. What were his chief errors? What results have those errors produced?

Lesson Twenty-Two

Lecture #8

The Reformation

Listen to CD Lecture #8-- "The Reformation," then answer the following questions.

Review Questions

1. What is the meaning of Renaissance?
2. By what are all things measured in the Renaissance?
3. What replaced ethics and morality in the spirit of the Renaissance?
4. What movement ran counter to the Renaissance?
5. What was a predominate characteristic of the Reformation?
6. What is the place and date of Luther's promulgation of the Ninety-Five Thesis?
7. Who was the foremost teacher of the doctrine of predestination?
8. What other doctrine did Luther propagate?
9. What was the foremost purpose of the Anabaptists?
10. What was the main emphasis of the teachings of John Calvin?
11. How do you describe the Church of England before it came under the dominion of Rome?
12. What was Cramner's stand on the rule of the church?
13. What two kinds of churches were reformed churches?
14. Describe Henry VIII as a monarch.
15. What is one of Gresham's laws?
16. Discount the myth that Henry VIII divorced Catherine because he fell in love with Anne Boleyn?

17. Why did Henry divorce Catherine?
18. Who was the prominent religious leader of Scotland?
19. Describe some characteristics of the Scotch people?
20. What factor in the Roman Church precipitated the Reformation?
21. Who called the Council of Trent?
22. What important reform did the Council of Trent instigate?
23. What is the attitude of the modern Catholic Church toward the Council of Trent?
24. What priority is given by all established churches — the faith or the church?

Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion Questions

1. What are some distinctions of the Renaissance (i.e., art, food, dress, culture)?
2. Discuss the Reformation in the following areas: scholarly; popular; succeeded most where there was resistance to the papacy in the church/state struggle.
3. Where, with whom, and over what did the Reformation begin?
4. Is Luther to be blamed with dividing the church? What is he most remembered for that caused many problems for the church?
5. What two doctrines did Luther put forth? Why can justification by faith alone be misconstrued when taken alone without the context of the rest of Scripture.
6. Who were the Anabaptists? What were their beliefs?
7. With what doctrines did Calvin start? Why did he start here?
8. What did Calvin emphasize about the kingdom of God? Why was this important?
9. What are “Barbarian Christians”?
10. What was Cranmer’s position? What happened with Queen Mary?
11. What were the two kinds of churches of the Reformation?
12. Describe the person and character of Henry VIII. What did you learn about him? Why did Henry VIII divorce Catherine?
13. Where did the Presbyterian church come from?
14. How did the Scottish people become the empire builders that they were?
15. What was the Counter-Reformation? What role did the Council of Trent play in the Counter-Reformation? How is reformation in general stifled?
16. What did the Vatican I Council declare and in what erroneous direction did this declaration set the church?

Lesson Twenty-Three

Chapter #15

The Reformation

INTRODUCTION

The Reformation was in large measure a reaction against the humanism of the day. The Renaissance had emphasized refinement rather than decency. There was a refinement of taste in art, dress, food, and all things else to the point of preciousness, accompanied by a radical moral corruption. Men were gourmets, aesthetes, and preening peacocks, to whom life was a stage before men, and they were the players. There was a refinement in torture as well as in dress: refinement was a sophistication of method, not a development of character. Aesthetics, the emphasis on beauty, replaced ethics, the emphasis on morality. With the rebirth of humanism and an emphasis on pragmatism (of which Machiavelli was but one example), a good Christian was regarded as a fool by humanists.

The Reformation was (1) an anti-humanistic movement, (2) a scholarly movement, dominated by scholars and universities to a large degree, (3) a popular movement, and (4) it succeeded most where there was resistance to the papacy during the Investitures struggle.

Luther (1) did not divide Christendom; it was already fragmenting, and the Reformation brought about some unification; (2) he was in union with, not subservient to, the German princes; (3) he, rather than Calvin, was the great

spokesman for the doctrine of predestination, although Calvin was also its champion; (4) Luther made justification by faith central; this was a healthy corrective to the erroneous Roman doctrines of the day, but it conceded to humanism, in that some who followed after Luther made the salvation of souls rather than the glory of God central to the faith.

Calvin (1509-1564) made this point his starting point. For Calvin (1) the sovereignty of God is basic; he was thus able to put the doctrine of predestination in its proper perspective, in relation to the doctrine of God; (2) he stressed, not always consistently, the law of God; (3) he saw the Kingdom of God as the universal reign of God and not to be equated with the church; the true church is a part of the Kingdom, not the Kingdom itself; (4) the doctrine of calling or vocation brought into focus the priesthood of all believers; (5) the doctrine of the covenant thus became central to Calvin's followers.

In England, the church, once a part of the great Celtic church, had alternately been in captivity to the crown and to the popes. Cranmer sought to deliver the Church of England from Rome and then, with the king's help, to reform it. *The Book of Common Prayer*, largely developed under Edward VI, is one of the greatest Reformation documents, along with Luther's *Bondage of the Will* and Calvin's *Institutes*.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Church had become a stench in the nostrils of Europe. As Sir Charles Oman observed in *The Sixteenth Century*, "The Papacy...was odious to all men of decent religious feeling." In Italy, where men lived close to the papacy, cynicism and unbelief had long been pervasive, and as early as the twelfth and fourteenth centuries the word *noble* was synonymous with "heretic," for the urban nobility had little Christian faith. By the time of the Reformation, open blasphemy in Italy was the rule, and pornographic references to Christ and the saints, as Boccaccio evidences, were humorous rather than shocking. For the Italians, the expression for a fool was a *bon Christian*, a good Christian. Elsewhere, as in Germany, Christian feelings were strong, and even in Italy, as under Savonarola, they could be fanned into flame; but the usual church life was formal and devoid of content. When young Martin Luther visited Rome in 1511 he saw, in a single hour, seven masses celebrated at one altar in San Sebastiano. He noted later, "The priests could say mass in such a cocksure and slapdash fashion, as if they were doing a juggling act, for before I had come to the Gospel, the celebrant beside me had already finished his mass and was calling to me, 'Passa, passa, hurry up, have done with it!'" The teaching and preaching were on similar levels, and the laity and even the clergy were ignorant of the bare essentials of the faith. As papal power increased, the teaching calibre of the church steadily decreased. The monarchs had often invested unworthy men, but usually a concern for social order had been some check on them. The papacy invested bishops who were open enemies of the king and whose primary goal was political. The papacy also invested the same man to several bishoprics, in which case some or all were neglected and were treated simply as a means of income. Nonresident bishops were another problem. For Italians to be made English bishops and never to come near their dioceses meant that the Church was being exploited

rather than developed. Immorality of the most flagrant sort was in many areas commonplace, and the priests, often feared by the devout, were commonly objects of obscene and deserved humor. Meanwhile, canon law had developed a huge body of law which purposed to bind men's consciences to the papacy rather than to the Scriptures. Not only was Europe bound in tyranny, civil and ecclesiastical, but, because of venereal diseases, the continent was declining physically.

All these things and more, however, were simply by-products of the humanism of the Church. The real evil was humanism. Man had been enthroned in God's stead; man had been made free and sovereign, and God had been chained to church laws and sacraments. There were humanistic voices for moralistic reform, notably Erasmus, who spoke more sharply against the Church than did Luther, but what Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam wanted was a moral church rather than a godly one.

The Reformation, which effected a great moral renewal everywhere, was primarily concerned with reestablishing godliness. First and foremost, the Reformation was an anti-humanist movement, bent on reestablishing the freedom and the sovereignty of God. For this reason, the authority of the infallible and inspired Bible was heavily stressed. This emphasis on Scripture is ridiculed by modernists of the twentieth century as the mere exchange of a paper pope (the Bible) for a Roman pope. Not so. It was a turn from the sovereignty of a man and his law to sovereignty of God and His authoritative and enscriptured word. The Reformation was an anti-humanist movement in church, state, and university, seeking in each realm to combat man's law and authority with God's law and authority. Second, the Reformation was a scholarly movement and its two main figures, Luther and Calvin, were scholars whose devout research had led them to the recognition that Europe had to be reformed in terms of its Christian roots, in terms of Scripture. It was thus an intellectual movement which commanded the greatest minds of the day in

terms of Christian faith. Third, it was a popular movement. The Reformation could not have occurred had not untold numbers of Europeans remained earnestly Christian, hungering for the faith and eager to hear and to respond to the faithful preaching of the Word. Certainly, “politics” were involved; princes were ready to help Luther to an extent that they had not been ready to help Hus, but reform efforts would have been futile without the deep response of faith, a response which included many princes. Fourth, the Reformation, while European in scope, was usually most successful where there had been most resistance to the papacy during the Investiture Contest. It began in Germany, was strong in the northern areas of Switzerland, and it prospered in England and Scotland. It also flourished in Bohemia, Hungary, and elsewhere. Significantly, it began with the work of a German monk, Martin Luther, and the support of German princes. It is the historical fashion nowadays to declare that nationalism, coupled with a desire to prevent money from flowing to Rome, was responsible for the action of the German princes. That these things and more may have been involved is clearly true, but it is high time that the very strong religious convictions of many of the German princes, and the risks they took in terms of that faith, be emphasized. To reduce history to general and impersonal forces — economic, political, sociological, or anything else — is to depersonalize and to de-Christianize history.

The Reformation began in the personal experience of one of the greatest and most lovable men of all history, Martin Luther (1483-1546), the son of a miner, born at Eisleben, Saxony, an Augustinian monk at Erfurt, a priest in 1507, and then a professor at Wittenberg in 1508. Luther was intensely eager to serve God acceptably, and nothing the Church prescribed brought him either peace or the knowledge that his works were of any value to God. Neither ascetic practices, scholarship, meditation, or good works could bring him peace, nor could any work of his remove his sins or his sense of sin and guilt. We are told, “Often he was seen at the foot of the

altar, his hands clasped, his eyes full of tears, raised toward heaven, earnestly beseeching pardon for his sins.” In his distress, Luther turned from the Church to the Bible and began a study of Paul’s Epistles; there he discovered afresh the Biblical doctrine of justification and forgiveness. Luther grasped the difference between man’s way and God’s way, or, as he described it, Aristotle’s righteousness and God’s righteousness. In his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, Luther wrote:

For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith; as it is written. The just shall live by faith (1:17). God’s righteousness is that by which we become worthy of His great salvation, or through which alone we are (accounted) righteous before Him. Human teachers set forth and inculcate the righteousness of men, that is, who is righteous, or how a person becomes righteous, both in his own eyes and those of others. Only the Gospel reveals the righteousness of God, that is, who is righteous, or how a person becomes righteous before God, namely, alone by faith, which trusts the Word of God. Thus we read in Mark 16:16: “He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.” The righteousness of God is the cause of our salvation. This righteousness, however, is not that according to which God Himself is righteous as God, but that by which we are justified by Him through faith in the Gospel. It is called the righteousness of God in contradistinction to man’s righteousness which comes from works. This human righteousness of works Aristotle clearly describes in the third book of his *Ethics*. According to his view righteousness follows man’s works, and is brought about by them; God’s judgment, however, is different, for according to it, righteousness (justification) precedes works and good works grow out of it.

The implications of this passage were revolutionary. First, Aristotle and the whole of the New Humanism were cast out of Christendom; and second, by showing that God’s righteousness or justification precedes man’s good works, the Roman Church was shown to be antibiblical and humanistic in its doctrine of salvation.

Luther’s lectures on Romans were begun in the

fall of 1515, two years before he posted *The Ninety-Five Theses*. Faith and experience were now his; testing and development were yet to come. They came with the preaching of *Indulgences*. Indulgences were a money-raising device. Roland Bainton has described them as “the bingo of the sixteenth century,” but much more was involved than money. Both theological principles and church power were at stake. A Roman Catholic work has defined indulgences as follows: “It is a releasing, by the power of the Keys committed to the Church, the debt of temporal punishment which may remain due upon account of our sins, after the sins themselves, as to the guilt and eternal punishment, have been already remitted by repentance and confession.” At first penance was required, or some service. When the Crusades were proclaimed at the Council of Clermont in 1096, Pope Urban II promised plenary indulgence to all who took part in the Crusade. The Scholastics, notably Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Alexander of Hales, developed a theory to justify Indulgences. According to this theory, “the superfluous merits” of Christ and of the saints and martyrs form a vast treasure-house which the pope can use at his discretion. Bishops can apply these merits to those who have none, both the living and those in Purgatory. There were objections to this doctrine from the start, but it was a clearly successful one. Gradually, instead of service or penance, the outright sale of Indulgences became common. At the Council of Constance, 1415, Pope John XXIII was accused of having his legates empowered to sell Indulgences for all sorts of crimes. The theory of Indulgences was formulated plainly in the Bull *Unigenitus* of Pope Clement VI, 1313, which affirmed that the treasure-store of superfluous merit Christ “entrusted to be healthfully dispensed — through blessed Peter, bearer of heaven’s keys, and his successors as vicars on earth — to the faithful, for fitting and reasonable causes.” Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) in the Bull *Salvator noster*, August 3, 1476, prepared the way for Luther, proclaiming the sale of Indulgences “for the repairing of the church of Saintes.” Leo

X (1513-1521), to carry on the expensive construction of St. Peter’s Church in Rome, ordered the sale of Indulgences also.

Devout Germany was an especial target for such sales and was called “the pope’s private cow.” Albert, Elector of Mainz and Archbishop of Magdeburg, received the right to promulgate the sales in Germany with a share in the profits. Albert of Mainz selected as his chief agent for retailing sales in Saxony a Dominican friar, John Tetzel, a man known both for his eloquence and licentious morals. The instructions issued by Albert included a graded schedule of rates in terms of rank and income, somewhat comparable to the income tax schedule. The preaching of Indulgences was plain and blunt: “Lo, the heavens are open, if you enter not now, when will you enter? For twelve pence you may redeem the soul of your father out of Purgatory; are you so ungrateful that you will not rescue the soul of your parent from torment? If you had but one coat, you ought to strip yourself instantly and sell it, in order to purchase such benefit.” Tetzel’s preaching was intensely emotional:

Listen now, God and St. Peter call you.... Listen to the voices of your dear dead relatives and friends, beseeching you and saying, “Pity us, pity us. We are in dire torment from which you can redeem us for a pittance.” Do you not wish to? Open your ears. Hear the father saying to his son, the mother to her daughter, “We bore you, nourished you, brought you up, left you our fortunes, and you are so cruel and hard that now you are not willing for so little to set us free. Will you let us lie here in flames? Will you delay our promised glory?”

Remember that you are able to release them, for

As soon as the coin in the coffer rings,
The soul from purgatory springs.

It was reported that Tetzel even said that papal indulgences could absolve a man “who had violated the Mother of God.” The preaching of Indulgences was forbidden in Wittenberg, but many crossed the border to purchase them.

Luther responded to these things by posting, on October 31, 1517, on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, *The Ninety-Five Theses*

for debate, written in Latin. A few of the Theses are revealing of the nature of Luther's thinking:

27. Those who assert that a soul straightway flies out (of purgatory) as a coin tinkles in the collection-box, are preaching an invention of man.

28. It is sure that when a coin tinkles greed and avarice are increased; but the intercession of the Church is in the will of God alone.

81. This wanton preaching of pardons makes it hard even for learned men to defend the honor of the pope against calumny, or at least against the shrewd questions of the laity.

82. They ask: Why does not the pope empty purgatory on account of most holy charity and the great need of souls, the most righteous of causes, seeing that he redeems an infinite number of souls on account of sordid money, given for the erection of a basilica, which is a most trivial cause?

84. What is this piety of God and the pope, in allowing the impious and hostile to secure, on payment of money, a pious soul, in friendship with God, while they do not redeem of free charity a soul that is of itself pious and beloved, on account of its needs?

86. The pope's riches at this day far exceed the wealth of the richest millionaires, cannot he therefore build one single basilica of St. Peter out of his own money, rather than out of the money of the faithful poor?

Tetzel replied to Luther, and the controversy was on. In June, 1518, Luther was summoned to Rome but was allowed to appear before Cardinal Cajetan. Asked to retract, he refused and appealed to the Pope, who reaffirmed the Indulgences. Luther then appealed to a General Council of the Church. Luther's opinions were condemned in a Bull of June 15, 1520, and he was given sixty days to recant. Instead, Luther burned the Bull, the Decretals, and the other papal documents at Wittenberg on December 10 and warned people to separate themselves from the Pope. He was summoned to appear at the Diet of Worms, the Diet being the Supreme Council of the Empire, before Emperor Charles V, in 1521, and he was ordered to recant. He refused, concluding, "On this (or, Here) I take my stand. I can do no other. God

help me. Amen." Luther then threw up his arms in the gesture of a victorious knight and left the hall with the Spaniards hissing him. The next day Charles V, in deciding against Luther, declared, "A single friar who goes contrary to all Christianity for a thousand years must be wrong." On May 6, Charles V presented to the Diet the Edict of Worms, which called Luther "a convicted heretic" (although he was still not formally excommunicated) whose "books are to be eradicated from the memory of man." Luther was described as "pagan in his denial of free will." On his departure, Luther was kidnapped by disguised supporters on orders of Frederick the Wise, the elector of Saxony, Luther's prince; he was hidden in Wartburg Castle. There for a year Luther wrote tracts and translated the New Testament into German. During his absence, the Reformation of Wittenberg was carried in the wrong direction and was becoming a question of clothing, diet, and haircuts rather than doctrine, of violence rather than faith. Luther decided to return, writing to the Elector, who was fearful for Luther, "I would have you know that I come to Wittenberg with a higher protection than that of Your Grace. I do not ask you to protect me. I will protect you more than you will protect me." The Reformation now began to move forward rapidly.

In 1530, the Emperor attempted to bring back the Lutheran princes into the Roman fold and summoned them to a Diet at Augsburg. The response of the princes was a statement of faith, drawn up by Philip Melancthon (1497-1560) and approved by Luther, the Confession of Augsburg.

It is important at this point to deal with certain absurd misconceptions concerning Luther.

First, Luther is often charged with "dividing" the Church. The answer to this is that the Church was already in process of radical fragmentation, and Luther brought about two processes of unification, the Reformation and, by way of reaction, the Counter-Reformation. Humanism had divided the Church from Jesus Christ, so that Luther, in *The Babylonian Captivity of a Church* (1520), could rightly term it "the Thomist, i.e., the Aristotelian Church." The

papal church, moreover, was strong where the monarchs were weak. In other areas the church was only nominally connected with Rome. Thus the Gallican church, the church of France, was hostile to Ultramontanism, the papal point of view, and denied papal supremacy in both temporal and spiritual affairs. Charles V was ostensibly a dedicated Roman Catholic, but he did not allow that to prevent him from capturing Rome and the Pope in 1527. The seven months' sack of Rome by Charles' "Catholic" troops has been described by Gibbon as "more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals." The Church had become the central political agency of Europe, and it was regarded as such and treated accordingly. Heresies and heretical movements flourished; but, unless they endangered the Church's power and purse, they were relatively secure. When a pope's son, and, in part, the pope, could furnish Machiavelli with his model, there was no true Church left, and the only possible Christian unity was outside the Roman Church, with Christ.

Second, Luther has been charged with subservience to princes and with making the State both secular and supreme. Pseudo-historians have tried to trace totalitarianism and statism to Luther. This is pure slander. We have seen Luther's offer of protection to Frederick the Wise: the true Church of Christ offering protection to the state. At times, Luther's use of Augustinian terminology, as in *An Open Letter Concerning the Hard Book Against the Peasants* and in *A Treatise Concerning the Ban*, would seem to suggest that the state was cast out of God's Kingdom. In such instances, Luther was using the term "Kingdom of God" in its Roman Catholic sense as equivalent to the Church, and this has caused the misunderstanding. The Church for Luther is Christian government, and it governs Christians but cannot govern the world; its duty is to preach the Gospel to the world. The State is God's government of the world, the unbelieving and believing, because the sword is necessary in a world of sin. Justice, not grace, must prevail in God's government, the State

(*Commentary on Peter and Jude*, and *Secular Authority*). In *The Appeal to the German Nobility*, Luther in 1520 made clear his affirmation of the priesthood of all believers, including civil authorities. "Since then the 'temporal power' is as much baptized as we, and has the same faith and Gospel, we must allow it to be priest and bishop, and account its office an office that is proper and useful to the Christian community." In the name of justice and social order, the State has a responsibility to God to require Christian education, a knowledge of "the Ten Commandments, the Belief, the Lord's Prayer, etc.," of the basic theological and moral requirements of Christianity, of all its people. As Luther saw it, neither Church nor State can require *faith*; this is impossible. They can and must require knowledge of the faith which is the substance of law, for they cannot begin to live as citizens of a town or country if they do not know its laws:

But as for those who will not learn, let them be told that they deny Christ and are no Christians, and let them not be admitted to the Sacrament, be sponsor to any child, or enjoy any of the liberty of Christians, but be handed over simply to the Pope and his officers, yea, to the devil himself. Besides this, let their parents or masters refuse them food and drink, and tell them that the prince will have such rude people driven from the land.

For though we cannot and may not force any to believe, yet we must train and urge the multitude so that they may know what is right and wrong among those with whom they have their dwelling, food, and life. For whoever would dwell in a town must know and keep the law of which he would enjoy the privileges, whether he believe it, or be a rogue and good-for-nothing in his heart. (Preface to *The Short Catechism*, 1529)

Luther believed that morality can and must be legislated, that law is simply an expression of morality. The morality expressed in the law must be Christian, and the Church and the State, to further good citizenship, must require Christian teaching. This faith was basic to Luther and to Calvin, and was brought to forceful expression in the Lutheran-Calvinist Formula of Concord

(1576), a Lutheran Confession designed to settle the differences between Luther's position and Melancthon's, and between Lutheranism and Calvinism. Every body of law is expressive of a doctrine. Law cannot be separated from religion. The question is, what religion will law express?

Third, Luther is charged with having been merely foolish, inconsistent, and extravagant in his strong affirmation of predestination. This opinion began with Erasmus, who attempted to "correct" Luther on this point. Luther, nor Calvin later, ever denied human responsibility; both did deny man's free will. They knew that no one can be truly free without being sovereign, and man is neither sovereign nor free. His will and being is in bondage to sin, and, when saved, it is in the power of grace. Necessity, said Luther, is not compulsion, and necessitated acts are not any the less spontaneous. Erasmus had been ready to grant some truth to Luther's position but had pleaded for a "moderate" view as more acceptable to man's reason. Luther responded by saying that man was either under the power of original sin or under the power of the Holy Spirit, and neither spells sovereignty or freedom. "And, finally, if we believe that Christ redeemed men by His blood, we are forced to confess that all of man was lost; otherwise, we make Christ either wholly superfluous, or else the redeemer of the least valuable part of man only; which is blasphemy, and sacrilege." All the reformers, including Zwingli, shared in this stand. Justification by faith meant predestination.

Fourth, Luther was savagely denounced for refusing to support The Peasants' War, 1524-1525, a radical revolutionary movement. Luther's repudiation of the revolutionary peasants has made him a target of hostility from that day to the present, and The Peasants' War has been a favorite subject of radicals, including Marx and Engels. But Luther was hostile to revolution; reformation was his concern. Luther had no more intention than St. Paul to make Christianity a revolutionary political movement. The very idea was hostile to the Reformation from its inception, and it is a falsification of history to

charge Luther with encouraging and then betraying the peasants. From his Wartburg days, his hostility to disorder and to unlawful action, to people taking the law into their own hands, was very clear.

Anabaptism, however, was not averse to revolution. The Anabaptist movement, which was very strong in the Netherlands, has been called "The Radical Reformation;" it was radical, but it was not a part of the Reformation: it was an enemy of it. Modernist church historians now regard it as part of the Reformation, if not the greatest part. The Reformers never saw the Anabaptists as comrades. Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, Ulrich Zwingli, John Calvin, Henry Bullinger, and others, whatever their differences, saw themselves as members of a single cause; and they saw the Anabaptists as deadly enemies, to be rooted up and driven out. Certainly, it is a sophistication and perversion of history to put them now in one camp. It is comparable to the perverted scholarship which tries to make a Pharisee out of Jesus. At this point, Bainton, in *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, is correct in connecting the "sectaries" and, we would say more specifically, the Anabaptists, to Erasmus. They agreed with Erasmus in three central ways. First, they returned to the New Testament, not to revive its faith, but to make the Sermon on the Mount the charter of Church and State life. Second, they hated creeds and doctrines, preferring "deeds." Third, they stressed "inwardness." The resemblance to modernism is more than a coincidence. *Anabaptism was a reforming humanism*, not a reforming Christianity. It tended to be anti-Trinitarian, hostile to the orthodox Christology of Chalcedon, hostile to Church and State and any relationship between them. It tended towards the "separation" of Church and State in any historic form and the creation of a new, unified social order in which the difference was obliterated. Their adherence to Scripture was loose, and they believed in such things as direct revelation, mystical experiences, reason, the inner light, and the life, as a "new" Scripture. The Anabaptists had at

first hoped to use the Reformation for their goals, but they quickly separated themselves and denounced it. During The Peasants' War, Thomas Munzer, an Anabaptist leader, tried to establish a communistic order in Thuringia. A reign of terror and immorality was the result, until these Anabaptists were defeated on May 15, 1525, and Munzer captured and executed. Munzer was a strong advocate of continuing revelations. At Munster, John of Leyden had himself proclaimed "King of the Throne of David" and favored polygamy. He himself took sixteen wives in addition to his predecessor's widow, Matthyszoon's beautiful Divara. Criticism of the regime meant death. Hunger and famine led to the betrayal and collapse of the Munster Anabaptist order. Anabaptism flourished in seventeenth century England, and Quakerism was one expression of it. In England, the proclamation of James Nayler as Christ and a triumphal entry episode led to his punishment and frightened Fox and other Quakers into more conservative ways. Today, Anabaptism technically survives in the Mennonites, the Amish, the Hutterites (who carry on the communist tradition), the Quakers, the Schwenckfelder church, and the Unitarians. The less direct but even clearer heirs of Anabaptism are most of the modern so-called Protestant Churches, with their humanistic, nationalistic, experimental, and social-gospel approach.

Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531), the "father of the Swiss Reformation," was, like Luther, a distinguished scholar. Also an accomplished musician, he was said to have been able to play on every known musical instrument. He early distinguished himself as a humanistic priest, but his desires for reform gradually led him to seek a Biblical foundation independently of Luther. Although Zwingli came to emphasize predestination more zealously than Luther, traces of humanism lingered in his thinking up to his premature death in battle, and these traces have made him the favorite Reformer with many modernist scholars. Zurich, Zwingli's center, became a source from whence Zwinglian ideas went throughout Switzerland and southern Ger-

many. Luther was distrustful of Zwingli and of his influence.

The Swiss Reformation after Zwingli's death was carried on by a Frenchman, John Calvin (1509-1564), and Guillaume Farel. The first edition of Calvin's *Institutes* appeared in 1536, when the author was still young. The center of the Swiss Reformation now shifted from German Switzerland to the French cantons. John Calvin, one of the great minds of Western civilization and one of the most influential, was clearly an independent thinker of amazing proportions. This is recognized even by his opponents. What is too seldom noted is that, despite certain very real differences, Calvin was also certainly the best follower Luther ever had. Certainly many of the ostensibly faithful associates of Luther were more concerned at times with moderating Luther than with developing his implications. Calvin's admiration of Luther was very great. When Luther read Calvin's writings, he asked to be commended to Calvin, stating that he had read his works "with a singular enjoyment." The two men never met but were on good terms and took pride in their relations. Calvin, noting their differences on the Eucharist, did not press them; he once wrote to Bullinger that even if Luther called him a devil, he would still regard Luther as "an eminent servant of God." Calvin simply built on the foundation Luther had laid. Luther had begun painfully in the morass of the Church's humanism and had turned from the righteousness and sovereignty of man according to Aristotle to the righteousness and sovereignty of God according to Scripture. His personal discovery and favorite text was "Thy sins are forgiven." Calvin built on this. He assumed this personal victory through God's grace, and turned to the understanding and realization of God's sovereign purpose in the confidence of Paul's great text, "If God be for us, who can be against us?" The freedom and sovereignty of God was the cornerstone of Luther's faith and of Calvin's. Luther asserted and manifested its implications for personal victory, and Calvin for world victory. What Luther asserted must characterize the godly state, Calvin and his

followers were able to develop and apply in Switzerland, the Netherlands, England, Scotland, the United States, and elsewhere.

In 1536 Calvin went to Geneva. Geneva had repudiated Roman overlordship, and the city council was trying to reorganize both church and state and bring order to a disordered state. Their purpose in asking Calvin to reform the church was social order, not godly order. They resented Calvin's attempts to secure godly order and to gain the freedom of the church, and Calvin was banished (1538-1541). In Strassburg, during his exile, Calvin hoped, as a scholar, to devote himself to research and writing and only returned to Geneva reluctantly and out of duty. He was resented to the last and was never the "dictator" of Geneva that hostile historians depict him as being. Calvin was only granted citizenship in Geneva when his death was certain.

Calvin began, first of all, with the sovereignty of God. This meant predestination, a doctrine which Calvin defended zealously against Pighius, but which he declared was practically intended more for the comfort of the saints than for sterile curiosity. Philosophically, predestination meant the freedom and sovereignty of God. God's sovereignty meant that man is not free except under law, God's law, because the freedom of man, being a secondary freedom, not primary like God's, consists in faith and obedience. Second, for Calvin as for Luther, law does not exist in a vacuum. It is an expression of doctrine, of faith, and for Calvin the only true law is God's law. It is mandatory therefore for every area of life to be under God's law. Third, the Kingdom of God cannot be equated with the church. It is the universal reign of God, and wherever God is acknowledged and served God's Kingdom is magnified. Fourth, because of the doctrine of the priesthood of believers, all men are priests unto God, each in his sphere of life. This priesthood is central to Luther's and Calvin's thought. Fifth, as Calvinism later developed this doctrine of covenants and spheres, each area is a covenant area with God and a law sphere. Thus, church, civil government, school, agriculture, economics,

business, every realm under God's law, is an area of Kingdom activity, has its own law structure, and is a covenant area. This means that, while all the spheres are separate, although coordinate and interlocking, none is lord over another. All are under God and His law. This doctrine was greatly developed by covenant theology, was prominent in American colonial history, and had philosophical formulation much later at the hands of Abraham Kuyper and his followers. Both for Luther and for Calvin the moral law in a state had to be strictly enforced; it is this which seems like tyranny to twentieth century man. But the implications for liberty in their doctrines are scarcely dreamed of by twentieth century man, who is everywhere faced with encroaching statist tyranny and assumes that liberty is from law (the humanistic idea), rather than under law (the Christian faith).

As with Luther, Calvin made a beginning. The full implications of their stand remain to be developed. The Calvinist battle cry in the church was "The Crown Rights of King Jesus in His Church" as they fought for the liberty of the church from the state. In every area, their cry was "To God alone belongs Dominion." Calvin's great phrase in the *Institutes* (Bk. IV, ch. XX, 14) "the law is a silent magistrate, and a magistrate a speaking law," expressed a faith which entered deeply into Western history and which undergirds constitutionalism.

Calvin strongly emphasized the doctrines of the Trinity and of creation, as well as the infallibility of Scripture. It is significant that, here as elsewhere, scholars have been busy trying to ascribe other views to Calvin, so that he is both attacked for holding these views and then claimed for an opposing position.

The Reformation quickly spread into other countries, to Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Sweden, the Netherlands, France (the Huguenots), Bohemia, Hungary, and elsewhere. Counter movements were also arising, notably Erastianism and Arminianism. Erastianism gained its name from Thomas Erastus (1524-1583), who denied the right of the church to excommunicate

and who placed control over the church into state hands, as did Henry VIII. Arminianism, from Jacob (or James) Arminius (1560-1609), was in its origin an attempt to undercut Calvinism by moderating it, and it steadily became the Protestant form of Thomism and rationalism. The Synod of Dort in 1618, with delegates from Germany and Switzerland, as well as the Netherlands, and James I of England also represented, condemned Arminianism.

The Reformation in England is often described as a political job engineered by Henry VIII because he wanted a divorce. This is a radically false interpretation. First of all, Henry VIII was concerned with having a male heir to the throne; he was thirty-three and Catherine, his brother's widow, was forty. Five of her children by Henry had either been stillborn or died soon after birth; a sixth, Mary, survived. Henry believed that his marriage, contrary to church law, was cursed by God. It had been made for political reasons by his father, Henry VII, with a special dispensation from Pope Julius II. It is a silly myth to ascribe Henry VIII's desire for a divorce to an "affair" with Anne Boleyn. Anne Boleyn was only seven years of age when the divorce negotiations began! Pope Clement VII was not averse to pleasing Henry, but he had no desire to offend Queen Catherine's nephew, Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, King of Spain, and the Pope's practical superior and controller. Accordingly, the papal advice was bigamy as the simple way out. Cardinal Cajetan also favored bigamy over divorce. Henry VIII was a man of very real sins but also of zealous religious concern. Before his brother Arthur's death, he had been slated to enter the Church and become some day the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1521 he had earnestly written against Luther, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, and Pope Leo X had given Henry the title "Defender of the Faith." Henry had seen the threat to absolutism in church and state in Luther's doctrines of justification (with God sovereign) and the priesthood of all believers. The subservience of the papacy to Spain, the control of the papacy especially with the sack of Rome in

1527, and the papacy's incompetence in dealing with the Reformation, disillusioned Henry. There was, practically speaking, no international Church, only a Spanish controlled church. To defend the faith from the Reformation and to cleanse the church, the church had to be free of Rome. There is no question that the seizure of monastic properties enriched the Crown; mercenary actions were clearly present. But the sources of the break with Rome cannot be reduced to the actions which accompanied the break. It should be added that the expelled monks and nuns were generously pensioned by the Crown.

Second, a church had existed in England before the union with Rome as an independent body. That union had been made by royal power, and it was now broken by royal power. The English church had not been created by Rome and had always struggled to assert its independence. The papacy did not excommunicate the English church after its break under Henry, nor during Edward VI's reign and the Calvinistic power of that era; it was not until Elizabeth, Anne Boleyn's daughter, had been on the throne for a time that excommunication came, in 1570, thirty-six years after the break. The English church was condemned by the papacy for the same reason it had once been united to it: for political considerations. The English church had sought independence of Rome for centuries; it now worked towards freedom from statist control, a struggle not yet entirely completed.

Third, the English settlement was a return in part to the old German Christian settlement, royal supremacy under law. The Crown, deeply infected by the concept of royal absolutism and sovereignty, which many churchmen shared, saw itself as above the law. But there were strong elements in England demanding that crown, parliament and church be under law, God's law. The Puritan movement was one aspect of this demand, and it should be remembered that Puritanism was in origin a movement within the Church of England. Queen Elizabeth was aware of this movement and avoided the title of Supreme Head of the Church in favor of the

Supreme Governor.

Fourth, although Henry VIII wanted only separation from Rome, not Reformation, Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) began the work of Reformation. Cranmer, in the Germanic Christian tradition, believed in both royal supremacy and the Reformation. Long before Henry's break, he had been in prayer that papal jurisdiction would be abolished. For Cranmer, the "two chief roots" of the Roman Church had to be uprooted: first, "the popish doctrine of transubstantiation" and, second, "the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead." Cranmer declared of Scripture that "the word of God written...is a true, sound, perfect, and whole doctrine, containing in itself fully all things needful for our salvation." As archbishop, he commanded the clergy to know, use, and daily study the Bible. For Cranmer the visible Word, God's law, took priority over the visible church, and nothing in or by the church had validity apart from the Word. He struck hard at the doctrine of transubstantiation, because it created in the priesthood a new mediator between God and man. Cranmer earnestly believed that kings were God's appointed rulers over the church, although Christ alone was the Head of the church. When Queen Mary took the throne and Roman Catholic reaction ensued, Cranmer at first tried to be obedient to Mary as ruler, but he finally renounced the compromise and died gloriously as a martyr. Cranmer is insufficiently appreciated in our era. During the reign of Edward VI, the Reformation influence was deeply woven into the structure of the English church. The Prayer Book is one of the greatest Calvinistic documents. The Thirty-Nine Articles affirmed the Reformation doctrines, and Calvin's words on predestination are virtually quoted.

The Church of England, like most Reformation churches, had been an independent church before political actions brought it into union with Rome. The manner of its separation left it with various inherent problems. Royal absolutism was in conflict with a Reformation hostile to the idea of sovereignty. Archbishop Laud, in the

seventeenth century, sought to place the church on the side of state sovereignty. In that tragic struggle, both Laud and Charles I lost their heads on the executioner's block. It had become a war unto death between royal sovereignty and the sovereignty of God. In the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 the issue was resolved through the seizure of sovereignty by Parliament. The next stage of resistance to the idea of an immanent or this-worldly sovereignty took place in colonial America and culminated in the United States Constitution, which rejected and avoided the idea of sovereignty in favor of the rule of law.

Attempts at Reformation were not lacking in other areas, such as Spain and Italy, but they met with defeat.

The French Calvinists developed the concept of lawful rebellion, and *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* (1579) is an important work which John Adams declared to be especially influential in America on the eve of the American Revolution. *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* asserted that rulers are under God's law. When a ruler transgresses God's law, obedience to the king or state may become rebellion against God. But rebellion against earthly rulers cannot be lawless; it must be lawful, and it requires the leadership of civil magistrates, who in the name of the law stand up against the ruler's contempt of law.

The Counter-Reformation of the papacy began with the Council of Trent, 1545-1563. The papacy was unwilling to call a Council (and be itself the subject of reform perhaps), but the Empire and Emperor demanded a Council and threatened to hold one in Germany if the pope refused. As a result, the Council was called and met, 1545-1550, 1550-1552, and 1562-1564. The last session was on December 4, 1563, and the acts of the Council were confirmed by a papal Bull of January 6, 1564. The Council had been first called in 1536 to meet in Mantua in 1537, but the Duke of Mantua refused permission to assemble. It was then scheduled for 1538 in Vicenza, but when May, 1538, arrived, not a single bishop was present. The pope then set Easter, 1539, as the meeting time, only to decide soon

thereafter against having it at all. Only after much pressure from Emperor and princes did the papacy finally consent to the meeting at Trent, a city of Tyrol, Austria.

With respect to the Bible, Trent gave tradition an equal standing, placed the Apocrypha on an equal authority, and made a translation, the Latin Vulgate, the authoritative text.

During the Fifth Session, three ambassadors of the king of France arrived to request of the Council that no attack be made on the privileges of the Kingdom and Church of France.

On August 20, 1546, the Council refused to condemn Luther's doctrine of predestination. Formally, the church continued to maintain a correct position here with respect to God's sovereignty, while effectually undercutting the doctrine at every point. Predestination and the preservation of the saints were affirmed, but personal assurance of these things was denied. The practical consequence of this was that man could not depend on God's word for assurance, but must cling to the church's ministrations in order to persevere and gain election to eternal life.

The Seventh Session, among other things, anathematized those who maintained that the seven sacraments were not all instituted by Jesus Christ and those who denied that baptism, orders, and confirmation imprinted an ineffaceable character. The work of the church was thus made authoritative in a way that God's work in predestination was not.

In Session Eight, March 11, 1547, a decree was read transferring the Council to Bologna, and was approved by two-thirds of the assembly. The Spaniards and other subjects of the emperor objected, and the Emperor saw it as a move by the papacy to avoid his demands for reform. He ordered the opposing prelates to remain in Trent, which they did. In Session Nine, April 21, 1547, only the papal legates and thirty-four bishops were present at Bologna. Business was postponed until June 2 to give others, time to arrive, but at Session Ten on June 2, only six archbishops, thirty-six bishops, one abbot, and two generals of orders were present; the rest were at Trent. The

Council thus could not function. When Pope Paul III died in 1549, Pope Julius III agreed to a return to Trent, where the meetings were resumed in 1551. Another quarrel between papacy and Emperor, and report of a war between the Emperor and Maurice, Elector of Saxony, gave the Council an excuse to suspend meetings. Also, some Protestant theologians had arrived, asking the Emperor's ambassadors to gain permission for answer and debate on certain propositions, and this provided another good reason for suspending meetings.

The suspension lasted almost a decade, the Council being resumed under Pope Pius IV. At Session Nineteen, May 14, 1562, the French ambassadors arrived with instructions which asked:

That the decisions which had taken place should not be reserved for the pope's approval, but that the pope should be compelled to submit to the decision of the Council. That they should begin with the reform of the Church in its head and in its members, as had been promised at the Council of Constance, and in that of Basle, but never completed. That annates should be abolished; that all archbishops and bishops should be obligated to residence; that the council should make arrangements with respect to dispensations, so as to remove the necessity of sending to Rome. That the sixth canon of Chalcedon should be observed, which prohibits bishops to ordain priests without appointing them to some specific charges, so as to prevent the increase of useless ministers, etc.

Nothing was accomplished.

When the Council concluded on December 4, 1563, it had not changed the church, but had rather frozen it in the humanism it had adopted. For this reason, many have regarded it as a "reactionary" Council. Previously, the church had led in the New Humanism; now it was tied to an obsolete form of it.

Moreover, the Council of Trent made it very clear that the Roman Church was only nominally Catholic; that it was, in fact, the Roman or Italian Church. The number of prelates present from different countries were:

Italian (187 + 2 Proctors)	189
French (26 + 1 Proctor)	27
German (2 + 6 Proctors)	8
Spaniards (31 + 4 Proctors)	35
Portuguese	(3)
Greeks	(6)
Poles	(2)
Hungarians	(2)
English	(1)
Irish	(3)
Flemings	(2)
Croatians	(1)
Moravians	(1)
Illyricans	(3)
TOTAL	283

The English Bishop of St. Asaph, Thomas Goldwell, was an exile who went to Rome and the Vatican, so that he was only technically representing England. The Italian influence was and still is decisive. France and Spain, as the two great Roman Catholic powers, were better represented than others, but, although Spain and the Empire were responsible for calling the Council, the Vatican influence was decisive.

The Counter-Reformation in its practical aspects was the work of some new religious orders, the Theatines (1524), the Capuchins (1525), the Barnabites (1535), and especially the Jesuits, founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) in 1534 and formally constituted by papal approval in 1539. A soldier from a noble family, he began to meditate on the faith while recovering from the painful after-effects of a war wound. He turned to ascetic spiritual exercises. He was determined to preach and teach, but he quickly realized that the sophisticated world of the Renaissance was not interested in monastic virtues. He turned to university studies, learning Latin and Greek, and mastering humanistic teachings, in order to deal intelligently with the intellectuals. He won converts so quickly that he was three times arraigned before the Inquisition on suspicion of heresy, but was acquitted.

Loyola and the Jesuit Order were dedicated to military discipline and unwavering obedience to the papacy. The *Spiritual Exercises* require that one declare white to be black if the church demands it; this appears in the "Rules concerning

agreement with the hierarchial Church." It is this principle that has come to be known as Jesuitism. The Jesuits started as a kind of Roman Catholic Salvation Army; one of their first tasks had been to work on the prostitution situation in Rome, where it was an unrivalled evil. Their able reforms here made the Jesuits the hope of all reforming groups within the Roman Church. However, by 1550 the Jesuits had changed and had become primarily a teaching order and an anti-Protestant fighting order rather than a reforming body. At the Council of Trent, the Jesuit Lainez was the papal theologian, and he demanded papal infallibility and the absolute supremacy of the pope over the bishops. The Jesuits, however, also favored the indirect sovereignty of the pope over all temporal affairs rather than the older insistence on immediate and universal sovereignty. The Jesuits also adopted the new and yet old, classical doctrine of the sovereignty of the people.

The Jesuit schools were for a time outstanding because of their highly trained staff and superior education. Their weakness, however, was their rigid adherence not simply to an intellectual position where a strict stand has intelligent reasons, but to forms as well, such as the text of the Vulgate, specific textbooks, and the like. The Jesuits carried the Aristotelian implications of Thomas Aquinas to their naturalistic limits, so that, in meeting pagan religions, they were ready to find them acceptable. Matteo Ricci, for example, found Chinese religion valid and asserted: "For the last four thousand years it has been possible for the people of China to be saved, for he who lives according to the commandments of that primitive religion to him God does not refuse — according to the teachings of the theologians, that especial help or grace which enables man to attain eternal salvation." Many other missionaries went further than Ricci.

In Europe, however, the Jesuits were hostile to the old Roman and now Modern European ideal of the sovereign and omnipotent state. Their strong loyalty to the sovereign papacy made such an idea offensive to them. This was greatly

responsible for the Bull of Pope Clement XIV, July 21, 1773, brought about by state pressures, dissolving the Jesuit Order. The reconstituted Jesuit Order has been more congenial to statist doctrines.

The Reformation was slow in taking root in Scotland, but it took root firmly. It had two great martyrs fairly early, Patrick Hamilton in 1528 and George Wishart in 1546, both burned at the stake. The central man in the Scottish Reformation was John Knox (1505-1572), a close friend of John Calvin, but more like Luther than any other Reformer, a robust man of peasant stock and vigorous personality. Cardinal Beaton, extensively responsible for Wishart's death, was caught by some angry Scots three months after the burning and was promptly hanged on May 29, 1546. John Knox, not a party to the hanging, joined the men in the episcopal castle, St. Andrews, and, when the regent of Scotland, with French help, took the castle, Knox was sentenced to become a galley slave in a French man-of-war, where he served for nineteen months, 1548-1549. Knox had regarded Cardinal Beaton, for a series of acts, as a lawless tyrant. Later as a galley slave, Knox took sick with fever and was deemed to be dying. While the ship lay off the coast between Dundee and St. Andrews, James Balfour, another slave, pointed to the spires of St. Andrews and asked Knox if he knew the place. "Yes, I know it well; for I see the steeple of the place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory; and I am fully persuaded, however weak I now appear, that I shall not depart this life, till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place." It is not known how Knox was liberated, for various reports exist. He may have been freed by the king of France because he was not involved in the hanging, or his liberty may have been purchased by friends. Until 1559 Knox was largely out of Scotland, but his influence was decisive all the same. In England, he served under Edward VI and was offered the see of Rochester. He spent some time also in Geneva with Calvin. When Knox returned to Scotland to assume leadership of the

Solemn League and Covenant, it was to work with a united people. Unlike other countries, there were no lingering dissidents, no exodus of exiles who rebelled against the settlement. Scotland was Calvinist to the core, and Knox molded a hard, disciplined form of the Reformed faith. The Scots had previously been an undisciplined and immoral people, and their own bards spoke sharply of their disorderly ways, one citing as a "Hielandman" creed, "So lang as I may gear get to steal, I will never wirk." The kirk, with the Book of Discipline, prosecuted all moral offenders with thoroughness. Preaching was long, by the hour, with forty and fifty points to the sermon, and the listeners prided themselves on being able to repeat every point in order after a sermon. Critics have described the work of the kirk and home as "Baptize, Catechize, and Chastise," but it produced virile and disciplined people, one of the glories of the Church and deservedly termed later the *backbone* of North and South in America and of the British Empire. A mellow and loving picture of the kirk and its people in the nineteenth century, in fictional form, is Ian Maclaren's famous *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush*, all the more interesting because Maclaren did not share the kirk's faith. The first Scotch Confession, 1560, and the Second Scotch Confession, 1581, are magnificent creedal statements which deserve more attention. In Article XVIII of the First Confession, on the true Kirk, it was declared "That Sathan from the beginning has laboured to deck his pestilent Synagogue with the title of the Kirk of God," and Satan has persecuted the true Kirk from the day that Cain killed Abel.

The notes, signes, and assured tokens whereby the immaculate Spouse of *Christ Jesus* is knawen fra the horrible harlot, the Kirk malignant, we affirme, are nouthier Antiguitie, Title usurpt, lineal Descent, Place appointed, nor multitude of men approving ane error. For *Cain*, in age and title, was preferred to Abel and Seth: Jerusalem had prerogative above all of the eird, where alsua were the Priests lineally descended fra *Aaron*, and greater number followed the Scribes, Pharisees, and Priests, than unfainedly believed and approved Christ Jesus and his doc-

trine: and zit, as we suppose, no man of sound judgment will grant, that ony of the forenamed were the Kirk of God. The notes therefore of the trew Kirk of God we beleeve, confess, and avow to be, first the trew preaching of the Worde of God, into the quhilk God hes revealed himself unto us, as the writings of the Prophets and Apostles dois declair. Secundly, the right administration of the Sacraments of *Christ Jesus*, whilk man be annexed unto the word and the promise of God, to seale and confirme the same in our hearts. Last, Ecclesiastical discipline uprightlie ministered, as God is Worde prescribes, whereby vice is repressed, and vertew nurished. Wheresoever then thir former notes are seene, and of only time continue (be the number never so fewe, about two or three), there, without all doubt, is the trew Kirk of *Christ*: Who, according unto his promise, is in the middis of them.

In October, 1570, Knox was stricken with apoplexy and, though he recovered, he remained feeble until his death in November, 1572. We have a contemporary account of his preaching in 1571, when the ailing and weak Knox had to be helped into the kirk and to the pulpit by two men, but, Melville's Diary recorded, "ere he haid done with his sermone, he was sa active and vigour, tha he was lyk to ding the pulpit in blads (beat the pulpit to pieces), and flie out of it." Knox began moderately, but as he warmed up to his text and preaching, Melville found himself so excited and thrilled that he could not hold his pen to take further notes.

In the Netherlands, the Reformation was introduced very early but was slower in gaining power than even in Scotland. The problems and the persecutions in the Netherlands were severe. First, Erasmus had a strong following, and humanism was deeply entrenched. Second, Anabaptism was widespread and a deadly enemy of the Reformation. Third, the Netherlands were under the Emperor and had an enforced Roman Catholicism harshly demanded of them, so that they lacked both national and religious freedom. (Later, the ten southern provinces, now Belgium, ruthlessly suppressed all forms of Protestantism. The seven northern provinces became the United Provinces.) It was not until 1566 that Calvinism

triumphed as a faith in the Netherlands, but it was some time before it gained liberty. The history of that struggle, a long, involved, and heroic one, is intensely dramatic. The Roman Church, here as everywhere, had taken care to protect itself in its waywardness and sin. It was required that seventy-two witnesses be produced to establish an accusation against a bishop, and twenty-seven witnesses against a deacon, but only two to convict a layman. Corruption was increased by the fact that the church was closely aligned with the civil power, a foreign authority under Philip of Spain, and hence less responsive to local needs. Defense of Dutch liberty and of Calvinism became capital crimes, with both death and loss of property resulting. Many Catholics died in defense of liberty in this struggle. Even attendance, years before, at a Calvinistic funeral, was punishable by death. The climax came on February 16, 1568, when the Inquisition condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death as heretics: three million men, women, and children sentenced to death in a three-line decree, with only a few persons, especially named, excepted. A royal proclamation by Philip ten days later ordered instant execution without regard to age, sex, or condition. The executions, already extensive, continued, and the infamous Alva, in a letter to Philip, promised eight hundred heads immediately after holy week ended. The rich were already seized, since their wealth was to be confiscated; they were tied to a horse's tail with their hands lashed behind them and dragged to the gallows. To prevent these victims from preaching to or exhorting the bystanders on the streets, their tongues were screwed into an iron ring and seared with a hot iron to make speech impossible. With only death ahead, hoodlums robbed and killed at will until drastic steps were taken to restore order. William of Orange and his brother Louis of Nassau headed the resistance, which after many years resulted in the defeat of Spain and the freedom of the Netherlands. One of the greatest works of American historical writing is the intensely interesting *Rise of the Dutch Republic* by John Lathrop Motely.

In France, persecution of the Reformation was intense from the beginning, with periods of relative peace. As early as 1558, however, Calvin estimated that 300,000 were Calvinists. These Huguenots became not only a powerful and virile Christian element in the nation, but they also became, out of necessity, a powerful political party. In the massacre of St. Bartholomew beginning on August 24, 1572, and continuing to September 17, fifty thousand were slaughtered, men, women, and children, twenty-five thousand dying on the first day, in a move to cut down the leadership and power of the Huguenots. Henry IV granted the Huguenots a measure of religious liberty in the Edict of Nantes in 1598; the Edict was revoked on October 18, 1685, and Huguenots were required to educate their children in the Roman Catholic faith and forbidden to emigrate. More than fifty thousand did leave the country, many settling in America. In contempt for their native land, many of the Huguenots in America refused to speak French again, changed their names, and, in their zeal for their faith, walked twenty miles to worship, in all kinds of weather, from their isolated farms.

The Reformation was an anti-humanistic

movement for the restoration of the Christian faith and church. Humanism, however, was to flower again in the Enlightenment and to invade the Protestant churches in the forms of Arminianism, Quietism, Pietism, and Liberalism, and then evolution, the social gospel, modernism, socialism, neo-orthodoxy, existentialism, and the like. Reformation must be a continuous task and movement. As the nineteenth century neared its close, the death of the Reformation seemed to be certain, and the forces of decay very strong. By the end of the Second World War, those forces of decay were very apparent in the churches, but small yet very important movements towards a renewal and an extension of the Reformation were also clearly in view.

QUESTIONS FOR TEACHER-STUDENT THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

1. In what ways were Calvin and Luther alike in their theology? How were they different in their emphases?
2. In what ways was the Reformation an anti-humanist movement?

Lesson Twenty-Four

Lecture #9

Wars of Religion -- So Called & The Thirty Years' War

Listen to CD Lecture #9-- "Wars of Religion -- So Called & The Thirty Years' War," then answer the following questions.

Review Questions

1. What "isms" rose in the Renaissance?
2. What in each is associated with nationalism and internationalism?
3. Why can a Christian not hold to these two kinds of "isms"?
4. When did monarchism, the Divine Right of Kings, arise?
5. Was serfdom a product of the medieval times?
6. When did serfdom come into the eastern empire?
7. How do you compare the freedom of the Middle Ages with that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?
8. What brought about the contempt of the common people?
9. What areas had the most freedom in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?
10. What is absolutism?
11. What group of people saved much of the freedoms from absolutism?
12. To whom in England can we credit Constitutionalism?
13. How did the discovery of America speed up statism in Europe?
14. What country was the most powerful at this time and what countries did it control?
15. If paper were money, what product would become scarce, and why?
16. Why did prices double between 1550 and 1600?

17. What is the concept of mercantilism?
18. How did mercantilism lead to colonialism?
19. What country suffered the most from a failure in colonialism?
20. What country carried on the counter-Reformation movement?
21. Who was the most powerful ruler of the time?
22. What was Philip II's faith and what kind of man was he?
23. Name two events in which Philip tried to wipe out Protestantism.
24. What economic factor destroyed Spain as a powerful nation?
25. Why is much of Latin America still economically undeveloped?
26. Is France really made up of one kind of people?
27. What two religious groups existed in France at this time?
28. Who was the outstanding Huguenot ruler of France?
29. What are the dates of the Thirty Years' War?
30. What was the Peace of Augsburg?
31. What was the strategy of the House of Hapsburg of Austria?
32. How did the countries ally themselves in the Thirty Years' War?
33. How would you describe the Thirty Years' War?
34. How is the movement of armies different now from those of former times?
35. Why does Dr. Rushdoony call the Thirty Years' War the "so-called" religious wars?

Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion Questions

1. How do the letters show the anti-Christian bias of history that is taught?
2. What peoples kept England from Absolutism? How did they do it?
3. Where did Absolutism make great inroads? What event was the culmination of this?
4. Why was the discovery of America a blow for Europe?
5. What is mercantilism? How did it originate? Why is it a problem? What problems does this lead to?
6. Describe the person and character of Philip I. What did he do to oppose Protestantism?
7. Who was El Cid? What were his achievements?

8. What was Spain compared to by Dr. Rushdoony as far as its relationship to Latin America? Why has Spain failed to be a dominant force?
9. What were the various German States comprised of from 1618 — 1648? How did the Thirty Years' War start? What were the Hapsburgs trying to do and why?
10. What happened to Germany during the Thirty Years' War?

Lesson Twenty-Five

Lecture #10

France: Louis XIV - Napolean

Listen to CD Lecture #10-- "France: Louis XIV - Napoleon," then answer the following questions.

Review Questions

1. In what countries are there still the vestiges of feudalism?
2. In what way are they feudalistic?
3. What is the significance of Prince Eugene of Savoy?
4. Who were the despised working people of the times?
5. Who were the workers in the new colonies of America?
6. Why did the first attempts to establish the Jamestown settlement fail?
7. What nation was the most influential of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries?
8. What is Gallicanism?
9. What was the work ethic of Gallicanism?
10. Who was the French monarch for 65 years?
11. What was Louis XIV's greatest fear?
12. How did Louis XIV try to meet this threat?
13. How can it be said that Louis XIV broke the back of feudalism?
14. Where did Louis XIV establish the center of his huge government?
15. What was a weakness created by Louis XIV?
16. What two classes of people were despised by the French humanists?

17. How did they regard the power of human reasoning?
18. What early Roman humanist has been memorialized by the conservatives as a hero?
19. What was considered the intellectualism of the day?
20. Characterize Napoleon as a ruler.
21. What weakness led to the defeat of Napoleon?
22. What was his influence on the Revolution?
23. What religious group in England kept the Revolution out of England?

Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion Questions

1. What are some of the advantages of the feudal system of government?
2. What kind of people made up the Middle Class? What place did they hold in society?
3. How did Louis XIV gain control using the base pride and greed found in man?
4. Who was the state really run by? Why were they unable to take control of the kingdom?
5. What form of government did Louis XIV form?
6. Where was the city center? Why was this a strategic move?
7. Why was it a weakness for France not to have a strong Navy? What was England able to do because of this weakness?
8. Why did the French help America in the Revolutionary War?
9. Who were the new “priests” in France? How do we see this reflected in our day? How was this the destruction of the church? What was the mark of membership? Who was ultimately sovereign? Who was their hero?
10. What type of man was Napoleon? Why are we usually given the view of him that we are?
11. To whom could the French rulers not turn for help and why?
12. What kind of loyalty did Napoleon create?
13. What did Napoleon set out to do in his Eastern campaign? Why was he doomed? What did Napoleon check for a century? Why did he not have the answer?
14. Why was England the most influential nation in the nineteenth century?

Lesson Twenty-Six

Lecture #11

England: The Puritans through Queen Victoria

Listen to CD Lecture #11-- "England: The Puritans through Queen Victoria," then answer the following questions.

Review Questions

1. In what way was England at center stage during the period of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries?
2. What was the significance of Charles II's coming to power in 1660?
3. What saved England from becoming Catholic?
4. Describe the reign of Charles' brother, James II.
5. Describe the rule of the aristocracy after 1688.
6. Describe the reign of George III.
7. What is a Deist?
8. What were some effects of Deism in England?
9. What turned the tide from this moral and physical depravity?
10. What was the "Hellfire Club"?
11. What in the then-present immoral society did the evangelicals attack the most?
12. What book came out which had a great impact on free enterprise and economics?
13. What impact did Sir Robert Peel as Prime Minister have on the economic health of England? (1840)
14. Who, as champion of the aristocracy, opposed Peel?
15. What element fomented the exaggerated stories of the abuses of the Industrial Revolution?

16. What was the importance of Prince Albert in England's economic life?
17. For what reason did England become the center of the Industrial Revolution?
18. What other progress did England export to its colonies besides industrial goods?
19. What is the reality of the charge that England exploited its colonies?
20. What can be said about the spread of Christianity by England?
21. Evaluate Charles Dickens as a manipulator of public feeling.
22. What work was the most devastating to Christianity?
23. What factors brought havoc to education?
24. What changes in the classes took place?

Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion Questions

1. Discuss Charles II and his "anything and everything goes except for the old morality."
2. What was the rule of England like under the aristocracy?
3. George III was a truly popular monarch. What type of ruler was he? Who liked and who disliked his rule?
4. How was the church virtually destroyed in England?
5. Describe the day-to-day life of the time. Why do you think the mortality rate was so high?
6. Describe the Hellfire Club.
7. What impact did the evangelical movement have?
8. Describe the free trade movement and the Marxist counter-movement against it.
9. Where was the center of the Industrial Revolution? Why was it centered where it was? What group(s) made up the scientists, inventors, and middle class?
10. What different things did Britain export? Why was the colonial period a time of great movement?
11. What happens when we go from being producers to being consumers?
12. Describe the Leisure Class.

Lesson Twenty-Seven

Lecture #12

The Twentieth Century: The Intellectual - Scientific Elite

Listen to CD Lecture #12-- "The Twentieth Century: The Intellectual - Scientific Elite," then answer the following questions.

Review Questions

1. What two characteristics of the eighteenth century did Dr. Rushdoony review in this lesson?
2. What new characteristic arose in the twentieth century?
3. What anti-Christian group in the twentieth century replaced the anti-Christian aristocracy of the eighteenth century?
4. Who became the "expert"?
5. What is their highest goal? Why do they so strive for that goal?
6. What is necessary for man to function in this scientific world?
7. Who runs the machines?
8. What happened to the dream of world peace in the twentieth century?
9. Who is the "father" of sociology?
10. What is involved in the method of twentieth century "technique"?
11. What part did the nobility play in the Russian Revolution of 1917?
12. To what would you attribute the success of the Bolsheviks in gaining control of Russia?
13. Starting from the highest class, trace the degeneration that led to total breakdown of society.
14. What was unique about the executions of the "Red Terror"?

15. What is the idea of the scientific experiment?
16. Marxism and existentialism are the highest forms of _____.
17. What is the new idea of realism?
18. What is the religion of the public school system?
19. The death of God means the death of _____.
20. In what way is modern man possessed with the idea of murder?
21. How does modern man show defiance against God?

Teacher-Student Thought and Discussion Questions

1. Describe the health of the average man in the first half of the eighteenth century? What were different causes of poor health.
2. What affect did the elite have over art, fashion, music, and food?
3. What does the term "Intellectual" mean? Discuss some of the aspects of the Intellectual movement.
4. What type of world was to follow World War I and World War II?
5. According to August Comte, the three stages of men are: 1) Religion and myth; 2) Philosophy; 3) Science. What is the distinctive of each stage?
6. What are distinctives of the twentieth century? How are all problems to be viewed? Who will settle all the problems? Who are viewed as the fools?
7. When everything is turned to the intellectual and technological, what happens to people? What happens to the meaning or work of human life?
8. How did the mob help the Bolsheviks? Why was the mob turned loose in Russia? When the mob finished, what did the Bolsheviks do?
9. What was Lenin's view of morality?
10. Where is our trust as Christians to be?
11. What is the Scientific Socialist view? What must be eliminated? What is the true temple of the modern age?
12. How do we see "All those who hate me love death" lived out in the twentieth century?
13. What God-given opportunities do we have as Christians at this time?

Appendix A

Lectures & Chapters

Lecture #1: "Time and History: Why History Is Important"	Chapter #1: God and Israel Chapter #2: Ancient Egypt Chapter #3: Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Powers
Lecture #2: "Israel, Egypt & The Ancient Near East"	Chapter #4: Assyria and Babylonia Chapter #5: The Persian Empire Chapter #6: Greece Chapter #7: Jesus Christ and The Beginnings of Christianity
Lecture #3: "Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Jesus Christ"	Chapter #8: The Rise and Fall of the Roman Republic Chapter #9: Birth and Death of the Roman Empire
Lecture #4: "The Roman Republic"	Chapter #10: The Early Church Confronts the World Chapter #11: Byzantium, the Eastern Roman Empire
Lecture #5: "The Early Church" & "Byzantium"	Chapter #12: Islam Chapter #13: The Frontier Age
Lecture #6: "Islam" and "The Frontier Age"	Chapter #14: The New Humanism Chapter #15: The Reformation
Lecture #7: "The New Humanism or Medieval Period"	
Lecture #8: "The Reformation"	
Lecture #9: "Wars of Religion — So Called" & "The Thirty Years' War"	
Lecture #10: "France: Louis XIV through Napoleon"	
Lecture #11: "England: The Puritans through Queen Victoria"	
Lecture #12: "The Twentieth Century: The Intellectual-Scientific Elite"	

Appendix B

Suggested Reading

CHAPTER ONE

The Bible is our basic textbook in history and is important not only for this period but for the basic perspective for every age.

Important reading on the Genesis account on the Flood: Henry M. Morris and John C. Whitcomb, Jr.: *The Genesis Flood, The Biblical Record and Its Scientific Implications*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co.

Alfred M. Rehwinkel: *The Flood In the Light of the Bible, Geology, and Archaeology*. St. Louis: Concordia.

CHAPTER TWO

H. Frankfort: *Ancient Egyptian Religion, An Interpretation*, New York: Harper Torch Books, 1948, 1961.

H. Frankfort: *Kingship and the Gods, A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1948, 1962.

Margaret A. Murray: *The Splendor That Was Egypt*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1941, 1961.

An able writer on Egypt, although very humanistic in this perspective, was James Henry Breasted. Perhaps for the student the most helpful book is his survey of ancient history, *The Conquest of Civilization*, New York: Harper, 1962.

CHAPTER THREE

O. R. Gurney: *The Hittites*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1952, 1954.

James B. Pritchard: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Second E., revised, enlarged. Princeton University Press, 1955.

CHAPTER FOUR

Henry Frankfort, Mrs. Henry Frankfort, John A. Wilson, Thorkild Jacobsen: *Before Philosophy*, Penguin Books, 1946, 1951.

Robert Francis Harper, ed.: *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, Selected Translations. New York: Appleton, 1904.

Sabatino Moscati: *Ancient Semetic Civilizations*, New York: Capricorn, Putnam, 1957.

CHAPTER FIVE

Richard N. Frye: *The Heritage of Persia*. Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1963. (A sympathetic study, although with a differing perspective than that of this chapter.)

CHAPTER SIX

It can be safely assumed that most works in this area are pro-Hellenic and non-Christian. The student can learn most by reading Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*. Herodotus is entertaining reading and sometimes of historical value.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, and their fulfillment in the New, are an invaluable study of the meaning of Christ's coming and His Kingdom.

CHAPTERS EIGHT & NINE

The histories of Tacitus and other Roman historians are vivid reading.

Ethelbert Stauffer: *Christ and the Caesars* (Philadelphia Westminster, 1955), is very readable, as is Fustel de Coulanges: *The Ancient City* (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956). See also Pierre Grimal: *The Civilization of Rome* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1963);

R. H. Barrows: *The Romans* (Chicago: Aldine, 1949, 1964); and Michael Grant: *The World of Rome* (Cleveland: World, 1960), for humanistic approaches.

Very important is C N. Cochrane *Christianity and Classical Culture* (New York: Oxford, 1944). Also H. J. Haskell: *The New Deal in Ancient Rome* (New York: Knopf, 1939)

CHAPTER TEN

Two collections of source material which are very helpful are Henry Bettenson's *The Early Christian Fathers* (New York: Oxford, 1956) and *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford, 1947). The bulk of the Ante-Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (republished by Eerdmans, Grand Rapids) frightens many but, with guidance, is full of interesting and rewarding reading. Philip Schaff's eight volume *History of the Christian Church* is at times defective, but is always rich in interest and material. (Eerdmans).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Charles Diehl: *Byzantium, Greatness and Decline*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1957.

George Finlay: *History of the Byzantine Empire from DCCXVI to MLVII*. London: Everyman, 1906.

Rene Guerdan: *Byzantium, Its Triumphs and Tragedy*. New York: Putnam, 1952.

Steve Runciman: *Byzantine Civilization*. London: Edward Arnold, 1933.

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Koran is instructive reading, but it should be noted that most editions are favorably edited and translated. The story of the defense of Malta is vividly told by Ernie Bradford: *The Great Siege*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1961. A good but favorable general survey is Philip K. Hitti: *The Near East in History*, New York: Van Nostrand, 1961.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

William Carroll Bark: *Origins of the Medieval World*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1960.

F. Kern: *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1939.

Henry C. Lea: *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*. London: Watts, 1932 (1867).

Carl Stephenson: *Medieval Feudalism*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell Great Seal Books, 1961 (1942).

George T. Stokes: *Ireland and the Celtic Church*. London: SBCB, 1928 (1907).

G. Tellenbach: *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1940.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

G. G. Coulton: *Medieval Panorama, The English Scene from Conquest to Reformation*. Cambridge University Press, 1939.

G. G. Coulton: *Medieval Village, Manor, and Monastery*. New York: Harper Torchbooks: 1960 (1925). All of Coulton's works are of major importance although very different in outlook than the above chapter.

Otto Kierke: *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*. Trans. with intro. by F. W. Maitland. Nodyon: Beacon Hill, 1958 (1900).

Friedrich Heer: *The Medieval World, Europe 1100-1350*. Eleveland: World, 1962.

Johan Huizinga: *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954 (1924).

Ernst Kantorowicz: *Frederick the Second, 1194-1250*. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1957 (1931).

Ernst Kantorowicz: *The King's Two Bodies, A Study in Medieval Political Theology*. Princeton University Press, 1957.

Roger Lloyd: *The Golden Middle Ages*. London: Longmans, Green, 1939.

Niccolo Machiavelli: *The Prince* and *The Discourses*. Modern Library.

Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy: *Out of Revolution, Autobiography of Western Man*. New York: William Morrow, 1938.

James Westfal Thompson and Edgar Nathaniel Johnson: *An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 300-1500*. New York: Norton, 1937.

William Thomas Walsh: *Isabella the Crusader*. London: Sheed and Ward, 1939.

John S, White: *Renaissance Cavalier*. New York Philosophical Library, 1959.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Roland Bainton: *Here I Stand, A Life of Martin Luther*. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1950.

Heinrich Boehmer: *The Jesuits, An Historical Study*. Philadelphia: Castle Press, 1928.

Heinrich Boehmer: *Road to Reformation. Martin Luther to the Year 1521*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1946.

G. W. Bromiley: *Thomas Cranmer Theologian*. New York: Oxford, 1956.

R. N. Carew Hunt: *Calvin*. London: Centenary Press, 1933.

Theodore J. Kleinhaus: *Martin Luther Saint and Sinner*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1956.

Thomas M'Crie: *Life of John Knox*. Philadelphia, 1905.

Henry Nogueres: *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew*. New York: Macmillan, 1962.

E. G. Schweibert: *Luther and His Times*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1950.

B. B. Warfield: *Calvin and Calvinism*. New York: Oxford, 1931.

Ohozoff: *The Huguenots, Fighters for God and Human Freedom*. New York: Fischer, 1942.

The writings of the Reformers are often highly readable and charged with the excitement and emotions of controversy. Students should be encouraged to read them, as well as Confessions in Faith, in Philip Schaff's *Creeeds of Christendom*.